

LC 6880

STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.

ESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

TRANSLATED FROM RÆDIGER'S EDITION

BY

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THOROUGHLY REVISED AND ENLARGED WITH THE HELP OF
PROF. E. KAUTZSCH'S GERMAN EDITION, AND OTHER
RECENT AUTHORITIES

BY

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WITH

SUBJECT, SCRIPTURE AND HEBREW INDEXES.

C

New Edition.

LONDON:

SHER & CO., 13, BEDFORD STREET,
COVENT GARDEN, W.C.

1885.

P R E F A C E.

But little over a year had passed after the third edition of this grammar was issued, before both the German Editor and the English Translator finished their earthly labors. Dr. Røediger of Berlin died on the 15th of June 1874 and Dr. Davies of London on the 19th of July 1875, each eminent in his sphere and honored by all as painstaking and conscientious workers in the field of Biblical science.

After the decease of Prof. Røediger the work of revising and editing the Grammar of Gesenius was committed to Prof. E. Kautzsch, D.D., then of Basle, whose thorough scholarship and well known skill as a Hebrew teacher eminently fitted him for the task. His edition, published in 1878, has already been accepted as a standard authority among teachers, on both continents. His revision of the work of Røediger has been so extensive and thorough that it has become practically a new grammar, though retaining, for convenience of reference, the old divisions of chapters and sections. Hardly a sentence has remained unaltered and some whole sections have been substantially or entirely rewritten, such as the sections on the accents (§ 15), the methegh (§ 16), the daghesh euphonic (§ 20, 2) and the noun (§§ 93. 94. 95), and one new section (§ 144 *a*) has been added.

So radical a change in the original work has prepared the way for a corresponding thoroughness in the revision of the English edition. The endeavor has been to prepare a grammar specially adapted to the wants of English students, in all that pertains to simplicity of method and practical convenience, at the same time that it combines the best results of

modern Semitic research. For this purpose the Editor has availed himself of the essential improvements of Kautzsch, with such modifications of the text as were thereby rendered necessary and has drawn from other recent sources whatever would contribute to the real usefulness of the work.

The notes of Dr. Davies have been retained so far as they have not been superseded by the text in its present shape. They are designated by the signature *Tv*.

Some hints derived from the grammars of Ewald and Stade have also been incorporated, and a few notes more fully illustrating certain points have been derived from Delitzsch and others. The references have been carefully verified, (using the corrected text of Bæer-Delitzsch upon Genesis, Job, Psalms and Isaiah), and the 8th edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (by Mühlau and Volck), has been constantly consulted.

A new and important feature of this edition consists in the addition of very full indexes of Subjects, of Scripture and of Hebrew words, by means of which the entire contents of the grammar are made available to the students. The Hebrew index will be found especially useful, converting the grammar into a philological clavis in which a large share of all the difficult forms in the language may find explanation.

The work has been performed in the midst of a heavy pressure of other labors and in the accomplishment of it the editor has received efficient help from his son as an amanuensis, preparing all the copy for the printers, and from his friend Mr. Max Meyer of this city, a native German and an accomplished linguist, who has revised all the translations and performed much patient toil in the reading of proofs.

E. C. M.

Paris, August, 1880.

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TABLES
OF
SEMITIC ALPHABETS;
PARADIGMS
OF
VERBS AND NOUNS,
ETC.

Ancient Semitic Alphabets

Inscr of Dibon. 9th. cent. B.C. Gram § 2,2 § 5,1	Phoenician Coins and Inscript	New- Pun- nic.	Old Hebr Coins and Gems.	Sama- ritan	Aram - Egyptian. 8th - 1st cent. B.C.	Palmyra Inscript 1st cent. B.C. - 4th cent. A.C.	Heb Inscr Christ's Time	Square Char	Raschi.
𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	א
𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	ב
𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚	ג
𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	𐤟	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	ד
𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫	𐤬	ה
𐤭	𐤮	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵	ו
𐤶	𐤷	𐤸	𐤹	𐤺	𐤻	𐤼	𐤽	𐤾	ז
𐤿	𐥀	𐥁	𐥂	𐥃	𐥄	𐥅	𐥆	𐥇	ח
𐥈	𐥉	𐥊	𐥋	𐥌	𐥍	𐥎	𐥏	𐥐	ט
𐥑	𐥒	𐥓	𐥔	𐥕	𐥖	𐥗	𐥘	𐥙	י
𐥚	𐥛	𐥜	𐥝	𐥞	𐥟	𐥠	𐥡	𐥢	כ
𐥣	𐥤	𐥥	𐥦	𐥧	𐥨	𐥩	𐥪	𐥫	ך
𐥬	𐥭	𐥮	𐥯	𐥰	𐥱	𐥲	𐥳	𐥴	ל
𐥵	𐥶	𐥷	𐥸	𐥹	𐥺	𐥻	𐥼	𐥽	מ
𐥾	𐥿	𐦀	𐦁	𐦂	𐦃	𐦄	𐦅	𐦆	נ
𐦇	𐦈	𐦉	𐦊	𐦋	𐦌	𐦍	𐦎	𐦏	ס
𐦐	𐦑	𐦒	𐦓	𐦔	𐦕	𐦖	𐦗	𐦘	ע
𐦙	𐦚	𐦛	𐦜	𐦝	𐦞	𐦟	𐦠	𐦡	פ
𐦢	𐦣	𐦤	𐦥	𐦦	𐦧	𐦨	𐦩	𐦪	צ
𐦫	𐦬	𐦭	𐦮	𐦯	𐦰	𐦱	𐦲	𐦳	ק
𐦴	𐦵	𐦶	𐦷	𐦸	𐦹	𐦺	𐦻	𐦼	ר
𐦽	𐦾	𐦿	𐧀	𐧁	𐧂	𐧃	𐧄	𐧅	ש
𐧆	𐧇	𐧈	𐧉	𐧊	𐧋	𐧌	𐧍	𐧎	ת

Modern Semitic Alphabets.

Hebrew	Rabbin- ical	Sama- ritan	Syriac				Arabic			
							Final	Medial	Initial	
א	א	Ⲁ	ܐ	ܐ	—	ܐ	ا	ا	ا	,
ב b, bh	ב	Ⲃ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ب	ب	ب	b
ג g, gh	ג	Ⲅ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ج	ج	ج	t
ד d, dh	ד	Ⲇ	ܕ	ܕ	—	ܕ	د	د	د	th
ה h	ה	Ⲉ	ܗ	ܗ	—	ܗ	ح	ح	ح	j
ו w	ו	Ⲋ	ܘ	ܘ	—	ܘ	خ	خ	خ	ch
ז z	ז	Ⲍ	ܙ	ܙ	—	ܙ	ح	ح	ح	kh
ח ch	ח	Ⲏ	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	ح	ح	ح	d
ט t	ט	Ⲑ	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh
י y	י	Ⲓ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ر	ر	ر	r
כ k, kh	כ	Ⲕ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ز	ز	ز	z
ל l	ל	Ⲗ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	س	س	س	s
מ m	מ	Ⲙ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ش	ش	ش	sh
נ n	נ	Ⲛ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ص	ص	ص	s
ס s	ס	Ⲝ	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	ض	ض	ض	d
ע	ע	Ⲟ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ط	ط	ط	t
פ p, ph	פ	Ⲡ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ظ	ظ	ظ	zh
צ q	צ	Ⲣ	ܦ	ܦ	—	ܦ	ع	ع	ع	,
ק q	ק	Ⲥ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ר r	ר	Ⲧ	ܦ	ܦ	—	ܦ	ف	ف	ف	f
ש sh	ש	Ⲩ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ق	ق	ق	q
ת t	ת	Ⲭ	ܦ	ܦ	—	ܦ	ك	ك	ك	k
			ܦ	ܦ	—	ܦ	ل	ل	ل	l
							م	م	م	m
							ن	ن	ن	n
							ه	ه	ه	h
							و	و	و	w
							ي	ي	ي	y

Syr. Vowels: ܐ a, ܐ e, ܐ i, ܐ o, ܐ u.

Arab. Vowels: َ a, ِ i, ُ u.

Nominative of the Pronoun,

or

Separate Pronoun.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

Sing. 1. com. אֲנִי, in pause
אֲנִי; אֲנִי, in pause
אֲנִי I.

2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתָּה (אַתָּה), in} \\ \text{pause אַתָּה} \\ f. \text{אַתָּה (אַתָּה)} \end{array} \right\} \text{thou.}$

3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוא} \text{ he.} \\ f. \text{היא} \text{ she.} \end{array} \right\}$

Plur. 1. com. אֲנִיחֵם (אֲנֵנוּ),
(אֲנֵנוּ) we.

2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתֶּם} \\ f. \text{אַתֶּם, אַתֶּם} \end{array} \right\} \text{ye.}$

3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵמָּה, הֵם} \\ f. \text{הֵנָּה, הֵן} \end{array} \right\} \text{they.}$

A.

By itself.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי, in p. אֲנִי, אֲנִי } thee.
אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי, אֲנִי }

הוא; הוּא; הוּא (הוּ), הוּ } him.
היא; הִיא; הִיא her.

אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ us.

אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ us.

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם } you.
אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם }

הֵמָּה, הֵם; הֵם, הֵם*
הֵמָּה, הֵם* } them.
הֵמָּה, הֵם* }

הֵנָּה, הֵן; הֵן, הֵן } them.
הֵנָּה, הֵן; הֵן, הֵן }

* The forms with an asterisk are only poetical; those in parenthesis

or *Suffix of the Verb.*

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffix of*
the Noun (possessive Pron.).

B.	A.	B.
With N in demonstrative. $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$	With Nouns Singu'ar. $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ <i>my</i> (prop. Gen. <i>mei</i>).	With Nouns Plur. & Dual. $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ <i>my</i> .
$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, (\text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}})$ not found.	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$, in pause $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ } <i>thy</i> <i>(tui)</i> . $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$, ($\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$)	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ } <i>thy</i> . $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$
$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$, ($\text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$)	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$, $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ ($\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$) <i>his (ejus and suus)</i> .	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$, $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ *
$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$; $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ <i>her</i> .	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ <i>her</i> .
$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$; ($\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$) <i>our</i> .	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ <i>our</i> .
These forms	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$ } <i>your</i> . $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$ } <i>your</i> . $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$
are not	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$; $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ } <i>their</i> . $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$ *	$\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$; $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}$ } <i>their</i> . $\text{אֵלֶּי}^{\text{ע}}, \text{בָּי}^{\text{ע}}$
found.		

are rarely used, but are put here to give a full view of the analogy.

		<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Pr'ēl.</i>
<i>PERF Sing.</i>	3. <i>m.</i>	קָטַל*	קָטַל*	קָטַל*
	3. <i>f.</i>	קָטְלָה*	קָטְלָה*	קָטְלָה*
	2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַלְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*
	2. <i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*
	1. <i>c.</i>	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. <i>c.</i>	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
	2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַלְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם*
	2. <i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן
	1. <i>c.</i>	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ
<i>INF</i>		קָטַל*	קָטַל*	קָטַל*
<i>INF absol.</i>		קָטוּל*	קָטַל, קָטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*
<i>IMP Sing.</i>	2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַל*	קָטַל*	קָטַל*
	2. <i>f.</i>	קָטְלִי*	קָטְלִי*	קָטְלִי*
<i>Plur.</i>	2. <i>m.</i>	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
	2. <i>f.</i>	קָטְלֶנָה*	קָטְלֶנָה*	קָטְלֶנָה*
<i>IMPF Sing.</i>	3. <i>m.</i>	יִקְטַל*	יִקְטַל*	יִקְטַל*
	3. <i>f.</i>	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל
	2. <i>m.</i>	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל
	2. <i>f.</i>	תִּקְטְלִי*	תִּקְטְלִי*	תִּקְטְלִי*
	1. <i>c.</i>	אִקְטַל	אִקְטַל	אִקְטַל
<i>Plur.</i>	3. <i>m.</i>	יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּ
	3. <i>f.</i>	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*
	2. <i>m.</i>	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ
	2. <i>f.</i>	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה
	1. <i>c.</i>	נִקְטַל	נִקְטַל	נִקְטַל

IMPF. Shortened (Jussive).

<i>PART. act.</i>	קָטַל*	קָטַל	קָטַל	קָטַל*	קָטַל*
<i>pass.</i>	קָטוּל*				

<i>Suffixes</i>	1 <i>Sing.</i>	2 <i>Sing. m.</i>	2 <i>Sing. f.</i>	3 <i>Sing. m.</i>
<i>PERF. Qāl S. 3. m.</i>	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ } קָטַלְתָּ }
3. <i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ } קָטַלְתְּ }
2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ } קָטַלְתָּ }
2. <i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתְּ	—	—	קָטַלְתְּ } קָטַלְתְּ }
1. <i>c.</i>	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַלְתֶּם	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם
1. <i>c.</i>	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
<i>INF. Qāl</i>	קָטַלְתִּי } קָטַלְתְּ }	קָטַלְתָּ } קָטַלְתְּ }	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ
<i>IMP. Qāl 2. m. sing.</i>	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ
<i>IMPF. Qāl 3. m. sing.</i>	יִקְטַלְתִּי	יִקְטַלְתָּ	יִקְטַלְתְּ	יִקְטַלְתָּ
3. <i>m. with Nān</i> } <i>demonstrative.</i> }	יִקְטַלְתְּ	יִקְטַלְתָּ	—	יִקְטַלְתְּ
3. <i>m. plur.</i>	יִקְטַלְתֶּם	יִקְטַלְתֶּם	יִקְטַלְתֶּם	יִקְטַלְתֶּם
<i>PERF. Pi'ēl 3. m. sing.</i>	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ

	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Hiph'āl.</i>	<i>Hoph'āl.</i>
<i>PRF. S. 3. m.</i>	עָמַד	נִעְמַד*	הִעְמַד*	הָעָמַד*
3. <i>f.</i>	עָמְדָה	נִעְמְדָה*	הִעְמְדָה	הָעָמְדָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ	הָעָמַדְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ	הָעָמַדְתְּ
1. <i>c.</i>	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי	הָעָמַדְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הִעְמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	עָמַדְתֶּם*	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם	הָעָמַדְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתֶּן*	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הִעְמַדְתֶּן	הָעָמַדְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	עָמַדְנוּ	נִעְמַדְנוּ	הִעְמַדְנוּ	הָעָמַדְנוּ
<i>INF</i>	עֲמַד*	הִעְמַד*	הִעְמַד*	
<i>INF absol.</i>	עָמֹד	נִעְמֹד*	הִעְמֹד*	הָעָמֹד*
<i>IMP S. 2. m.</i>	עֲמַד*	חֲזַק*	הִעְמַד*	הִעְמַד
2. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידִי	חֲזָקִי	הִעְמִידִי	הִעְמִידִי
<i>Pl. 2. m.</i>	עֲמִידוּ	חֲזָקוּ	הִעְמִידוּ	הִעְמִידוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידְנָה*	חֲזָקְנָה*	הִעְמִידְנָה	הִעְמִידְנָה
<i>IMPF S. 3. m.</i>	יַעְמֵד*	יִחַזֵּק*	יַעְמִיד*	יַעְמִיד*
3. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמֹד	תִּחַזֵּק	תַּעְמִיד	תַּעְמִיד
2. <i>m.</i>	תַּעְמֹד	תִּחַזֵּק	תַּעְמִיד	תַּעְמִיד
2. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמִידִי*	תִּחַזְּקִי*	תַּעְמִידִי	תַּעְמִידִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶעְמַד*	אֶחַזֵּק	אֶעְמִיד	אֶעְמִיד
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יַעְמִידוּ*	יִחַזְּקוּ*	יַעְמִידוּ	יַעְמִידוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמִידְנָה	תִּחַזְּקְנָה	תַּעְמִידְנָה	תַּעְמִידְנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תַּעְמִידוּ	תִּחַזְּקוּ	תַּעְמִידוּ	תַּעְמִידוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמִידְנָה	תִּחַזְּקְנָה	תַּעְמִידְנָה	תַּעְמִידְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִעְמַד	נִחַזֵּק	נִעְמִיד	נִעְמִיד
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>			יַעְמַד	
<i>PART. act.</i>	עֹמֵד		נִעְמֵד*	הִעְמֵד*
<i>pass.</i>	עָמֹד			הָעָמֹד*

	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Pr'el.</i>	<i>Pā'āl.</i>	<i>Hithpā'el.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i>	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	בָּרַךְ*	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרַכָה	בָּרַכָה	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרְכוּ	בָּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	בָּרַכְתֶּן	בָּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>INF</i>	שַׁחֵט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	wanting	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>INF absol.</i>	שָׁחוּט	נִשְׁחוּט	בָּרַךְ*		
<i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i>	שַׁחֵט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
2. <i>f.</i>	שַׁחֲטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרְכִי*	wanting	הִתְבָּרְכִי
<i>Pl. 2 m.</i>	שַׁחֲטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שַׁחֲטֶנָּה	הִשְׁחַטֲנָה	בָּרַכְנָה		הִתְבָּרַכְנָה
<i>IMPF S. 3. m.</i>	שֹׁחֵט*	יִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַךְ*	יִבְרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטִי*	תִּשְׁחַטִי*	תִּבְרַכִּי	תִּבְרַכִּי	תִּתְבָּרַכִּי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבְרַךְ	אֶבְרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּבְרְכוּ	תִּבְרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבְרַךְ	נִבְרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ

IMPF with Suff. יִשְׁחַטְהוּ.

<i>PART act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נִשְׁחַט	מִבְרַךְ*		מִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מִבְרַךְ*	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>PERF S. 3. m.</i>	שָׁלַח*	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שִׁלְחָה
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שִׁלַּחְתְּ*
1. c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	שָׁלַחוּ	נִשְׁלַחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	שִׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח
<i>IMP S. 2. m.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
2. f.	שִׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שִׁלְחִי*
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	שִׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. f.	שִׁלְחֶנָּה	הִשְׁלְחֶנָּה	שִׁלְחֶנָּה*
<i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. f.	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי
1. c.	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחְנִי		
<i>PART. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלָח	שֹׁלֵחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שֹׁלְחָה*		

<i>Pa'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Höph'il.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
שָׁלַח	*הִשְׁלִיחַ	הִשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
שִׁלְחָהּ	הִשְׁלִיחָהּ	הִשְׁלַחָהּ	*הִשְׁתַּלַּחָהּ
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	*הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
*שִׁלְחָתָי	*הִשְׁלִיחָתָי	*הִשְׁלַחָתָי	*הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָי
שִׁלְחָיו	הִשְׁלִיחָיו	הִשְׁלַחָיו	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָיו
שִׁלְּחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְּחָתָן	הִשְׁלִיחָתָן	הִשְׁלַחָתָן	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָן
שִׁלְּחָנִי	הִשְׁלִיחָנִי	הִשְׁלַחָנִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָנִי
	*הִשְׁלִיחַ		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	*הִשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁלַח	
	הִשְׁלַח		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
wanting	הִשְׁלִיחַי	wanting	הִשְׁתַּלַּחַי
	הִשְׁלִיחוּ		הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלַחְנָהּ		*הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָהּ
יִשְׁלַח	*יִשְׁלִיחַ	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח־י	תִּשְׁלִיח־י	תִּשְׁלַח־י	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח־י
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלִיחַ	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ	תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ	תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ	*תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָהּ
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ	תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ	תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָהּ
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלִיחַ	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	*מִשְׁלִיחַ		*מִשְׁתַּלַּח
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
<i>PERF Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	סָב*	נָסַב*	הִסָּב*
3. <i>f.</i>	סָבָה	נָסְבָה*	הִסְבָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	סִבּוֹת*	נִסְבוֹת*	הִסְבוֹת*
2. <i>f.</i>	סִבּוֹת	נִסְבוֹת	הִסְבוֹת
1. <i>c.</i>	סִבּוֹתִי	נִסְבוֹתִי	הִסְבוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	סָבוּ	נָסְבוּ	הִסְבוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	סִבּוּחַם	נִסְבוּחַם	הִסְבוּחַם
2. <i>f.</i>	סִבּוֹתָן	נִסְבוֹתָן	הִסְבוֹתָן
1. <i>c.</i>	סִבּוֹנִי	נִסְבוֹנִי	הִסְבוֹנִי
<i>INF</i>	סֵב*	הִסֵּב*	הִסֵּב
<i>INF absol.</i>	סִבּוֹב	הִסֵּב	הִסֵּב
<i>IMP Sing.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	סֵב*	הִסֵּב	הִסֵּב*
2. <i>f.</i>	סִבִּי	הִסְבִּי*	הִסְבִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	סִבוּ	הִסְבוּ	הִסְבוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	סִבֵּינָה*	הִסְבִּינָה*	הִסְבִּינָה*
<i>IMPF Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	סֹבֵךְ*	יֹסֵב*	יֹסֵב*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּסֵּב	תִּסֵּב	תִּסֵּב
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּסֵּב	תִּסֵּב	תִּסֵּב
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּסְבִּי*	תִּסְבִּי	תִּסְבִּי*
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶסֵּב	אֶסֵּב	אֶסֵּב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּסְבִּינָה*	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּסְבוּ	תִּסְבוּ	תִּסְבוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִסֵּב	נִסֵּב	נִסֵּב
<i>IMPF with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִּסֵּב*		וַיִּסֵּב
<i>IMPF with Suff.</i>	יִסְבֵּנִי*		יִסְבֵּנִי* (יִסְבֵּנִים)
<i>PART. act.</i>	סֹבֵב	נֹסֵב	מִסְבֵּב
<i>pass.</i>	סִבּוֹב		

<i>Hōpl'āl.</i>	<i>Pō'ēl.</i>	<i>Pō'āl.</i>	<i>Hithpō'ēl.</i>
הוֹסֵב*	סוֹבֵב*	סוֹבֵב*	הִסְתוֹבֵב
הוֹסֵבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	הִסְתוֹבֵבָה
הוֹסֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹת
הוֹסֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹת
הוֹסֵבוֹתִי	סוֹבֵבוֹתִי	סוֹבֵבוֹתִי	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתִי
הוֹסֵבוּ	סוֹבֵבוּ	סוֹבֵבוּ	הִסְתוֹבֵבוּ
הוֹסֵבוֹתֶם	סוֹבֵבוֹתֶם	סוֹבֵבוֹתֶם	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתֶם
הוֹסֵבוֹתָן	סוֹבֵבוֹתָן	סוֹבֵבוֹתָן	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתָן
הוֹסֵבוּנִי	סוֹבֵבוּנִי	סוֹבֵבוּנִי	הִסְתוֹבֵבוּנִי
	סוֹבֵב		הִסְתוֹבֵב
	סוֹבֵב	סוֹבֵב	
	סוֹבֵב		הִסְתוֹבֵב
wanting	סוֹבֵבִי	wanting	הִסְתוֹבֵבִי
	סוֹבֵבָה		הִסְתוֹבֵבָה
	סוֹבֵבוֹת		הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹת
יֹסֵב*	יֹסֵב	יֹסֵב	יִסְתוֹבֵב
תוֹסֵב	תֹּסֵב	תֹּסֵב	תִּסְתוֹבֵב
תוֹסֵב	תֹּסֵב	תֹּסֵב	תִּסְתוֹבֵב
תוֹסֵבִי*	תֹּסֵבִי	תֹּסֵבִי	תִּסְתוֹבֵבִי
אוֹסֵב	אוֹסֵב	אוֹסֵב	אוֹסְתוֹבֵב
יֹסֵבוּ	יֹסֵבוּ	יֹסֵבוּ	יִסְתוֹבֵבוּ
תוֹסֵבֵיכֶם*	תֹּסֵבֵיכֶם	תֹּסֵבֵיכֶם	תִּסְתוֹבֵבוּ
תוֹסֵבוּ	תֹּסֵבוּ	תֹּסֵבוּ	תִּסְתוֹבֵבוּ
תוֹסֵבֵיכֶם	תֹּסֵבֵיכֶם	תֹּסֵבֵיכֶם	תִּסְתוֹבֵבוּ
נִיֹּסֵב	נִיֹּסֵב	נִיֹּסֵב	נִיֹּסְתוֹבֵב
	יֹסֵבִי		
	מִיֹּסֵב		מִיֹּסְתוֹבֵב
מִיֹּסֵב*		מִיֹּסֵב	

		Qal.		Niphal. Hiph'il. Hoph'al.		
<i>PERF. Sing.</i>	3. m.	נָכַשׁ	נָכַל	נָתַן	נָכַשׁ*	הָנִיחַ*
	3. f.	etc.	etc.	נָתְנָה	הָנִיחָה	הָנִיחָה
	2. m.			נָתַתָּ	הָנִיחָתָּ	הָנִיחָתָּ
	2. f.			נָתַתְּ	הָנִיחָתְּ	הָנִיחָתְּ
	1. c.			נָתַתִּי	הָנִיחָתִּי	הָנִיחָתִּי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	regular		נָתְנוּ	הָנִיחוּ	הָנִיחוּ
	2. m.			נָתַתֶּם	הָנִיחֶתֶם	הָנִיחֶתֶם
	2. f.			נָתַתֶּן	הָנִיחֶתֶן	הָנִיחֶתֶן
	1. c.			נָתַתְּנוּ	הָנִיחֶתְנוּ	הָנִיחֶתְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>		נִכְשׁ*	נָכַל*	נָתַת	הִנְכִּישׁ	הָנִיחַ*
<i>INF absol.</i>		נִכְשׁוּ	נָכְלוּ	נָתְנוּ	הִנְכִּישׁוּ	הָנִיחוּ*
<i>IMP. Sing.</i>	2. m.	נִכְשׁ*	נָכַל	נָתַן	הִנְכִּישׁ	הָנִיחַ*
	2. f.	נִכְשִׁי	נָכְלִי	נָתְנִי	הִנְכִּישִׁי	הָנִיחִי
<i>Plur.</i>	2. m.	נִכְשׁוּ	נָכְלוּ	נָתְנוּ	הִנְכִּישׁוּ	הָנִיחוּ
	2. f.	נִכְשְׁנָה	נָכְלָנָה	נָתְנָה	הִנְכִּישְׁנָה	הָנִיחְנָה
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִכְשׁ	יָכַל	יָתַן	יִנְכֹּשׁ	יִנְיֹחַ*
	3. f.	יִכְשֶׁה	יָכַלְהָ	יָתְנָה	etc.	יִנְיֹחֶהּ
	2. m.	יִכְשֶׁה	יָכַלְהוּ	יָתְנוּ	יִנְיֹחֶהּ	יִנְיֹחֶהּ
	2. f.	יִכְשֶׁי	יָכַלְהִי	יָתְנִי	יִנְיֹחֶהּ	יִנְיֹחֶהּ
	1. c.	אִכְשׁ	אָכַל	אָתַן	אִנְיֹחֶהּ	אִנְיֹחֶהּ
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִכְשׁוּ	יָכַלוּ	יָתְנוּ	regu- lar.	יִנְיֹחוּ
	3. f.	יִכְשְׁנָה	יָכַלְנָה	יָתְנָה		יִנְיֹחְנָה
	2. m.	יִכְשְׁוּ	יָכַלוּ	יָתְנוּ		יִנְיֹחוּ
	2. f.	יִכְשְׁנָה	יָכַלְנָה	יָתְנָה		יִנְיֹחְנָה
	1. c.	נִכְשׁ	נָכַל	נָתַן		נִנְיֹחַ
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>						נִכְשׁ*
<i>PART. act.</i>		נִכְשׁ	נָכַל	נָתַן	נִכְשׁ*	נִנְיֹחַ*
<i>pass.</i>		נִכְשׁוּ	—	נָתְנוּ		נִנְיֹחוּ*

	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hōph'il.</i>
<i>PERF.</i>	אָכַל	נִאָכַל*	הִאָכַל*	הֻאָכַל*

As the Verb *Pe Guttural*, Paradigm D.

<i>INF</i>		אָכַל*	הִאָכַל	הִאָכַל	הֻאָכַל
<i>INF. absol.</i>		אָכֹל	הִאָכֹל	wanting	wanting
<i>IMP Sing.</i>	2. m.	אָכַל*	הִאָכַל	הִאָכַל	
	2. f.	אָכְלִי	etc.	etc.	
<i>Plur.</i>	2. m.	אָכְלוּ			wanting
	2. f.	אָכְלֶנָּה			
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יֹאכַל* (in P. יֹאכֵל)	יֹאכֵל*	יִיאַכֵּל*	יֻאֶכֶל*
	3. f.	תֹּאכַל	etc.	etc.	etc.
	2. m.	תֹּאכַל			
	2. f.	תֹּאכְלִי			
	1. c.	אָכַל*			
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יֹאכְלוּ			
	3. f.	תֹּאכְלֶנָּה			
	2. m.	תֹּאכְלוּ			
	2. f.	תֹּאכְלֶנָּה			
	1. c.	נֹאכַל			
<i>IMPF. with Wāw</i> } <i>consecutive.</i>		יֹאכַל*, יֹאמַר*			
<i>PART. act.</i>		אֹכֵל	נֹאכֵל	מִיאָכֵל	
<i>pass.</i>		אָכֹל			מֻאָכֵל

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal</i>
<i>PERF. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יָשַׁב	*נִשְׁבַּח
3. <i>f.</i>		*נִשְׁבְּחָה
2. <i>m.</i>		נִשְׁבַּחְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	regular	נִשְׁבַּחְתְּ
1. <i>c.</i>		נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>		נִשְׁבְּחוּ
2. <i>m.</i>		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>		נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ
<i>INF</i>	יָסַד, *שָׁבַח	*הִשְׁבִּיחַ
<i>INF absol.</i>	יָשׁוּב	wanting
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	*שֵׁב	*יִרְשׁ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁבִי	יִרְשִׁי
<i>Plur.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁבוּ	יִרְשׁוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁבְנָה	יִרְשְׁנָה
<i>IMPF Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	*יֹשֵׁב	*יֹרֵשׁ
3. <i>f.</i>	תֹּשֵׁב	תִּירֶשׁ
2. <i>m.</i>	תֹּשֵׁב	תִּירֶשׁ
2. <i>f.</i>	תֹּשְׁבִי	תִּירְשִׁי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֹשֵׁב	אִירֶשׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יֹשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תֹּשְׁבָנָה	תִּירְשְׁנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תֹּשְׁבוּ	תִירְשׁוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תֹּשְׁבָנָה	תִּירְשְׁנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נֹשֵׁב	נִירֶשׁ
<i>IMPF shortened (Jussive).</i>		
<i>IMPF with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיֹּשֵׁב	
<i>PART. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	*נֹשֵׁב
<i>pass</i>	יֹשׁוּב	

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hôph'al.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשִׁיב	יָשַׁב	הוֹשִׁיב*
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה		הוֹשִׁיבָה
הוֹשִׁיבִית	הוֹשִׁיבִית		הוֹשִׁיבִית
הוֹשִׁיבִית	הוֹשִׁיבִית		הוֹשִׁיבִית
הוֹשִׁיבִיתִי	הוֹשִׁיבִיתִי	regular.	הוֹשִׁיבִיתִי
הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי		הוֹשִׁיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבָם	הוֹשִׁיבָם		הוֹשִׁיבָם
הוֹשִׁיבָתָן	הוֹשִׁיבָתָן		הוֹשִׁיבָתָן
הוֹשִׁיבֵנו	הוֹשִׁיבֵנו		הוֹשִׁיבֵנו
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשִׁיב*	יָשַׁב	הוֹשִׁיב*
הוֹשִׁב*		יָשׁוּב	הוֹשִׁב*
הוֹשִׁב		יָשַׁב	הוֹשִׁב
הוֹשִׁיבִי		יָשׁוּבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבִי	wanting	יָשׁוּבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבָה		יָשׁוּבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשִׁיב	יָשַׁב*	הוֹשִׁיב*
הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב
הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב
הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי
הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב
הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה
הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי	הוֹשִׁיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה
הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב
הוֹשִׁיב*			הוֹשִׁיב
הוֹשִׁיב*		הוֹשִׁיב, הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב
הוֹשִׁיב*		יָשַׁב	הוֹשִׁיב
	הוֹשִׁיב*	יָשׁוּב	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
PERF.	S. 3. m.	בָּשׂ* מָחַ* קָם*	נָקַם*	הִקֵּם*	הוּקַם*
	3. f.	בָּשָׂה* מָחָה* קָמָה*	נָקְמָה*	הִקְמָה*	הוּקְמָה*
	2. m.	בָּשַׁת* מָחַת* קָמַח*	נָקַמְוֹת*	הִקְמִימוֹת*	הוּקְמִימוֹת*
	2. f.	בָּשְׁתָּ* מָחַתְּ* קָמַחְתְּ*	נָקַמְוֹתְךָ*	הִקְמִימוֹתְךָ*	הוּקְמִימוֹתְךָ*
	1. c.	בָּשְׁתִּי* מָחַתִּי* קָמַחְתִּי*	נָקַמְוֹתַי*	הִקְמִימוֹתַי*	הוּקְמִימוֹתַי*
Plur.	3. c.	בָּשׂוּ* מָחוּ* קָמוּ*	נָקְמוּ*	הִקְיִמוּ*	הוּקְמוּ*
	2. m.	בָּשְׁתֶּם* מָחַתֶּם* קָמַתֶּם*	נָקַמְוֹתֶם*	הִקְמִימוֹתֶם*	הוּקְמִימוֹתֶם*
	2. f.	בָּשְׁתֶּן* מָחַתֶּן* קָמַתֶּן*	נָקַמְוֹתֶיךָ*	הִקְמִימוֹתֶיךָ*	הוּקְמִימוֹתֶיךָ*
	1. c.	בָּשְׁנוּ* מָחַנוּ* קָמְנוּ*	נָקַמְוֹנֵנוּ*	הִקְמִימוֹנֵנוּ*	הוּקְמִימוֹנֵנוּ*
INF.		קוֹם*	הִקּוֹם*	הִקְיֵם*	הוּקֵם*
INF. absol.		קוֹם*	הִקּוֹם*	הִקְיֵם*	
IMP.	S. 2. m.	קוֹם*	הִקּוֹם*	הִקְיֵם*	
	2. f.	קוֹמִי*	הִקְיִמִי*	הִקְיִמִי*	
Pl.	2. m.	קוּמוּ	הִקְיִמוּ	הִקְיִמוּ	wanting
	2. f.	קוּמְנָה*	הִקְיִמְנָה	הִקְיִמְנָה	
IMPF.	S. 3. m.	יִקּוֹם*	יִקּוֹם*	יִקְיֵם*	יִקּוֹם*
	3. f.	תִּקּוֹם	תִּקּוֹם	תִּקְיֵם	תִּקּוֹם
	2. m.	תִּקּוֹם	etc.	תִּקְיֵם	תִּקּוֹם
	2. f.	תִּקְוִי*	תִּקְוִי*	תִּקְיִמִי*	תִּקְוִי*
	1. c.	אִקּוֹם	אִקּוֹם	אִקְיֵם	אִקּוֹם
Plur.	3. m.	יִקְוּמוּ	יִקְוּמוּ	יִקְיִמוּ	יִקְוּמוּ
	3. f.	תִּקְוִימְנָה*	תִּקְוִימְנָה	תִּקְיִמְנָה*	תִּקְוִימְנָה
	2. m.	תִּקְוִימוּ	תִּקְוִימוּ	תִּקְיִמוּ	תִּקְוִימוּ
	2. f.	תִּקְוִימְנָה	תִּקְוִימְנָה	תִּקְיִמְנָה	תִּקְוִימְנָה
	1. c.	נִקּוֹם	נִקּוֹם	נִקְיֵם	נִקּוֹם
IMPF. shortened.		יִקֵּם		יִקֵּם*	
IMPF. with consec.		וַיִּקֵּם, וַיִּקְיֵם*		וַיִּקֵּם*	
IMPF with Suff.		יִקְוִימִי*		יִקְוִימִי*	
PART. act.		קוֹם*	בָּשׂ	נָקַם*	מִיִּקֵּם*
pass.		קוֹיֵם*			מִיִּקְוֵם*

<i>Prlēl.</i>	<i>Pā'lāl.</i>	<i>Qāl.</i>		<i>Niphāl.</i>
*קוּמִים	*קוּמִים	*פָּן	*פִּין	*נָבוֹן
קוּמְמָה	קוּמְמָה	*פָּנָה	*פִּינָה	נְבוּנָה
קוּמְמָת	קוּמְמָת	*פָּנָת	*פִּינָת	נְבוּנָת
קוּמְמִית	קוּמְמִית	פָּנָת	פִּינָת	נְבוּנֹת
קוּמְמִיתִי	קוּמְמִיתִי	פָּנָתִי	פִּינָתִי	נְבוּנֹתִי
קוּמְמִי	קוּמְמִי	פָּנָה	פִּינָה	נְבוּנִי
קוּמְמִיתִם	קוּמְמִיתִם	פָּנָתִם	פִּינָתִם	נְבוּנֹתִם
קוּמְמִיתָן	קוּמְמִיתָן	פָּנָתְךָ	פִּינָתְךָ	נְבוּנֹתְךָ
קוּמְמִינִי	קוּמְמִינִי	פָּנָה	פִּינָה	נְבוּנִינִי
קוּמִים			*פִּין	הַבּוֹן
			*פָּן	הַבּוֹן
קוּמִים	wanting		*פִּין	הַבּוֹן
קוּמְמִי			פִּינִי	as
קוּמְמִי			פִּינִי	הַקּוֹם
קוּמְמִינָה				
*קוּמִים	*קוּמִים		*פִּין	יָבוֹן
תְּקוּמִים	תְּקוּמִים		תְּפִין	as
תְּקוּמִים	תְּקוּמִים		תְּפִין	יָקוֹם
תְּקוּמִי	תְּקוּמִי		תְּפִינִי	
אֲקוּמִים	אֲקוּמִים		אֲפִין	
יְקוּמִי	יְקוּמִי		יְפִינִי	
תְּקוּמְמָנָה	תְּקוּמְמָנָה		*תְּפִינָה	
תְּקוּמְמִי	תְּקוּמְמִי		תְּפִינִי	
תְּקוּמְמָנָה	תְּקוּמְמָנָה		תְּפִינָה	
נְקוּמִים	נְקוּמִים		נְפִין	
			*פִּין	
			*יָפִין	
			*פִּינִי	
מְקוּמִים	מְקוּמִים		*פָּן	נָבוֹן
			*פָּן	

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Pr'el.
<i>PERF Sing.</i> 3. m.	מָצָא*	מָצָא	מָצָא
3. f.	מָצְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	מָצְאָה
2. m.	מָצָאתָ*	נִמְצָאתָ*	מָצָאתָ*
2. f.	מָצָאתְ	נִמְצָאתְ	מָצָאתְ
1. c.	מָצָאתִי	נִמְצָאתִי	מָצָאתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	מָצְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
2. m.	מָצַאתֶם	נִמְצַאתֶם	מָצַאתֶם
2. f.	מָצַאתֶן	נִמְצַאתֶן	מָצַאתֶן
1. c.	מָצַאתִי	נִמְצַאתִי	מָצַאתִי
<i>INF</i>	מֵצֵא	הִמְצֵא	מֵצֵא
<i>INF. absol.</i>	מֵצֹא	נִמְצֵא	מֵצֵא
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. m.	מָצֵא*	הִמְצֵא	מֵצֵא
2. f.	מֵצְאִי	הִמְצְאִי	מֵצְאִי
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	מֵצְאוּ	הִמְצְאוּ	מֵצְאוּ
2. f.	מֵצְאֶנָּה*	הִמְצְאֶנָּה	מֵצְאֶנָּה*
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִמְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא
3. f.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא
2. m.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא
2. f.	תִּמְצְאִי	תִּמְצְאִי	תִּמְצְאִי
1. c.	אֶמְצֵא	אֶמְצֵא	אֶמְצֵא
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ
3. f.	תִּמְצְאֶנָּה*	תִּמְצְאֶנָּה*	תִּמְצְאֶנָּה*
2. m.	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ
2. f.	תִּמְצְאֶנָּה	תִּמְצְאֶנָּה	תִּמְצְאֶנָּה
1. c.	נִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
<i>IMPF shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>IMPF with Suff.</i>	יִמְצְאֵנִי		יִמְצְאֵנִי
<i>PART. act.</i>	מֵצֵא	נִמְצֵא	מִמְצֵא
<i>pass.</i>	מֵצִינָה		

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	גָּלָה*	נִגְלָה*	גָּלָה*
3. <i>f.</i>	גָּלְתָה*	נִגְלְתָה*	גָּלְתָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	גָּלִיתָ*	נִגְלִיתָ* (— יָת)	גָּלִיתָ* (גָּלִיתָ)
2. <i>f.</i>	גָּלִית	נִגְלִית	גָּלִית*
1. <i>c.</i>	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלִיתִי	גָּלִיתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	גָּלוּ*	נִגְלוּ	גָּלוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	גָּלִיתֶם	נִגְלִיתֶם	גָּלִיתֶם
2. <i>f.</i>	גָּלִיתֶן	נִגְלִיתֶן	גָּלִיתֶן
1. <i>c.</i>	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גָּלִינוּ
<i>INF.</i>	גָּלוֹת*	הִגְלוֹת*	גָּלוֹת*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה	גָּלָה, גָּלָה
<i>IMP Sing. 2. m.</i>	גָּלָה*	הִגְלָה*	גָּלָה*
2. <i>f.</i>	גָּלִי*	הִגְלִי*	גָּלִי*
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	גָּלוּ	הִגְלוּ	גָּלוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	גָּלִינָה*	הִגְלִינָה*	גָּלִינָה*
<i>IMPF Sing. 3. m.</i>	יִגְלָה*	יִגְלָה*	יִגְלָה*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּגְלָה	תִּגְלָה	תִּגְלָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּגְלָה	תִּגְלָה	תִּגְלָה
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּגְלִי*	תִּגְלִי*	תִּגְלִי*
1. <i>c.</i>	אִגְלָה	אִגְלָה	אִגְלָה
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּגְלִינָה*	תִּגְלִינָה*	תִּגְלִינָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִגְלָה	נִגְלָה	נִגְלָה
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>	יִגַּל*	יִגַּל*	יִגַּל*
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִגְלֶנִי*		יִגְלֶנִי*
<i>PART. act.</i>	פֹּלֵה*	נִגְלֶה*	מִגְלֶה*
<i>pass.</i>	פְּלוּי*		

XXVIII Q. NOUNS WITH THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES. § 91.

Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.

Singular.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוס	a horse	סוּסָה	a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוס	horse-of.	סוּסָה	mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי	my horse.	סוּסָתִי	my mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסְךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסְךָ	thy horse	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסָו	his horse.	סוּסָהוּ	his mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסָהּ	her horse.	סוּסָתָהּ	her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horse.	סוּסָתֵינוּ	our mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horse.	סוּסָתֵכֶם	your mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horse.	סוּסָתֵכֶן	your mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horse.	סוּסָתֵיהֶם	their mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horse.	סוּסָתֵיהֶן	their mare.

Plural.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוסים	horses.	סוּסוֹת	mares.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוּסֵי	horses-of.	סוּסוֹת	mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵי	my horses.	סוּסוֹתִי	my mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיו	his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו	his mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהָ	her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ	her mares.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ	our mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם	your mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן	your mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם	their mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן	their mares.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.						
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פָּעַל (work)
" <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פָּעַל
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סֵפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נִצְחִי	פַּעְלִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֶּכֶם	סִפְרֶכֶם	קִדְשֶׁכֶם	נַעְרֶכֶם	נִצְחֶכֶם	פַּעְלֶכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכִּים	סִפְרִים	קִדְשִׁים	נַעְרִים	נִצְחִים	פַּעְלִים
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קִדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נִצְחֵי	פַּעְלֵי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קִדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נִצְחֵי	פַּעְלֵי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קִדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעְרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	פַּעְלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רַגְלַיִם (feet)	קַפְצָּיִם (double pile)	מְתָנִים (loins)	נַעְלָיִם (sandals)		שְׁנֵי (noon, prop. 2 lights)
" <i>constr.</i>	רַגְלֵי		מְתָנֵי	נַעְלֵי		

I.							
	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מָוֶת (death)	זֵית (olive)	שׁוֹט (scourge)	פֵּרִי (fruit)	יָם (sea)	אִם (mother)	חֹק (law)
" <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֹק
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֵּרִי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פֵּרִיכֶם	יָמֶיכֶם	אִמְכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מָוֶתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	נְדָוִי (kids)	יָמִים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
" <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי		יָמֵי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי		יָמֵי	אִמּוֹתֵי	חֻקֵּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>		עֵינַיִם (eyes)	יּוֹמִים (two days)	לְחָיִים (cheeks)	כַּפַּיִם (hands)	שִׁנָּיִם (teeth)	
" <i>constr.</i>		עֵינָי		לְחָנָי	כַּפָּי	שִׁנָּי	

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	חָכֵם (word)	חָכֵם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כָּתֹף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>constr.</i>	דָּבָר	חֵכֶם	זָקֵן	כָּתֹף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי	כְּתָפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֶכֶם	חֲכָמֶכֶם				שָׂדֶכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	[שָׂדִים]
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצָרִי	שָׂדִי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצָרִי	שָׂדִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חֲכָמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִים (thighs)	יָרֵכִים (loins)			
„ <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפֵי					

III.

IV.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אֹיֵב (enemy)	חֹזֶה (prophet)	שָׂקִיד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כָּתֹב (writing)
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה	שָׂקִיד	עָנִי	כָּתֹב
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	שָׂקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵכֶם	שָׂקִידְכֶם		כָּתְבְּכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים	שָׂקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	כָּתְבִים
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	שָׂקִידִי	עָנִיִּי	כָּתְבִי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	שָׂקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	שָׂקִידֵיכֶם	עָנֵיכֶם	כָּתְבֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מִלְּקָחַיִם (tongs)	מֵאֲזָנַיִם (balance)		שְׁבָעִים (fortnight)		
„ <i>constr.</i>		מֵאֲזָנִי				

Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מַלְכָּה (queen)	חֲרָפָה (reproach)	חֲרָבָה (waste)	חֻקָּה (law)	גְּבֵרָת (mistress)
<i>" constr.</i>	מַלְכָּת	חֲרָפַת	חֲרָבַת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֵרַת
<i>" with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חֲרָפָתִי	חֲרָבָתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבֵרָתִי
<i>" with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתֵנּוּ	חֲרָפָתֵנּוּ	חֲרָבָתֵנּוּ	חֻקָּתֵנּוּ	גְּבֵרָתֵנּוּ
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
<i>" constr.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
<i>" with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתֵי	חֲרָפוֹתֵי	חֲרָבוֹתֵי	חֻקּוֹתֵי	
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רַקְמָתַיִם (double embroidery)			מַצְלָתַיִם (cymbals)

II.

III.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	צֶדֶקָה (justice)	זַעֲקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יֹזֶמֶקַת (sprout)	גִּלְגָּלַת (skull)
<i>" constr.</i>	צֶדֶקַת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יֹזֶמֶקַת	גִּלְגָּלַת
<i>" with light suff.</i>	צֶדֶקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יֹזֶמֶקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלָתִי
<i>" with grave suff.</i>	צֶדֶקָתֵנּוּ	זַעֲקָתֵנּוּ	שָׁנָתֵנּוּ	יֹזֶמֶקָתֵנּוּ	גִּלְגָּלָתֵנּוּ
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	צֶדֶקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	[יֹזֶמֶקוֹת]	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
<i>" constr.</i>	צֶדֶקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יֹזֶמֶקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
<i>" with suff.</i>	צֶדֶקוֹתֵי		שָׁנוֹתֵי	יֹזֶמֶקוֹתֵי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתֵי
<i>Dual absol.</i>			שְׁפָתַיִם (lips)		[נַחֲשָׁתַיִם] (pair of fetters)
<i>" constr.</i>			שְׁפָתַי		

NUMERALS. §§ 97, 98.

*With the Masculine.**With the Feminine.*

	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתֵּי	שְׁתֵּי
3	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלוֹשׁ	שְׁלוֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
6.	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶה
9.	תֵּשְׁעָה	תֵּשְׁעַת	תֵּשַׁע	תֵּשַׁע
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשֶׂר	עֶשֶׂר

*Masc.**Fem.*

11	{ אֶחָד עֶשֶׂר עֶשְׁתֵּי עֶשֶׂר	אֶחָת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	{ שְׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר	שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשֶׂר	שְׁלוֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

100	מֵאָה <i>fem., constr.</i> מֵאָה, <i>plur.</i> מֵאוֹת <i>hundreds.</i>
200	מֵאוֹתַיִם <i>dual</i> (for מֵאוֹתִים).
300	שְׁלוֹשׁ מֵאוֹת.
400	אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת etc.
1000	אַלְפָּה <i>masc., plur.</i> אֲלָפִים <i>thousands.</i>
2000	אֲלָפִים <i>(dual)</i> .
3000	שְׁלֹשָׁה אֲלָפִים.
4000	אַרְבָּעַת אֲלָפִים, etc.
10000	{ רִבְבָּה but, in later books; רַבּוּ, רַבּוּ <i>pl.</i> רַבּוֹת.
20000	שְׁתֵּי רַבּוֹת <i>(dual)</i> , also רַבּוֹתִים.
40000	אַרְבַּע רַבּוּ, etc.
60000	שִׁשְׁרַבּוֹת Ezra 2. 69.

a) ל with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. לי <i>to me.</i>	לָנוּ <i>to us.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ לָךְ, (לְכָה), in pause } לְךָ \\ f. \text{ לְךָ} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{to} \\ \text{thee.} \end{array}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{לָכֶם,} \\ \text{לְכֶנָּה [לְכֶנָּה]} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{to you.} \end{array}$
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ לוֹ } \text{to him.} \\ f. \text{ לָהּ } \text{to her.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{לָהֶם, לְהֶמָּה, poet. לָמֹוּ.} \\ \text{לָהֶנָּה לְהֶנָּה} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{to them.} \end{array}$

ל takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּהֶם, בָּם, בְּהֶמָּה, fem. בָּהֶן or בְּהֶן, בְּהֶנָּה, בְּהֶנָּה.

b) כ with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. כִּמְוִנִי ⁴ <i>as I.</i>	כִּמְוִנֵינוּ <i>as we.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ כִּמְוִיָּה} \\ f. \text{ —} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{as thou.} \end{array}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{כָּכֶם, seldom כְּכֶם} \\ \text{— — —} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{as ye.} \end{array}$
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ כִּמְוִהוּ } \text{as he.} \\ f. \text{ כִּמְוִיהָ } \text{as she.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{כָּהֶם [כְּהֶמָּה] כְּהֶמָּה} \\ \text{כָּהֶן, כְּהֶנָּה} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{as they.} \end{array}$

c) מן with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מִנִּי <i>from me.</i>	מִמֶּנּוּ <i>from us.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ מִמֶּךָ, in p. מִמֶּךָ } \\ f. \text{ מִמֶּךָ } \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{from thee.} \end{array}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{מִכֶּם} \\ \text{מִכֶּן} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{from you.} \end{array}$
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ מִמֶּנּוּ, poet. in pause מִנּוּ,} \\ \text{מִנּוּ } \text{from him.} \\ f. \text{ מִמֶּנָּה } \text{from her.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{מִנֶּחֶם, poet. מִנְּהֶם,} \\ \text{מִנְּהֶם} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{from.} \\ \text{them.} \end{array}$

¹ לְכֶנָּה happens not to occur in the Old Testament.

² See Note ² on p. 261.

³ Not לְכֶנָּה, which signifies *therefore*.

⁴ The use of כִּי for כִּי here is simply for euphony.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.

1. The Hebrew tongue is only a single branch of a great family of languages in western Asia, which was native in Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria and Arabia; that is, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean sea to beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. But in very early antiquity, this family of languages had spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and, through Phœnician colonies, over several of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and particularly over the whole Carthaginian coast. There is no ancient collective name for the nations and languages of this family. We have, however, retained the now generally received names *Shemites*, *Semitic languages*, borrowed from the fact that nearly all the nations, who spoke these languages, were descended from Shem (see Gen. 10, 21—29)¹.

2. From this Semitic family have proceeded four principal branches. I. The South Semitic or *Arabic*, both the classic and modern (vulgar). To this belongs the Ethiopic

¹ From Shem proceeded (Gen. ch. 10) the Aramæan and Arab tribes, as well as the Hebrews; but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), who are referred to Ham (vs. 6, 15—18); though their language belongs decidedly to those called Semitic. Among the Shemites are reckoned also (compare Genesis 10: 22) Assyrians, whose language, after long uncertainty, has now been proved Semitic.

(in Abyssinia), as an offshoot of the older South-Arabic (Himyaritic).¹ II. The Middle Semitic, or *Canaanitic*. The *Hebrew*, with which the *Canaanitic* and *Phœnician* (Punic) nearly coincide, holds a position, both in its character and geographically, about midway between the Arabic and the Aramæan. III. The North Semitic or *Aramæan*. This is subdivided into 1) the Eastern Aramæan or *Syriac* (the literary language of the Christian Syrians) of which the religious books of the *Mandæans*² (Nasoræans, Sabians, the so-called disciples of John) are in a degraded dialect. A Jewish modification of the Syriac is exhibited in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. 2) The Western or Palestinian Aramæan (inaccurately called Chaldee). This dialect is represented, in the Old Testament, by two words in Genesis 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and by the passages: Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezra 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26. But principally in Jewish literature such as the Targums, the Palestine Gemara, etc. To the same branch belongs the *Samaritan* with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and also the idiom of the *Nabatean*³ inscriptions, in the east of Palestine and the region of Sinai. IV. As a distinct and fourth chief-branch, the East Semitic, we may regard the *Assyrian-Babylonian* Cuneiform (3^d class of so-called Achæmenide) Inscriptions.⁴

¹ On the Himyaritic Inscriptions, see *Rodiger's* Excursus to Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien* (Halle, 1842) Bd. II, *Ewald* in *Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* Bd. V, and in *Hufer's* *Zeitsch.*, Bd. I, *M. A. Levy* and *Osiander* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. X, XIX, XX, XXIV, *Prætorius*, *ibid.* Bd. XXVI.

² See *Noldeke* *uber d. Mundart d. Mandæer*, Göttingen, 1863. 4to. He traces the name, *Sabians*, to the root $\text{š} \text{b} \text{}$, *to dip*; comp. *Am. Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1851, p. 563.

³ Yet the names found in these inscriptions are rather Arabic: see *Tuch* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. III, S. 129 ff., *M. A. Levy* *ibid.*, Bd. XIV, S. 363 ff., *Blau* *ibid.*, Bd. XVI, S. 331 ff., *E. Meier* *ibid.* Bd. XVII, S. 575 ff., *de Vogüé* in *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, IX, 1864, p. 284—288, and his *Syrie centrale*, Paris, 1868, p. 89 ff.

⁴ The deciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform writing has been chiefly advanced by *Ed. Hincks*, *Jul. Oppert* and *Eberh. Schrader* after the example of *Racine's* first attempts; see *Oppert's* *Eléments de la gramm. assyrienne*, 2^e édition, Paris, 1868; *Olshausen's* *Prüfung des Charakters der in den assyrischen Keilschriften enthaltenen semitischen Sprache*, in den *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akademie*, 1864; *Joach.*

If the above division into four branches were reduced to two principal groups, No. I as the South Semitic would stand in contradistinction to the other three branches as the North Semitic.

All these languages are related to each other in much the same manner as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old-Norse, Danish, Swedish; high and low German, in the earlier and later dialects): or as those of the Slavic tongues (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old-Slavic, Servian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as is the case with the Phœnician and the Assyrian, or they exist only in a debased and dwindling form, as the modern Syriac among the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan¹, the Ethiopic (called *Gheez*) in the modern Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Amharic), and as the Hebrew, among a part of the modern Jews, though the latter in their writings often aim at the reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. The Arabic alone, in a form but slightly altered, has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but also penetrated in all directions into the domains of other tongues.

The Semitic class of languages is bordered, on the east and north, by another of still wider extent, which has spread itself from India into the west of Europe, and which is called the *Indo-Germanic* (also called *Arian*), as it comprehends, under the most varied forms, the Indian (Sanskrit), ancient and modern Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic with the other Germanic languages and the Celtic. With the Old-Egyptian language, the offspring of which is the Coptic, the Semitic has had, from earliest antiquity, much in common; but also much of fundamental difference.² The Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartar and other languages, exhibit a radically different character from the Semitic.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic stock, as compared with that of other languages, particularly the Indo-Germanic, exhibits many peculiarities, which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. Thus we find: a) among

Ménant, Exposé des Elements de la Gramm. Assyr., Paris, 1868; *Schrader's* valuable articles on the Assyrian Inscriptions and Language, in the Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. XXIII (1869), pp. 337—74, also Bd. XXVI (1872), pp. 1—392.

¹ See *Rödiger* in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. II., S. 77 ff., *Stoddard's* Gramm. of the Modern Syriac Language, London, 1854, *Nöldeke's* Gramm. der neusyrischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1868.

² For comparisons of the Egyptian and Semitic, see *Gesenius* in d. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1839, No. 77 ff., 1841, No. 40, and in his Thes. Ling. Hebrææ; *Schwarz* in his Altes Aegypten and in *Bunsen's* Aegypten, I, S. 520 ff.; *Ewald* in Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissen., Bd. IX, 1860, S. 157 ff.; *Birch* in the new ed. of *Bunsen's* Egypt., Vol. II; *Brugsch's* Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterbuch, and others.

the consonants which, in general, form the pith and substance of these languages, many gutturals of different gradations; the vowels proceeding all from the three primary sounds (*a, i, u*), and serving to mark more subordinate distinctions: *b*) word-stems, generally consisting of three consonants: *c*) in the Verb, only two tense-forms, each having a peculiarly marked out usage; and a pervading regularity in the formation of verbals: *d*) in the Noun, only two genders (masc. and fem.), and a peculiar indication of case: *e*) in the Pronoun, the oblique cases indicated by appended forms (*suffixa*): *f*) scarcely any compounds, either in the Noun (except many proper names) or in the Verb: *g*) in the Syntax, a great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations (small number of particles, prevalence of simple succession of clauses without periodic structure) to which, however, the classic Arabic furnishes a not unimportant exception.

4. In respect to the *Lexicon* also, the Semitic store of words differs essentially from the Indo-Germanic; though there is here apparently more agreement than in grammatical structure. Very many stems and roots¹ are coincident in sound with those of the Indo-Germanic class. But aside from expressions directly borrowed (see next p.), the actual similarity restricts itself, partly to words imitating² natural sounds (*onomatopoetica*), partly to those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither of these establishes any *historical* (gentilic) relationship; to the direct proof of which, the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.³

As examples of *onomatopoetic* stems, imitating² the same natural

¹ See the distinction between *stems* and *roots* in § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—*Tr.*

² Hence words of this sort are aptly called *mimetic* (or *onomatopoetic*) and the curious student can find them generally indicated and compared in the Hebrew Lexicon, e. g. under נָחַם, נָחַם, נָחַם.—*Tr.*

³ The earlier empirical comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues were of no scientific value. The later attempts of *Rud. von Baumer*, *Ascoli* and others to solve the question, are partly not yet carried out and partly self-contradictory; so that there is altogether need of still farther thorough investigations. *Ewald* gives a survey of the whole subject in the

sound, we may class together the following: לִּיץ, לִיץ, λείχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, F. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*, Eng. *to lick*, and Erse *lighim* = Welsh *lhyvi*¹; לָנֵץ, (kindr. לָנֵץ, לָנֵץ), ἀέλλω, ἀλλω, σὺλλω, *volvo*, Welsh *olwyn* = E. *wheel*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, and Eng. *to well*; חָרַץ, חָרַץ, χαράττω, Pers. *kharīdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Germ. *kratzen*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, and Welsh *carthu*, *cravi*; פָּרַץ, *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, Eng. *to break*, Armoric *frika* = Welsh *briwo*, &c. An example of another kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the signification *with*, *together*; e. g. in Heb. אָמַם (hence אָמַם people, prop. assemblage), צָם *together-with*, נָצַם (hence נָצַם also), Arab. جَمَعَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hama* (at once), Sans. *amā* (*with*); Gr. ἄμα (ἄμφω), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (ὁμιλος, ὁμαδος), and harder in sound, κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, Welsh *cym* = Lat. *com*, and with the corresponding sibilant, Sans. *sam*. सून, ξून, ξυνός = κοινός. Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samint*, *sammeln*: though doubts may still be felt in regard to several of the instances quoted.

Essentially different from such internal relationship, are the adoption and naturalisation of single words from one language into another (borrowed words). Thus,

a) When Indian, Egyptian, Persian objects are called in the Hebrew by their native names: e. g. יָאֵר (Egypt, *ior*, *iero*, *iare*) river, Nile; אֶרֶב (Egypt. *ake*) Nile-grass, פָּרִידֶז (old Pers. *pairidēz* = *παράδεισος*) park; דָּרִיץ *daric*, Persian gold-coin, חֲבִיִּים, from the Sanscr. *chikhi* Malabar *togāi*, peacocks. Several of them are found also in Greek, as כֵּיף (Sans. *kapi*) ape, ἀῖπος, κῆπος; כָּרְפַס (Sans. *karpāsa*) cotton, κάρπασος, *carbasus*.

b) When Semitic words, names of Asiatic products and articles of traffic, have passed over to the Greeks along with the things: e. g. בִּיץ בִּיץ, *byssus*; לִבְנָה λιβανωτός (frankincense); קָנֶה קָנֶה, *canna*, *cane*; כִּמְוִן כִּמְוִן, *cuminum*, *cumin*; מֵר מֵר, *myrrha*, *myrrh*; קַצְיָה קַצְיָה, *cassia*; גִּמְלִי גִמְלִי, *camelus*, *camel*; אֲרָחָבֹן, *arrhabon*, *arrha*, pledge. Such transitions would be facilitated, especially, by the commerce of the Phœnicians.

5. As the writing of a language is never so perfect as to express all its various shades of sound, so the *writing of the* *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1862, Bd. X, S. 1—80. This at least appears certain, viz. that these two families *do not stand in a sisterly or any close relationship to each other*.

¹ That the *Keltic* dialects (not unlike the Semitic in their relation to each other), namely Welsh, Cornish, Armoric (or Breton); Galic, Erse; and Manks, belong to the Indo-Germanic family has been abundantly proved by Dr. *Fritchard* in his *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, and by *Pictet* in his *Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; see also the *Grammatica Celtica* of *Zeuss* and *Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica*.—*Tr.*

Shemites has decidedly one very remarkable imperfection; viz. that only the consonants (which indeed constitute the pith and substance of the language) were marked down in the line as real letters; whilst, of the vowel-sounds, only the fuller ones, and even these not always, were represented by certain consonants (§ 7). Not till a later period were all the vowel-sounds indicated to the eye, by attaching to the consonants (§ 8) particular small signs (points, or strokes, below and above them); which however, for more practised readers, are wholly omitted. The letters are always written, moreover, from right to left¹.—Dissimilar as the different Semitic characters may appear, they yet all proceed, by various tendencies and modifications, from one and the same original alphabet, of which the truest type among all the existing varieties of alphabetic writing, is preserved in *old Phœnician*, with which the *Early Hebrew* was nearly identical (§ 5, 1), and from which came also the old Greek, and through it all the European alphabets.

See the Table at the beginning of this Grammar, showing the relation of some of the older Semitic Alphabets to each other, and specially the origin of the present Heb. characters from the older forms. For a more detailed view of the Phœnician alphabet, and of those which have proceeded from it, see *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia* (Lipsiæ, 1837, 4) p. 15. ff. and Tab. 1—5, and his article *Palæographie*, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*, Sect. III, Bd. 9. Of late years, the discovery of numerous monuments has considerably extended and rectified our knowledge of the Semitic alphabet; see *Schröder's Phœnizische Sprache*, 1869, S. 75 ff.; *de Vogüé's* tables in Vol. XI of the *Revue Archéol.* (Paris 1865) and his *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1868); *Lenormant*, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phœnicien dans l'ancien Monde*. Tome I (2d ed. Paris 1875) and the appendix to *Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's Grundriss der hebr. Sprache* (Leipz. 1877).

✱

¹ The Himyaritic writing runs usually from left to right, but at times also from right to left, and even both ways by turns. The Ethiopic is now written from left to right. But this is perhaps in consequence of Greek influence; but a few ancient inscriptions still exhibit the contrary direction. See *Rodiger in the Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, Bd. I, S. 332 ff. and his *Excursus to Wellstedt's Reisen in Arabien*, II, 376 ff. Also the Assyrian cuneiform writing runs from left to right, but this was borrowed from a people not Semitic.

6. In regard to the relative *age of the Semitic languages*, the oldest written works are found in the *Hebrew*, in the earlier texts of the Old Testament (§ 2); the Jewish *Aramæan* works begin about the time of Cyrus (in the book of Ezra); those of the *Arabic* branch not earlier than in the first centuries of the Christian era (Himyaritic inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth century, North-Arabic literature after the sixth). But it is still another question, which of these languages longest and most truly held to the original Semitic type, and therefore has come to us, in an earlier phase of its development. For the more or less rapid modification of language, in the mouth of a people or of tribes of the same people, is determined by causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature; and often, before the formation of a literature, has the organism of a language been already impaired, especially by early contact with other tongues. Thus, in the Semitic branch, the Aramæan dialects suffered the earliest and greatest decay, and next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitic and, in its own way, the Assyrian. The Arabic retained longest the natural fulness and primitive purity of its sounds and forms; remaining among the secluded tribes of the wilderness more undisturbed, in its fully stamped organism, until, in the Mohammedan revolution, it too became much impaired; and then, at so much later a period, it reached about the same stage as that in which we find the Hebrew, even as early as in the times of the Old Testament.¹

Hence the phenomenon, accounted by some so strange, that the ancient Hebrew accords more, in its grammatical structure, with the later than with the earlier Arabic; and that the latter, though first appearing as a written language at a later period, has yet, in comparison with the other Semitic tongues, preserved a structure in many respects more perfect, and greater freshness in its vowel-system; and so it holds among them a relation similar to that of the Sanskrit among the Indo-Germanic languages, or of the Gothic in the narrower circle of

¹ Among the Bedawîn of the Arabian desert, the language has still preserved many antique forms. See *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, Append. VII; his *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 211; *Wallin* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. V (1851), S. 1 ff., VI, S. 190 ff., 369 ff., XII, S. 673; *Wetzstein* in the same *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXII, S. 69 ff., 162 ff.

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the Germanic. How a language can preserve its fuller structure, amidst decaying sister tongues, is seen (e. g.) in the Lithuanian compared with the Slavic languages, properly so called. So the Doric held tenaciously to earlier sounds and forms; so the Friesic and Icelandic, among the Germanic and Norse languages. But even the most constant and enduring structure of language often suffers, in single forms and plastic tendencies, while on the contrary, in the midst of universal decline, the original and ancient is here and there still remaining. Such is the case also with the Semitic tongues. The Arabic, too, has its chasms, and its later growth; but in general, the preeminence is due to it, especially in its vowel-system.

To establish more fully these principles, and to carry them out farther, belong to a Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. But it follows from what has been said: 1) That the Hebrew language, as it appears in the ancient sacred literature of the Jews, has already suffered more considerable loss, in respect to its organic nature, than the Arabic which comes later within our historical horizon. 2) That notwithstanding this, we cannot straightway award to the latter the priority in all points. 3) That it is a mistaken view, when many regard the Aramæan, on account of its simplicity, as the original form of Semitic speech; for its simplicity was caused by the decay of its organic nature and the crumpling of its forms.

On the character, literature, grammatical and lexical treatment of the Semitic languages, see *Gesenius's* Preface to his *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. 4; *de Wette-Schrader*, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die kanon. u. apokryph. Bücher des A. T.* (8th ed. Berlin, 1869) p. 71; *F. Bleek*, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (3d ed. *Kamphausen* Berlin, 1870) p. 37; *L. Diestel*, *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche* (Jena, 1869).—Also American *Biblical Repository*, vol. III.

§ 2.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

See *Gesenius*, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, §§ 5—18. *E. Renan*, *Histoire gén. des Langues Sémitiques*, Vol. I. 4th ed. Paris, 1884. *Th. Noldeke*, art. "Sprache, hebraische" in *Schenkel's Bibellex.* Bd. V. Leipzig, 1875. *Bertheau* "Hebräische Sprache" in *Herzog's Realencyclopädie*.

1. The *Hebrew Language*, as the name is usually employed, denotes the language of the Sacred Writings of the Israelites, which constitute the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is called *ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the modern Hebrew in Jewish works, written since the Biblical period.

The name, Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית, γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί), does not occur in the Old Testament; instead of it we find *the language of Canaan* in Is. 19, 18 (from the country where it was spoken) and יְהוּדִית *Jewish* in 2 K. 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11, 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the latter passage it follows the later usage, which arose after the return from the captivity, and in which the name *Jew, Jewish*, was gradually extended to the whole nation (as in Haggai, Nehemiah and Esther).

The names *Hebrews* (עִבְרִים, Ἑβραῖοι, *Hebræi*) and *Israelites* (יִשְׂרָאֵלִים), are thus distinguished, the latter had more the import of a national name of honour, which the people used to apply to themselves, with a patriotic reference to their descent from illustrious ancestors; while the former was probably the older and less significant national name, by which they were known among foreigners, for which reason it is used in the Old Testament, specially when they are to be distinguished from other nations (Gen. 40, 15; 43, 32; Ex. 2, 7; 3, 18; Jon. 1, 9), and where persons who are not Israelites are introduced as speaking (Gen. 39, 14, 17; 41, 12: compare *Gesenius's* Hebr. Lexicon, under עִבְרִי). On the other hand, among the Greeks and Romans, e. g. in Pausanias, Tacitus, and even Josephus, it is the only customary name. As an appellation it might mean, *those beyond, people of the country on the other side* (with reference to the land beyond the Euphrates), from עֲבֵר *land on the other side*, and the formative syllable י- (§ 86, 2, 5). It might then be appropriated to the colony, which under Abraham migrated from regions east of the Euphrates into the land of Canaan (Gen. 14, 13); though the Hebrew genealogists explain it, as a patronymic, by *sons (posterity) of Eber* (Gen. 10, 21, Num. 24, 24).

In the time of the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* (ἑβραϊστί, John 5, 2, 19, 13, 17, 20; ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος Acts 21, 40, 22, 2, 26, 14) was applied also to the language (Aramaean) then vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek; and Josephus (who died about A. D. 95) uses it in this sense, as well as for the ancient Hebrew.

The name *lingua sancta* is first given to the Hebrew in the Jewish Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as the language of the sacred books, in distinction from the *lingua profana*, or the Aramaic vernacular.

2. Out of the Old Testament there are only very few monuments of ancient Hebrew writing, namely—1) an Inscription of 34 lines, which was found (unhappily much injured) in the former territory of the tribe of Reuben, about 4 leagues to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibō'n (now Dibā'n), anciently inhabited by the Gadites but afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king

Méshâ' (at the beginning of the 9th century B. C.) tells about his battles with Israel (comp. 2 K. 3, 4—27), and his various enterprises and achievements;¹—2) twenty Stones or Gems (written on for seals), but mostly presenting only names;²—3) Coins of the Maccabean prince J. Hyrcan (135 B. C.) and of his successors.³

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as they lie before us in the O. Testament, as also in the extra-Biblical monuments (see No. 2 above), the language appears to stand almost on the same stage of developement, as to its general character, and irrespective of lesser changes and differences of style (see Nos. 6 and 7 below). In this form it may have been early fixed as a literary language; and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favourable to its remarkably persistent uniformity.

To this Old Hebrew language the Canaanitic⁴ or Phœnician came

¹ This unique Memorial Stone (often called the Moabite Stone) was first seen on the spot by the German Missionary *H. A. Klein*, but was afterwards so broken into fragments by the Arabs, living thereabout, that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made out: see *Ch. Clermont-Ganneau* (Chancellor of the French Consulate in Jerusalem), *La Stèle de Mesa roi de Moab* (Paris, 1870), and his *La Stèle de Dhiban* (in the *Revue Archéol.* for March, 1870, p. 184 ff., with an improved copy); *Schlottmann's Sieges-Säule Mesa's* (Halle, 1870) and his Revision in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesell.*, Bd. XXIV (1870), S. 253 ff., 438 ff., 645 ff., Bd. XXV, 463 ff., *Nöldeke's Inschrift des Königs Mesa* (Kiel, 1870), and other treatises by *Derenbourg*, *Harkavy*, *Geiger*, *Hitzig*, *W. Wright* (in the *North British Review* for Oct. 1870), *Deutsch*, *Renan*, *Neubauer*, *Frankel*, *Kaenly*, and *Ginsburg*; see also Reports of the Palestine Exploration-Fund, London. This society has published photographs of the stone. The two largest fragments of it are deposited in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

² See *Rödiger* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd. III (1849), pp. 243 and 347; *De Vogüé*, *Mélanges d'Archéol. Orientale* (Paris, 1868, p. 131—140); *M. A. Levy's Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau (1869), pp. 33 ff.

³ See *Franz Perez Bayer*, *De Numis Heb-Samaritanis* (1781, 4to) and his *Vindiciæ*, 1790, 4to; *De Saulcy*, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque* (Paris, 1854, 4to); *M. A. Levy's Geschichte der Jüd. Münzen* (Breslau, 1862); *Madden's History of Jewish Coinage*, Lond. 1864; also *Schürer's Lehrb. der neutest. Zeitgesch.* (Leipz. 1874).

⁴ מִשְׁתָּה, מִשְׁתָּה is the native name alike both for the Canaanitic tribes in Palestine, and for those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon and on the Syrian

the nearest of all the Semitic tongues, as appears partly from the many Canaanitic names of persons and places with Hebrew form and meaning (e. g. מְלִכִּי-צֶדֶק, מְלִכִּי-סָר, קְרִיַּת סָר, etc.), that occur in the Old Testament, and partly from the extant remains of the Phœnician and Punic language. The latter we find in their own writing (see § 1, 5) in inscriptions (over 350 in all), and on coins (copied by *Gesenius* in his *Monumenta Phœnicia*, *Judas, Bourgade, Davis, De Vogüé, P. Schröder, von Maltzan*, and others). Among the inscriptions are only a few public documents (e. g. two sacrificial lists), by far the most being grave-stones or votive-tablets; also the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmûnazar, king of Sidon, (found 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately copied in facsimile by the Duke *de Luynes* in his *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris 1856, and then fully elucidated by *Schlottmann*, Halle, 1868 and by *Kämpf*, Prague, 1874). We find also isolated words here and there in Greek and Latin authors and the Punic pieces of text in *Plautus* (*Pœnulus* 5, 1-3). From those monuments we see the native orthography, and from these specimens the pronunciation and vowel-system, both together giving a distinct idea of this language and of its relation to the Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words, found in inscriptions, are e. g. אל god, אדם man, בן son, בת daughter, מלך king, עבד servant, כהן priest, זבח sacrifice, בעל lord, שמש sun, ארץ land, ים sea, אבן stone, כסף silver, ברזל iron, עת time, קבר grave, מצבת pillar, מקם place, משכב bed, כל all, אחד one, שלש three, חמש five, שש six, שבע seven, עשר ten, שמע to hear, פתח to open, נדר to vow, ברך to bless, בקש to seek, &c. Proper names: צדן Sidon, צר Tyre, חנא Hanno, חנבעל Hannibal, &c Comp. *M. A. Levy's* Phon. Worterbuch, Breslau, 1864.

The variations in the Phœnician orthography and forms are, e. g. the almost constant omission of the vowel-letters (§ 7, 2), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צדן for צידון *priests*, אלנם *(alonim in Plautus) gods*; the feminine ending in ת (*ath*) as well as in א (*ô*), even in the absolute state (§ 80, 2), besides many others. Those in pronunciation are still more remarkable, especially in the Punic, which commonly pronounced ו as ū, e. g. שופט *sûf'et* (judge), שלש *salû's* (three), ראש *rûs* (head); for i and e, it often has the obscure, dull sound y, e. g. יננו *ynnu* (ecce eum), ית (את) *yth*; and takes the ע as o, e. g. מוקר *Mocar* (comp. מוקח, LXX Μωχά). For the collection of these grammatical peculiarities, see *Gesenius*, *Monum. Phœn.* p. 430 sqq.; also *Movers* in *Art. Phœnizien* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. Sect. III. Bd. 24*, pp. 434 ff., *Paul Schröder* in his *Phœnizische Sprache*, Halle, 1869, and *B. Stade*, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœnic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades* (in the "*Morgenländ. Forschungen*" Leipzig, 1875).

coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כנען on their own coins. Also the people of Carthage called themselves so.

4. As the Heb. writing on stones and coins, mentioned in No. 2 above, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books have used merely the consonants (§ 1, 5); and even now the written Rolls, or copies of the Law, used in the Synagogues, must not, according to ancient custom, contain any thing more. The present pronunciation of this consonant-text, its vocalisation, accentuation and chant-like way of being read, rest only on tradition, as kept up by custom and in the Jewish schools, and finally as Jewish scholars settled it by means of the system of vowel-points (§§ 7—17), about the 7th century after Christ.

Yet an earlier stage of developement of the Hebrew-Canaanitic language, or a form of it which must have existed before the time of the written documents in our possession, and have stood nearer to the common and not yet divided speech of the Semitic race, can even now be recognised and established, thus:—1) from many archaic forms, which the writings handed down still preserve, specially in the names of persons and places, inherited from more ancient times, and in particular archaisms especially used in poetic diction;—2) by retrospective inference, in general, from the forms of the words so handed down, in so far as they obviously, in the law and analogy of the sound changes, point back to such an older form of the language;—3) by comparison of the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, in which this older condition of the language has been maintained to a considerable degree, even down to later times (§ 1, 6). The certainty of such deductions rest on the frequent coincidence of the results won in these different ways, whence we then get an approximate idea of the language, as it may have appeared at that preliminary stage of its developement. But at the same time we may thereby see more clearly, how the Old Test. Hebrew got its system of sounds and grammatical forms.

Although the connected historical tracing and explaining of the process of the language as here indicated, properly belongs to the comparative philology of the Semitic tongues, still it is very needful, for the scientific handling of the Hebrew, to go back to those primitive forms, as we may call them, and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic; and even elementary grammar cannot quite do without

this laying of a scientific foundation, although it has properly to deal with the language as it exists in the Old Testament, and only here and there uses those obsolete forms in elucidation of the actual ones.

5. But even in the language of the Old Testament, which is on the whole so very uniform, we can distinguish a certain progress in style, marking *two periods*: the first, down to the end of the Babylonish exile, which may be called its *golden age*; and the second, or *silver age*, after the exile.

To the first belongs (excepting isolated traces of a later revision), the greater part of the books of the Old Testament: viz. of the prosaic and historical, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (written near the close of the exile); of the poetical, the Psalms (a number of later ones excepted), Proverbs, Canticles, Job, and the earlier prophets, in chronological order, as follows: Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah(?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the last two being still active in the time of the exile, to the close of which also the contents of some portions, especially chapters 40 to 66 of the book of Isaiah point.

The commencement of this period, and of the literature of the Hebrews in general, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses; even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present setting and form, as the work of a later recension. It suffices for the history of the language and for our object to remark, that the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms. The pronoun **אָנִי** *he* (but v. p. 100, N. ²), and the noun **נָעִר** *lad*, are there used also, as of common gender, for *she* and for *maiden* (as δ παῖς and η παῖς); and certain harder forms of words, e. g. **בָּכָה** *to cry*, **צָחַק** *to laugh*, which are here the usual ones, are in other books exchanged for the softer, as **בָּכָה**, **צָחַק**.

On the other hand, there are found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as also in the later Psalms, decided approximations to the Aramæan colouring of the second or silver age (see No. 7 on page 15).

6. Even in the writings of this first period of about 1000 years, we find, as may be expected, no inconsiderable differences in the diction and style, which have their ground partly in the difference of time and place of their composition, and partly in the individuality of the authors. Isaiah, for example, writes quite otherwise than the later Jeremiah, and also than Micah, his own contemporary. And among the

historical books of this period, not only do those differ which are separated in date, as the books of Judges and Kings, but also the texts, which in many of them have been taken from older written sources, have a colouring of speech obviously different from the words flowing from later sources, or belonging to the reviser himself. Yet the structure of the language and, with individual exceptions, even the store of words and the usage of speech, specially in the prose books, are on the whole the same.

But the *poetic diction* is everywhere distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* that moves in more strictly measured *parallel members*, but also by *words* and *significations of words*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions*, peculiar to itself; although this distinction does not go so far, as in the Greek, for example. But most of these poetic idioms are in the kindred languages, particularly the Aramæan, just the common forms of speech, and may be regarded in part as archaisms, which poetry retained, in part as acquisitions with which poets, familiar with Aramæan, enriched their native Hebrew.¹ The prophets, moreover, at least the earlier ones, in language and rhythm are to be ranked almost as poets, except that with these poetical speakers, the sentences often run on to greater length, and the *parallelism* is less measured and regular, than is the case with the poets, properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, keeps nearer to prose.

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see the Introductions to the Old Testament and to the Commentaries on the Psalms by *De Wette*, *Hupfeld*, *Delitzsch* and others, specially *Ewald* in his *Dichter des alten Bundes*, Th. I. (2d ed., Göttingen, 1866); in brief form, *Gesenius*, *Hebr. Lesebuch*, *Vorerrinnerungen zur 2ten Abtheilung*; and *E. Meier*, *die Form der Hebr. Poesie* (Tubingen, 1853), and others.

Of *poetic words*, occurring along with those commonly used in prose, the following are examples: אָנֵשׁ *man*=אָדָם, אֶרֶץ *path*=דֶּרֶךְ; אָחָא *to come*=בֹּיָא; מָלָה *word*=דִּבֶּר; חָזָה *to see*=רָאָה.

¹ That in Isaiah's time (2d half of the 8th century before Christ) the more educated Hebrews, at least the officers of state (but not the people in Jerusalem) understood Aramæan is clear from 2 Kings 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11).

To the *poetic significations* of words belongs the use of certain *epithets* for substantives: e. g. אֲבִיר *strong* (one), for God; אֲבִיר *strong* (one), for bullock, horse; לְבָנָה *alba*, for *luna*; יְחִידָה *unica* or *solitaria*, for *anima, vita*.

Of *poetic forms*, we may note (e. g.) the longer form of local prepositions (§ 103, 3), as עַל־עָלִי, אֶל־אֵלִי, עַד־עָדִי, עַד־עָדִי; the endings י, ך, in the noun (§ 90); the suffixes מִי־מִי, מִי־מִי, for ם, ם־ם, ם־ם (58); the plural-ending ין־ for ים־ (87, 1, a).

To the *poetic peculiarities* in *syntax* belong (e. g.) the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, and of the accusative-particle אֵת; the construct state before a preposition (§ 116); the shortened form of the imperfect, in the signification of the usual form (§ 128, 2. Rem.); and in general, a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* or *silver* age, from the return from the exile to the time of the Maccabees (about 160 B. C.), is marked chiefly by an approximation in the language to the kindred Western Aramæan; to which the Jews might the more easily accustom themselves already during their abode in Babylonia, since it stands so near to the Hebrew; and which after their return from the exile, came more and more into use also in Palestine, so that it had an ever increasing influence on the Hebrew, as a book language, and now also even on its prose; and thus it gradually banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, though the knowledge and written use of the latter still continued among learned Jews.

We may fitly conceive of the relation of the two languages, at this later period, as similar to that of the High and Low German in Lower Saxony, or that of the High German and the popular dialects in the south of Germany and in Switzerland; so far as here also, even among the more educated, an influence is often exerted by the popular dialect on the oral and written expression of the High German. It is a false view, taken from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews had immediately after the exile wholly forgotten the ancient tongue, and had to learn it from priests and experts.

The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, and all exhibiting the Chaldee colouring, though in various shades, are the following books:—Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel; of the poetical books, Ecclesiastes, and the later Psalms. In their character also as literary compositions, they stand far below the writings of the earlier

days; yet there are not wanting productions of this time, which, in purity of language and æsthetic value, are but little inferior to those of the golden age. Such (e. g.) are many of the later Psalms (120 and foll., 137, 139).

Examples of *later words* (Aramaisms), for which the earlier writers employ others, are זמן = עת *time*, לקח = קבל *to take*, סוף = עץ *end*, שלט = מלך *to rule*, חזק = גבר *to be strong*.—Of later *significations*, צו (to say) *to command*, חזק (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—*Grammatical peculiarities* are—the frequency of the *scriptio plena* י and ך, e. g. רייר (elsewhere ריר), even קורש for קרש, רוב for רב, the interchange of ה־ and א־ final, the more frequent use of substantives in ך, ך, ך, etc.

But the peculiarities of these later writers are not all Aramaisms. Some are not found in the Aramaic, and must have belonged in earlier times to the vernacular Hebrew, especially, as it seems, in northern Palestine, where Judges and Canticles, among other books, may have been written, and hence the occurrence, in these earlier writings, of the form which was common in the Phœnician, and which recurs in some later books, namely ש instead of שׁ (§ 36).

Rem. 1. Of diversities of dialect, in the old Hebrew language, only one explicit example is found in the Old Testament; namely, in Judges 12, 6, where the Ephraimites are said to have pronounced ש as ש or ס. In Neh. 13, 24, perhaps a distinctively Philistine dialect is spoken of. To these, however, are to be counted also sundry peculiarities in the North-Palestine books including Hosea (see preceding paragraph), and likewise some exceptional forms in the Moabite Inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2).

2. The remains of Hebrew literature, now extant, cannot be expected to contain the entire stores of the ancient language; and we must regard its compass and affluence as far greater, than what we now find in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is really but a small fragment of the entire national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3.

GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

(cf. Gesenius, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, §§ 19—39.)

1. At the time of the gradual extinction of the old Hebrew language, and when the collection of the Old Testament writings was closed, the Jews began to apply themselves to the *interpretation* and *criticism* of this their sacred codex, and to

translate it into the popular languages then prevalent among them. The oldest *translation* is the *Greek* of the so-called *seventy interpreters* or *Septuagint* (lxx), commenced at Alexandria in Egypt with the *translation* of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed in later years by various authors. It was in part made from knowledge of the original Hebrew as a living tongue, for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, particularly those at Alexandria. Somewhat later, the *Chaldee* translations or Targú'ms (תרגומין i. e. *translations*) were composed in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from professed tradition, almost exclusively refer to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than the remarks on various readings. They are contained in the *Talmúd*; the first portion of which (the *Mishná'*) was composed about the beginning of the third, and the second (the *Gemará'*) was in part (namely the *Jerusalem Gem*) written about the middle of the fourth, and in part (namely the *Babylon Gem.*) in the middle of the sixth century after Christ. The Mishna is the beginning of the new Hebrew literature; in the Gemara, on the contrary, the Aramaic language is predominant.

2. In the interval between the composition of the Talmúd and the earliest grammarians, fall mainly the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the till then unpointed text of the Old Testament, after the pronunciation handed down in the synagogues and schools (§ 7, 3); also the collection of critical remarks, under the name of *Massôrâ'* (מסורה *tradition*), from which the manuscript copies of the present Textus Receptus of the Old Testament, hence called the *Massoretic Text*, have ever since been uniformly derived.

One of the oldest and most important portions of the Massôrâ' are the various readings of the *Qeri* (§ 17). The punctuation of the text, moreover, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Massôrâ'. The punctuation was settled at an earlier date, and is the fruit of a much more thorough labour than the Massôrâ', which was finished at a considerably later date.

3. It was only about the commencement of the 10th century, that the first beginnings were made by the Jews in

compiling their grammar, after the example of the Arabs. The earliest attempts, by Rabbi *Saadia* († 942) and others, are mostly lost, only *Saadia's* Arabic explanation of O. T. *hapax legomena* having been preserved; but those of R. *Yehuda Chayyûg* (called also *Abû-Zakaria Yachya*) about the year 1000, and of R. *Yona (Abû-'l-Walid Marwân ibn Gânâch)* about 1030, composed in the Arabic language, are still extant. Assisted by these pioneer labours, *Abraham ben Ezra* (died 1167) and R. *D. Kimchi* († ab. 1232), especially won for themselves a classic reputation as grammarians.

From these first grammarians proceed many methods of arrangement and technical terms, which are still in part retained; e. g. the designation of the derivative and the weak verbs after the paradigm עָלָה (§ 39, 4), the *voces memoriales*, as בִּנְיָמִין, and the like.¹

The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was *John Reuchlin* († 1522), to whom Greek literature also owes so much. But he, as also the grammarians of the next succeeding period down to *John Buxtorf* († 1629), still adhered almost exclusively to Jewish tradition. It was only after the middle of the 17th century, that the field of view gradually widened; and that the study of the sister tongues, chiefly through the labours of *Albert Schultens* († 1750) and *N. W. Schröder* († 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

The value of the subsequent labours,² that have any en-

¹ On the oldest Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians, see *Gesenius's* Preface, &c (as above, p. 8), *H. Ewald* and *L. Dukes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.; *Hupfeld*, de rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus; and *Munk*, notice sur Abou'l-Wahid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du X^e et du XI^e siècle in *Journal asiatique*, 1850; *Neubauer*, Notice sur la Lexicographie hébreue, in *Journal asiatique*, 1861—63; *Bottcher*, Ausfulrl. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache, Introd. to Vol. I (ed. *Mühlau*, Leipsic 1866).

² The complete literature of this subject, down to 1850, is found in *M. Steinschneider's* Bibliograph. Handbuch für Heb. Sprachkunde, Leipzig, 1859.— Fuller and newer works on Heb. Grammar are *W. Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache (Leipzig, 1817), *Isâak Nordheimer's* Critical Gram. of the Heb. Language, 2 vols. N. York, 1841, 8, *H. Ewald's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache (8th ed. Göttingen, 1870), *Justus Olshausen's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache

during scientific merit, must be estimated by comparison with what is required in elaborating the grammar of an ancient language, viz.—1) that all the phenomena of the language shall be fully and accurately *observed*, and *exhibited* in their organic connection (the empirical and historico-critical element);—2) that these facts shall be *explained*, partly by comparison with one another and with the analogy of the sister tongues, and partly from the general philosophy of language (the philosophical, scientific element).

§ 4.

DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GRAMMAR.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar depend on the three parts that constitute every language, viz.—1) articulate *sounds* denoted by *written signs*, and their connection in *syllables*, 2) *words*, and 3) *sentences*.

Accordingly, the first part (*doctrine of elements*) includes the doctrine of the *sounds*, and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of speech, the manner of pronouncing written signs (orthoëpy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined into syllables and words, and of the laws and conditions of this combination.

The second part (*doctrine of forms*) treats of words in their character as *parts of speech*, and contains:—1) the doctrine of the *formation of words*, or of the rise of the different parts of speech from the roots or even from one another;—2) the doctrine of *inflection*, i. e. of the varied forms which words assume, according to their relation to one another and to the sentence.

(Braunschweig, 1861), from which may be dated the new era of Hebrew philology in which the attempt has been made to trace back existing forms to the supposed original Semitic, which have been preserved essentially in the old Arabic, *F. Bottcher's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Ferdinand Muhlau* (Leipzig, 1866—68, in 2 vols. 8vo).

The third part (*syntax*, or doctrine of the construction of words) teaches:—1) partly how the various inflections, existing in the language, are used for expressing variously modified thoughts, and how other thoughts for which no forms have been coined in the language are expressed by circumlocution;—2) partly the laws, by which the parts of speech are combined into sentences (*doctrine of the sentence*, or syntax in the stricter sense).

PART FIRST.

OF THE ELEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF READING AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 5.

OF THE CONSONANTS: THEIR FORMS AND NAMES.

(See the Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now employed (commonly called the *square* or *Assyrian character*), in which the manuscripts of the O. Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, are not those originally used. *Old Hebrew writing*, as it was used in public monuments as early as the 9th century B. C., is to be seen in the inscriptions (very like in style) on the Stone of Mésa' and on the Maccabean Coins of the 2d cent. B. C., as also on the ancient Gems (see § 2, 2); and with this Old Hebrew the Phenician writing is nearly identical (see the Table of Ancient Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history of other alphabets, we may assume that out of, and along with, the above writing on stones, another and somewhat quicker style was early formed for writing on softer materials (on skin or parchment, on bark or papyrus, etc.), which style the Samaritans retained in their MSS of the Pentateuch, when they separated from the Jews, while the latter soon after (from the 6th to the 4th century B. C.) exchanged the same for an Aramæan style, out of which came the so-called *Square Character* (from

the 4th to the end of the 3d century B. C.), which has great resemblance to the still extant Aramæan, the Aram.-Egyptian,¹ the Nabatæan,² and especially the Palmyrene.³ One of the Heb. inscriptions in the earlier square character belongs to the year 176 B. C.⁴

2. The Alphabet of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Shemites, consists only of consonants, 22 in number, some of which have also the power of vowels (§ 7, 2). Their forms, names, sounds and numerical values (Rem. 3 below) are shown in the Table on next page.

3. The five characters which have a different form at the end of a word (*final letters*),⁵ ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, terminate (with the exception of ם) in a straight stroke directed downwards, whilst the common form has a horizontal connecting line, directed towards the following letter.

¹ Specially one Inscription (the Stone of Carpentras, so called because kept in that city of Provence) and some Papyrus-Fragments, see *Ed. F. Ferd. Beer's* *Inscriptiones et Papyri in Ægypto reperti*, Lips 1833, 4to; *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 226 seq. See our Ancient Alphabet Table.

² See p. 2. Note 3.

³ See *M. A. Levy* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd XVIII. S. 65 ff.; *De Vogué*, *Syrie Centrale*, Paris (1868), fol. p. 1—88 and Tab. 1—12.

⁴ *De Vogué*, in *Revue Archéol.* IX (1864), p. 205 and Tab. VII, No. 2, comp. *Noldeke* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.* Bd. XIX, S. 640, and *Merx's* *Archiv* I, S. 361, also *Chwolson's* *Heb. Grabschriften aus der Krim*, Petersburg, 1865. Comp. Table of Anc. Alphabets.

⁵ These letters are formed into one word and pronounced as **קִמְצֵי**. Such *voces memoriales* were invented by the Jewish grammarians to help the remembering of certain letters. So too **אֶהְיֶה** (p. 24), and other *mnemonic* words in § 6, 3 and 4. [Comp. also **אֶהְיֶה** (§ 7, 2, Note 3) for vowel letters and the memorial words **אֶהְיֶה מֶשֶׁת׃ וְנִלְב׃** to designate *serviles* among consonants, of which **אֶהְיֶה** are prefixed to the *Impf.* of verbs; **הָאֶהְיֶה** to represent letters used in the formation of nouns from roots; and the *vox memor.* **אֶהְיֶה** for the poetical books composed of the first consonants of **הַזִּמְרִים** (Psalms), **הַשִּׁירִים** (Proverbs) and **אֶהְיֶה** (Job).—*Ed.*]

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

Form	Pronunciation.	Hebrew name.	Sounded as ¹	Signification of the name.	Numerical value.
Final	א	אֶלֶף	<i>Ā'-lēph</i>	Ox	1
	ב	בֵּית	<i>Bēth</i>	House	2
	ג	גֵּרְמֶל	<i>Gī'-mēl</i>	Camel	3
	ד	דֹּלֶת	<i>Dā'-lēth</i>	Door	4
	ה	הָא	<i>Hē</i>	Vent-hole, window	5
	ו	וָו	<i>Wāw</i>	Hook	6
	ז	זֶיֶן	<i>Zā'-yīn</i>	Weapon	7
	ח	חֵית	<i>Chēth</i>	Fence or barrier	8
	ט	טֵית	<i>Ṭēth</i>	Snake (winding)	9
	י	יֹד	<i>Yōdh</i>	Hand	10
	כ	כָּף	<i>Kāph</i>	Bent-hand	20
	ל	לֹמֶד	<i>Lō'mēdh</i>	Ox-goad	30
	מ	מַם	<i>Mem</i>	Water	40
	נ	נֶזֶן	<i>Nūn</i>	Fish	50
	ס	סָמֶךְ	<i>Sā'-mekh</i>	Prop	60
	ע	עֵיִן	<i>Ā'-yīn</i>	Eye	70
	פ	פֶּא	<i>Pē</i>	Mouth	80
	צ	צָדִי	<i>Ṣā-dhé'</i>	Fish-hook	90
	ק	קֹפֶה	<i>Qōph</i>	Back of the head	100
	ר	רֵישׁ	<i>Rēsh</i>	Head	200
	ש	שֵׁן	<i>Sin</i>	Tooth	300
	שׁ	שִׁין	<i>Shin</i>		
	ת	תָּו	<i>Tāw</i>	Sign or cross	400

4. Hebrew is written and read from right to left. The division of a word at the end of a line is not allowed; and

¹ For the sounds of the consonants and vowels in this table, see § 6 and Notes on § 8. NB. In our common way of reading Hebrew the letters *ס* and *צ* have no sound; and the *ג* for *ז* is always *hard* as in *give*; the *ח*, always guttural as in Welsh and German, or the Greek *χ*.—*Tr.*

² As in Arabic, or as the English *w*, not as the German.

³ The latin *q* serves well for the Semitic *ק* (Greek *κόππα*), as it holds its very place in the Alphabet.

to fill out a line, certain letters (*dilatabiles*) are at times dilated in MS and in print. These are in our printed books the five following:

ם, ה, ל, ו, ז (אהלתם).

Rem. 1. The *forms* of the letters were originally hasty and rude representations of visible objects, the names of which began with the letter, which they were meant to indicate, e. g. *Yôdh*, in the older alphabets a rude figure of a hand, denotes properly a *hand*=יך *yâdh*, but as a letter only the initial י (*y*) 'Ayin (prop. *eye*), ייך, stands only for ז, the initial letter. In the Phœnician alphabet specially, the similarity of the *figures* to the objects signified by the *names* may still be seen for the most part, and even in the square character it appears yet in some letters, as in ו, ז, ב, כ, ל, ק, ש.

NB. The *forms* of the letters in each of these seven groups, כ, פ, ס, ג, ה, ו, ז, must be carefully noted to avoid confusion.—*Tr.*

The most probable signification of the *names* of the letters is given in the Alphabet Table, p. 23.

However certain it is, on the one hand, that the Shemites were the first to adopt this alphabet, yet it is highly probable, on the other, that the Egyptian writing (the so-called phonetic hieroglyphics and their modified or hieratic style) suggested the principle, though not so much the forms, for these hieroglyphic characters, for the most part, indicate the initial sound in the name of the pictured object, e. g. the hand, *tot*, indicates the letter *t*, the lion, *laboi*, the letter *l*¹.

2. The *order* of the letters in the Alphabet (on which we have an ancient testimony in the alphabetical poetic compositions in Ps. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145, Lam. 1—4, Prov. 31, 10—31), certainly depended originally on a physiological consideration of the sounds, as we may see from the occurrence in succession of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds, viz. כ, ג, ד, also of the three liquids, ל, מ, נ, and other similar arrangements, but yet other considerations must also have had some effect upon it, for it is certainly not a mere accident, that two letters representing a *hand* (*Yôdh* and *Kâph*), also two exhibiting the *head* (*Qôph* and *Rêsh*), are put together, as is done also with several characters denoting related or connected objects (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, 'Ayin and Pê).

Both the names and the order of the letters (with a trifling alteration), passed over from the Phœnician into the Greek, in which the

¹ See the works of *Young*, *Champollion*, *Lepsius* and others on the Hieroglyphics. Comp. *Hitzig*, die Erfindung des Alphabets, Zurich, 1840. 4to. *J. Olshausen*, über den Ursprung des Alphabets, Kiel, 1841. 3vo. *F. Bottcher*, unseres Alphabetes Ursprünge, Dresden, 1860. 8vo. *Ed. Bohmer*, das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung. Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges., Bd. XVI, S. 579 ff.

letters, from *Alpha* to *Tau*, correspond to the ancient alphabet. From the Phœnician proceeded also, directly or indirectly, the Old-Italic, the Roman, and all the alphabets derived from the Latin and the Greek. Comp. *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 65.

3. The letters are used also for *signs of number*, as the Hebrew had no special arithmetical figures or ciphers¹. But this use of them as numerals (see Alphabet Table) did not, if we may judge from the existing MSS, take place in the O. T. text, and is first found on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.). It is now employed in the editions of the Bible specially for numbering the chapters and verses. Much like the Greek numerals, the Heb. *units* are denoted by the letters from א to ט, the *tens* by י—צ, the *hundreds* from 100 to 400 by ק—ר, but from 500 to 900, they are sometimes marked by the five final letters, thus, י 500, ט 600, נ 700, ס 800, ז 900, and sometimes by ר=400, with the addition of the other hundreds, as רס 500. In combining different numbers the greater is put first (i. e. on the right), as יא 11, קכא 121. Fifteen however is marked by טו=9+6, and not by יה, because with these two letters the name of God (יהוה) commences; and 16 by טז not by יז, for a similar reason. The *thousands* are denoted by the units with two dots above, as א for 1000.²

4. *Abbreviations* of words are not found in the text of the O. T. On coins, however, they occur, and they are in common use among the later Jews. The sign of abbreviation is usually an oblique stroke, as י' for ישׁראל, ס' for ספרי, aliquis, ג' for גומיר, et complens=et cœtera, י' or י' (also ז') for יהוה.

§ 6.

PRONUNCIATION AND DIVISION OF CONSONANTS.

1. It is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§§ 18, etc.) are dependent on, and can be explained only by, the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. Our knowledge of this is derived partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects,

¹ Yet the Phœnicians had arithmetical signs in early times, as may be seen in *Schröder's* *Phonizische Sprache*, pp. 186—9, with a Table.

² The Jews count their dates from the creation of the world, and they have what they call the "great chronology", (לפ' קט"ו) including the thousands and the "small chronology" (לפ' קט"ו) omitting the thousands. The date according to the christian era is found by adding 240 to the short Jewish reckoning for the first thousand years and 1240 for the second.

particularly of the still living Arabic, partly from observing the affinity and interchange of the letters in Hebrew itself (§ 19), partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of the Jews of the present day is very divergent. The Polish and German Jews adopt a worse one, partly like the Syriac, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whom most Christian scholars (after the example of Reuchlin) follow, prefer a purer one, more in harmony with the Arabic.

The manner in which the Septuagint (LXX) wrote Hebrew proper names in Greek letters, furnishes an older and more weighty tradition. Several, however, of the Hebrew sounds they were unable to represent for want of corresponding characters in the Greek language, e. g. ץ, ף, ץ, פ, ן (in which cases they made the best shifts they could). This is true also of Jerome's expression of Hebrew words in Roman letters, after the Jewish pronunciation of his time. For that of the Jews now in northern Africa, see *Bargis*, Journ. Asiat. 1848, Nov.; for that of the South Arabic Jews see *J. Derenbourg*, Manuel du Lecteur etc. Paris 1871.

2. The following list embraces those consonants which require special attention as to the pronunciation, those being arranged and viewed together which resemble each other in sound.

Rem. 1. Among the *gutturals*, א is the slightest, a scarcely audible breathing from the lungs, the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek, which stands for it in our Alphabet Table, p. 23; similar to ה, but weaker. Even before a vowel, it is almost lost upon the ear (אמר, *âmâr*), like the *h* in the French *habit*, *homme*, Eng. *hour*, but after a vowel it is mostly quite lost in that vowel-sound (אמר *mâšâ'*, § 23, 1; however comp אמר).

ה before a vowel is exactly our *h* (*spiritus asper*); also after a vowel at the end of a syllable, it is a guttural-breathing (נהך *nêh-pâ'kh*); but at the end of a word it only represents a vowel, so that its force as a consonant is not at all heard (גלה *gâ-lâ'*), see § 7, 2 and § 14, § 75, 1.

א is related to א but stronger, and is a sound peculiar to the organs

¹ Important aid may also be derived from an accurate, physiological observation of the whole system of sounds, and of their formation by the organs of speech. See *Liskovius*' Theorie der Stimme, Leipzig, 1814, *J. Muller's* Handbuch der Physiologie, Bd. II., S. 179 &c., *Strodtmann's* Anatomische Vorhalle zur Physiologie der Stimme und der Sprachlaute, Altona, 1837, also *H. Hupfeld* in Jahn's Jahrbucher f. Philologie, 1829, H. 4, *H. E. Bindseil's* Abhandlungen zur allgem. vergleichenden Sprachlehre (Hamb. 1838), *E. Brucke's* Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik d. Sprachlaute, Wien, 1856, *C. L. Merkel's* Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache, Leipzig, 1866.

of the Semitic race. Its hardest sound is that of a *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as מָנָח, LXX Γάλα, מָנָחָה Γάμοῦρα; it is elsewhere a weaker sound of that sort, which the LXX indicate only by a *breathing* (the *spiritus asper* or *lenis*), as in עָלִי 'Hālī, עָמָלֶךְ 'Amalēx. In the mouth of the Arabs, the first often strikes the ear like a soft guttural *r*, the second as a sort of vowel-sound like *a*.—To pass over ע, as many do in reading and in the expression of Hebrew words by our letters (e. g. עָלִי *Eli*, עָמָלֶךְ *Amalek*), and to pronounce it simply as *g* or as nasal *ng*, are both incorrect. An approximation to its stronger sound would be *gh* or '*g*'; but since the softer sound was probably predominant in Hebrew, it may suffice to mark it (as in the Alphabet Table, p. 23) by ' , as אַרְבַּע 'arba', עֲמֹרָה 'amōra'.

ח is the firmest of the guttural sounds, being a guttural *ch*, as the Swiss pronounce it, as in *macht*, *docht*, *zucht*¹ (not as in *licht*, *knecht*), resembling the Spanish *x* and *j*. While the Hebrew was a living language this letter was doubtless uttered more softly in many words, more strongly in others.²

ך also the Hebrews frequently pronounced with a rattling guttural sound, not as a lingual made by the vibration of the tongue. Hence it is not merely to be reckoned among the liquids (*l, m, n, r*), but, in many respects, it belongs also to the class of gutturals (§ 22, 5).

Rem 2. In *substant* sounds the Hebrew language is uncommonly rich, but they arose in part from the lingual sounds, which appear still as such in Aramæan and, as affected with an aspiration, in Arabic (see ר, ז, ש in Lex.).

ש and ש were originally one letter ש, and in unpointed Hebrew this is still the case. But as its sound *sh* was in many words very soft, approaching to that of *s*, the grammarians distinguished this double pronunciation by the diacritic point into ש *sh* (which occurs most frequently), and ש *s*.

ש accordingly was closely allied to ש in pronunciation, and so was uttered more strongly than ש. Hence this difference of sound made at times a difference in sense, as שָׁרַר *to close up* and שָׁרַר *to hire*, שָׁרַר *to be foolish* and שָׁרַר *to be wise*. The Syrians employed only ש for both. They are also interchanged even in the later Hebrew; as שָׁרַר = שָׁרַר *to hire* Ezr. 4, 5; שָׁרַר *for שָׁרַר* *folly* Eccl. 1, 17.³

ז is a soft, whizzing *s*, the Gr. ζ (by which also the LXX represent it), the Fr. and Eng. *z*, quite different from the Germ. *z*.

¹ As also in the Celtic dialects.—Tr.

² In the Arabic language, the hard and soft sounds of ע and ח (as well as certain differences in the pronunciation of ר, ז, ש), are indicated by diacritic points. Two letters are thus made from each: from ע the softer ع *'Ain*, and the harder غ *'Gain*; from ח the softer ح *Cha*, and the harder خ *Kha*.

³ But on the contrary the Samaritans of this day, in reading their Heb. Pentateuch, always pronounce ש as ש.

Rem. 3. The **ז** is, like **פ** and **ב**, uttered with strong articulation, and with a compression of the organs of speech in the back part of the mouth. The two latter differ essentially from **כ** and **ר**, which answer to *k* and *t*, but are often aspirated (see No. 3 of this §.). The **ז** has a peculiar articulation differing from every other *s*, and by no means the same as the Germ. *z* or *ts*. [Our *ss* as in *hiss*! sounded not at the teeth, but at the palate, is not very unlike it; but *ş* is here used to represent it.]

3. Six consonants, the so-called *mutes*,

ח, פ, ב, ד, ג, כ (בְּנִדְכָּפֶת)

have come down to us with a twofold pronunciation¹:—1) a harder, more slender sound (*tenuis*) as *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*, and 2) a softer sound, uttered with a gentle aspiration (*aspirata*). The harder sound is the original. It maintains itself at the beginning of words and syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding, and it is indicated by a point in the letter (*Dāghē'sh lenē*, § 13), as in ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The aspirated sound occurs after a vowel immediately preceding, and is denoted in manuscripts by *Rāphē* (§ 14, 2), but in the printed text it is known by the absence of the *Dāghē'sh*. In some of these letters (especially ג), the difference is less perceptible to our ear. The modern Greeks aspirate distinctly β, γ, δ, and the Danes *d* at the end of a word. The Greeks have two characters for the two sounds of the other letters of this class, as כ *x*, כ *χ*; פ *π*, פ *φ*; ת *τ*, ת *θ*.

For the cases in which the one pronunciation or the other occurs, see more fully in § 21.—The modern Jews sound the aspirated ב as *v*, and the ת nearly as *s*, e. g. רַב *rāv*, רֵאשִׁית *rēshî's*.

4. After what has been said, the usual division of the consonants according to the organs of speech (i. e. throat, palate, tongue, teeth and lips), employed in uttering them, will be more intelligible and useful. The common division is as follows:

a) Gutturals ח, ה, ע, א,

(אֶחָדִים);

b) Palatals, ק, כ, ג, י,

(שְׁלֹשָׁה);

¹ Sound ח as *t*, ת as *th* in *thick*; ד as *d*, ד as *dh* as *th* in *that*, Anglo-Sax. *ḍ*; פ as *p*, פ as *ph* or *f*; ב as *b*, ב as *bh* as *v*; כ and ג as *g* in *go*, or in the German *gegen*; פ and כ as *k*. To give the aspirated sound of ג and כ, pronounce *g* and *k*, rolling the palate at the same breath.—Tr.

- c) Linguals, ט, ת, ד, with נ, ל, (דטלנת);
 d) Dentals or sibilants, צ, ש (ש and ש), ס, ז, (זסצש);
 e) Labials, פ, ב, מ, ר, (ברמפה).

The letter ר appertains partly to the first and to the third class, as being both a throat-sound and a tongue-sound.¹

Also the liquids (ר, נ, מ, ל), which have in many respects a common character, are grouped together as a distinct class.

The following classification may be useful:

	Mutes			Liquids			Sibilants			Aspirates			
	s	m	e	vibr	nasal	semiv	s	m	e	s	m	h	e
Gutturals				[ר]						[ע] ח ה ע א			
Palatals	ג	כ	ק			י							
Linguals	}			ל	נ		ז	ש	ס	צ			
Dentals		ד	ת										
Labials		ב	פ		מ	ר							

Rem. 1. The signification of the letters in the superscription is as follows: s=soft; m=medium; h=hard; e=emphatic. Consonants pronounced by the same organ are called *homorganic* (e. g. ג and כ as palatals). Consonants, whose sound is of the same nature, are called *homogeneous* (e. g. מ and נ as liquids). The possibility of an exchange of consonants within the language, as well as between kindred dialects depends upon their homorganic character and upon their homogeneity. Generally the soft sound changes with the soft, the hard with the hard etc. (e. g. ר=י, ח=ש, ט=צ). Yet other transpositions are not excluded. It is important to observe, whether the change takes place at the beginning, middle or end of the word, since a change in the middle consonant does not always indicate the possibility of a change in the same letter, when standing at the beginning.

Rem. 2. In the Hebrew, as well as in all the Semitic dialects, the strength and harshness of pronunciation, which generally characterised the earlier periods of the language, gradually gave way to more soft and feeble sounds. In this way many nice distinctions of the earlier pronunciation were neglected and lost.

¹ Compare, in regard to the double pronunciation of the ר, *Delitzsch, Physiol. u. Musik* p. 10 ff.

Obscuring of the vowel-sounds often occurs also in other tongues, e. g. *ä* in Swedish, in modern Persian, in Eng. *fall* etc. The modern Jews constantly obscure the sound of the Heb. long *A* (א), like the Swedish *ä*. But the Arabic of the Bedawin, in its pronunciation of the vowels, does not even now depart so much from the three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, and *u*, as the Arabic spoken in Syria and Egypt (see *Wallin* and *Wetzstein* as referred to above, p. 7, Note¹).

2. With this is connected the earlier and very sparing way of indicating the vowels in writing. Only the three principal vowels were thus distinguished; and even these were indicated not by peculiar signs, but by certain consonants employed for this purpose, whose feeble consonant sounds have naturally a close affinity with the vowel-sounds to be expressed.

Thus א (like the Lat. *V*) represented *U* and also *O*.

י (like the Lat. *J*) represented *I* and also *E*.

א, the purest of all the vowels, and the most frequent, was as a rule¹ not indicated at all, except at the end of a word, where the final *a* was represented by א in Hebrew, sometimes by נ.² These two letters stood also for *e* and *o* final.³

Even those *two vowel-letters* (א and י) were used but sparingly, being at first, and as a rule, employed only when the sounds which they represent were *long*, and not always then (§ 8, 4).⁴ Everything else relating to the quantity of the

¹ So in Sanscrit, the ancient Persian cuneiform writing and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not indicated by any sign, but the bare consonant is pronounced with short *a*.

² The close connection between the aspirates א, נ and the *A* sound, א (= *w*) and the *U* sound, י (= *y*) and the *I* sound, admits of easy physiological explanation, if we attend to the formation of these sounds by the organs of speech. The vowel *A* is formed by opening the mouth, without changing the position of the organs; so also א and נ. *U* is sounded in the fore part of the mouth, with the lips a little projecting and rounded; so also י. The *I* is formed at the fore part of the palate; so also א. *E* is sounded at the back of the palate, between *i* and *a*; *O* in the under part of the mouth, between *u* and *a*.

³ The four letters א, א, י, י (forming the mnemonic sign א"י א"י 'ehewi) are commonly called *quiescent* or *feeble letters*.—*Tr.*

⁴ The Samaritan writing also has remained at the same stage.—The Phœnicians did not indicate even the long vowels, except in very rare cases,

vowel-sounds, and also the entire absence of a vowel, and even whether the vowel-letter in the particular case was a vowel or a consonant, the reader had to decide for himself.

Thus, for example, קָטַל might be read *qāṭāl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭōl*, *qāṭōl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭṭēl*, *qāṭṭēl*, *qāṭṭāl*; דִּבֶּר, *dābhār* (word), *dā'bhēr* (pestilence), *dībber* (he has spoken), *dābbēr* (to speak), *dōbhēr* (speaking), *dābhūr* (spoken), *dūbbār* (it has been spoken); מוֹת might be *mā'wēth* (death), or *mūth*, *mōth* (to die); בָּיַן might be read *bīn*, *bēn*, *bāyīn*.

How imperfect and indefinite such a mode of writing was, is easily seen; yet during the whole period in which the Hebrew was a living language, no other signs for vowels were employed. Reading was therefore a harder task than it is with our more adequate modes of writing, and the reader's knowledge of the living mother-tongue had to supply much.

3. But when the Hebrew had died out, and the ambiguity arising from such an indefinite mode of writing, and the fear of losing the right pronunciation, must have been increasingly felt; then the *vowel-signs* or *vowel points* were invented, which minutely settled what had till then been left uncertain. Of the date of this punctuation (*vocalisation*) of the Old Testament text we have no historical account; but a comparison of historical facts warrants the conclusion, that the present vowel-system was not completed till the seventh century after Christ; and that it was done by Jewish scholars, well versed in the language, who, it is highly probable, copied the example of the Syriac, and perhaps also of the Arabic, grammarians.

See *Gesenius*, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.* S. 182 ff. and *Hupfeld* in *den theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, No. 3, where it is shown that the Talmūd and Jerome make no mention of vowel-signs; *Abr. Geiger*, *Zur Nakdanım-Literatur* (Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben, Jahrg. X, Breslau, 1872, S. 10 ff.); *Geiger*, *Massorah bei den Syrern* (Ztschr. der D. M. G. Bd. XXVII. Leipz., 1878, S. 148 ff.); *H. Strack*, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.* Leipz., 1873; *Strack*, *Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-Textes* (Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1875. IV, S. 736 ff.)

4. This vowel-system has, probably, for its basis the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine; and its consistency,

and their old monuments have scarcely any vowel signs (see *Gesenii Mon. Phœnicia*, pp. 57, 58; and above in § 2, 3).—The vowel-letters are quite as sparingly used in the old Heb. inscription of *Mēsha'* (see § 2, 2), as early as 900 B. C.

as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, furnishes strong proof of its correctness, at least as a whole. We may, however, assume, that it exhibits not so much the pronunciation of common life as the formal style, which was sanctioned by tradition in reading the sacred books, in the synagogues and schools, in the 7th century after Christ. Its authors laboured with great care to represent by signs the minute gradations of the vowel-sounds, marking even half-vowels and helping-sounds (§ 10), spontaneously adopted in all languages, yet seldom expressed in writing. To the same labours on the Hebr. Text we owe the different marks, by which the sound of the consonants themselves is modified (§§ 11—14), and the accents (§§ 15, 16).

The Arabs have a much more simple vowel-system, for they have only three vowel-signs, according to the three primary sounds. The Syriac vowel-pointing is likewise based upon a less complicated system. It is possible that the Hebrew also had at an earlier period a more simple vowel-system, but no actual traces of it are found.

§ 8.

OF THE VOWEL-SIGNS.¹

1. Of full vowels, besides which there are also certain *half-vowels* (§ 10, 1, 2), grammarians have generally reckoned *ten*, and divided them into *five long* and *five short* or *doubtful*. As this division, though not faultless, is simpler and more convenient for the beginner, it is here presented:²—

¹ The vowels, as represented in this translation, are supposed to be sounded as follows:—*ā* or *ā* like *a* in *father*, *ă* like *a* in *fat*, *ä* like *æ*, or as *a* in *fate*; *ē* or *ē* like *e* in *there*; *ē* like *e* in *her*, *ī* or *ī* like *i* in *pique*, *ī* like *i* in *pick*; *ō* or *ō* like *o* in *no*, *ō* like *o* in *not*, *ū* or *ū* like *u* in *rule* (sounded as *rool*); *ū* like *u* in *full*; *ai* and *au* as proper diphthongs, each vowel being distinctly heard, as in German.—NB. The same vowel, whether long or short, has properly but *one* sound, differing only in *quantity*, i. e. in the longer or shorter time we may take in pronouncing it, as in *sō* and *sōt*—*Tr.*

² It is founded on the 12th edition of the original, and Dr. *Rödiger* is not responsible for its insertion here.—*Tr.*

Long Vowels.	Short Vowels.
— Qā'mēš, ā, ā, קָם qām, ¹ יָם yām.	— Pā'thäch, ä, בַּת bāth.
— Šē'rē, ē, שֵׁם shēm.	— S'ghô'l, ě, ě or ä, מְלֶכֶּךְ mē-lēkh.
י (or —) Chî'rēq long, î, בִּין bin, גִּוִּים gô-yîm.	— Chî'rēq short, i, מִן mîn.
î (or —) Chô'lēm, ô, ô, קוֹל qôl, סוֹבֵחַ sôbh.	— Qā'mēš-chā'î'ph, ö, חֶסֶד chöq.
î (or —) Shû'rēq, û, מוֹת mûth, מוֹתִי mû-thî.	— Qibbû'š, ŭ, שׁוּלְחָן shül-chā'n.

A more philosophic and complete view of the vowels, according to the three primary vowel-sounds (§ 7, 1, 2), is the following:—

First Class. For the A sound.

1. — Qā'mēš, ā, ā, יָד yād (hand), קָם qām (he arose).
2. — Pā'thäch, ä, בַּת bāth (daughter).
3. — S'ghô'l, ě, ě (ä), a modification of *a*,² as in the first syllable of יָדְכֶם yēdhē-khēm (your hand) from yādhe-khēm, פֶּסַח pēsāch (πάσχα); also in union with י as יָדֶיךָ yā-dhē-khā (thy hands), גְּלִיָּה gē'lē-nā, like the French *é* in *mère* or the first *e* in Eng. *there*. Comp. in Eng. *man* changed into *men*; Ger. *mann* into *männer*; W. *carreg* (stone) into pl. *cerrig*.

Second Class. For the I and E sound.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| I | { | 1. — and — long Chî'rēq, î, יְדֻקִּים yēd-di-qî'm (just ones). |
| | | 2. — short Chî'rēq, i, אִם 'im (if). |
| E | { | 3. — Šē'rē with Yôdh, ě, and — Šē'rē without Yôdh, ē, as in בֵּית bēth (house), שֵׁם shēm (name). Very rarely the — (defective, see No. 4 on p. 37) stands also for ě. |
| | | 4. — S'ghô'l, ě, an abbreviation from ē as in שֵׁן shēn (tooth), from שֵׁן (gdf. shīn) or an obscuring from ě e. g. חִפְצֵי (Grdf. chîphš). |

¹ The equivalents for the Hebrew vowels are marked here variously, viz., ā, ē, ô for the essentially long-vowels, ā, ē, ô for the merely tone-long, ä, ě, ô for the short (see § 9.). For the others, the distinction of î and i, û and ŭ is sufficient.

² So mostly; hence Jewish grammarians call *S'ghôl* also *small Pā'thäch* (מְלֶכֶךְ).

³ The sign — marks in this Grammar the *accented* syllable of Heb. words, when that syllable is not the last, as in מְלֶכֶךְ. Comp. § 15, Rem. 3.

Third Class. For the U and O sound.

- U { 1. $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *Shû'rêq*, $\dot{\text{u}}$, מוֹת *mûth* (to die), rarely also for \ddot{u} .
 2. — *Qibbû's*, $\ddot{\text{u}}$, סֻלָּם *sûl-lâm* (ladder), but also $\dot{\text{u}}$, written defectively (see No. 4 on p. 37) instead of *Shû'rêq*, מוֹתִי *mû-thî'* (my dying).
- O { 3. $\dot{\text{י}}$ and — *Chô'lêm*, \hat{o} , קוֹל *qôl* (voice), רֹב *rôbh* (multitude). Often defective — for \hat{o} , seldomer $\dot{\text{י}}$ for \hat{o} .
 4. — *Qâ'mêš-châfû'ph*, \hat{o} , חֹק *chôq* (statute).
5. also — , obtuse \check{e} , so far as it is changed from *u* or *o*, as in אֶתֶם *'attê'm* (ye) from 'attû'm (see § 27, Rem. 4, b), אֶת *'êth* (from אֶתֶּת).

The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in uttering the sounds. Thus, פֶּתַח signifies *opening*, פֶּצִיץ (also פֶּצֶר) *bursting* (of the mouth), גִּירָק *gnashing*, דִּילָם *fullness*, from its full tone (also מִלָּא פִּי *full mouth*), שׁוּרִיק properly *συσπυρόν*, קָבִיעַ *closing* (of the mouth). This last meaning belongs also to קָמֵץ; and the reason why long *a* and short *o* (קָמֵץ חֲסִידָה *Qâ'mêš correptum*) have the same sign and name, seems to be that the inventors of the vowel-signs pronounced the long *a* rather obscurely, and somewhat like *o*, as it then passed over to a full *o* with the present German and Polish Jews; comp. the Syriac *â* with the Maronites= \hat{o} , the Swedish *â*, and the early change of *â* into \hat{o} even in the Hebrew (§ 9, 10, 2).¹ The distinction between them is shown in § 9. But *Sêghô'l* (סִגְחֹל *bunch of grapes*) appears to be named after its *form*; so too some call *Qibbûš* שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדּוֹת (*three points*).

The names were, moreover, so formed that the sound of each vowel was heard in the first syllable; and in accordance with this, some write *Sûghô'l*, *Qâ'mêš-châfû'ph*, *Qûbbû's*.

2. As appears from the examples given above, the vowel-sign is regularly put *under* the consonant *after* which it is to be pronounced, as $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *râ*, $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *ră*, $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *rê*, $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *rû*, etc. There is an exception to this rule in *Pă'thăch*, when it stands under a guttural at the end of a word (*Pă'thăch furtive*, see § 22, 2, b), for it is then spoken *before* the consonant, as רִיחַ *rû'ch* (wind,

¹ It has been conjectured that the signs for these vowels originally differed (as — *â*, — *ô*), and became identical only through carelessness in writing; but such a difference cannot be proved, for these two marks are quite identical, the former (—) being only the original, and the second ($\dot{\text{—}}$) the modified form.

spirit). We must also except *Chō'lem* (without *Wāw*), which is put to the left *over* the letter, as in ר̄ *rō*.¹

NB. When *Chō'lem* (without *Wāw*) and the diacritic point over ו (ו, ו) come together, one dot serves for both, as שׂוֹן *śō-nē'* (not שׁוֹן) hating, מֹד־שֶׁה *mō-shè* not מֹדֶה, שׂ (with two points), when no vowel stands under it, is *sho*, as in שׂוֹרֶר *shō-mē'r* (keeper); when no vowel goes before it, *os*, as in יָרֵשׁ *yēr-pō's* (he treads down), like רָקֹעַל *Is. 45, 20 han-nō-s'ēm* (the bearers), like רָקֹעַלִים.

The figure י̇ is sometimes sounded *ow*, the י being a consonant with *Chō'lem* before it, as לוֹוֹ *lō-wè* (lending); and sometimes *wō*, the *Chō'lem* being read after the *Wāw*, as שׁוֹן *'ā-wō'n* (sin) for שׁוֹן. In very exact impressions a distinction is made thus: י̇ *ōw*, י̇ *wō*, and י̇ *ō*.

3. The vowels of the first class (the *A* sound) are, with the exception of ו̇ in the middle, and of ו̇, ו̇, ו̇—

¹ Only very recently have we been made acquainted with a vowel system in many respects different from the common one. It is found in some MSS formerly kept at Odessa, but now in St. Petersburg. All the vowels except ו̇ are placed above the consonants, and deviate almost throughout in figure, and partly even in respect to the department of sound. Thus, for instance, Pathach and S'ghol, when they have the tone, are expressed by the same sign; but the short vowels without the tone are marked variously, according as they stand in a syllable sharpened by Daghesch forte (§ 12) or not. The accents deviate less, and stand partly under the line of the consonants. In respect to this, the so-called "Babylonian punctuation" (רְקִיבִי בְּבָבֶלִי) see *A. Harkavy* and *H. L. Strack's* "Catalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg." Vol. I & II., Petersb. & Leipz. 1875 p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by *H. Strack's* facsimile edition of *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Petersb. 1876 fol.); a codex of the year 916 which was discovered by *Firkowitsch* in 1839 in the synagogue of Tschufutkale in the peninsula of the Crimea. *Strack* has given a fragment of the same codex in *Hosea et Joel prophetae ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.* St. Petersburg. 1875. The result shows that the two systems (the Eastern or Babylonian and the western or Tiberian) were developed simultaneously, but that the western shows a higher degree of originality and approaches nearer the ancient fundamental laws of punctuation. A long specimen of this peculiar Text (the Book of Habakkuk) is given in *Pinner's* *Prospéctus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alterth. gehörenden ältesten hebr. und rabb. Manuscripte*, Odessa, 1845, 4. A sketch of this vowel-system, which had probably its origin among Babylonish Jews, has been given by *Rödiger* in the *Halle Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1848, Aug., No. 169, and by *Ewald* in the *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, I., Göttingen, 1849, p. 160 and foll.; but more thoroughly still by *Pinsker* in his *Einleitung in das Babylon.-hebr. Punctuationssystem*, Wien, 1863; and *Olshausen* in the *Monatsbericht d. Berlin. Akad. d. Wissensch.* July, 1865.

(§ 9, 1, 3) at the end of a word, indicated *only* by vowel-signs (§ 7, 2); but those of the two other classes (the *I* and *E* sound and the *U* and *O* sound) when long, are mostly expressed by vowel-letters, the sound of which is determined by the sign standing before or within or above them. Thus,—

י may be determined by *Chî'rêq* (י־), *Şê'rê* (י־), *S'ghô'l* (י־).

י by *Shû'rêq* (י) and *Chô'lêm* (י).¹

In Arabic the long *â* is regularly indicated by the vowel-letter 'A'leph (א־), so that in it three vowel-letters answer to the three vowel-classes. In Hebrew this use of א is very rare (§ 9, 1, and § 23, 3, Rem. 1).

4. When, in the second and third classes, the long vowel is expressed *without* a vowel-letter, it is called *scriptio defectiva*, when *with* a vowel-letter, *scriptio plena*. Thus קול and קום are written *fully*, קֹל and קֹום *defectively*.

The choice of the full or the defective mode of writing is not always arbitrary, as there are certain cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus, the full form is written for *û*, *i*, *ê* as well as for *ê* in הוּדָה etc. (§ 9, 8), and is necessary at the end of a word, e. g. קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי; but in Is. 40, 31 the Massora requires רָקִי for רָקִי, but the defective is usual when the vowel is preceded by the analogous vowel-letter as consonant, e. g. גוֹיִם for גוֹיִם *nations*, מִצְוֹת for מִצְוֹת *commands*,² עֲשׂוּם for עֲשׂוּם.

But in other cases, much depended on the option of the transcribers, so that the same word is written in various ways, e. g. הַקְדִּמְתִּי Ezek. 16, 60, הַקְדִּמְתִּי Jer. 23, 4, where other editions have הַקְדִּמְתִּי (comp. § 25, 1). It may be observed, however,

¹ The vowel-sign, which serves to determine the sound of the vowel-letter, is said to be *homogeneous* with that letter. Many, after the example of the Jewish grammarians, use here the expression, 'The vowel-letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel sign.' Hence the letters י and ו (with א and ו, see § 23) are called *litteræ quiescibiles*; when they serve as vowels, *quiescentes*, when they are consonants, *mobiles*. But the expression is not suitable; we should rather say, 'The vowel-letter is sounded as this or that vowel, or stands in place of the vowel.' The vowel-letters are also called by grammarians, *matres lectionis*, since they partly guide in reading the unpointed text.

² So also עֲדוּת *testimonies* is for עֲדוּת (plural of עֲדוּת in Aram. style), but used only in pl. with suf. as in עֲדוּתִי 1 K. 2, 3 *his testimonies*.—Tr.

a) That the defective writing is used chiefly, though not constantly, when the word has increased at the end, and the vowel of the penultima has lost somewhat of its stress in consequence of the accent or tone of the word being moved forward (see § 29, 2), as *קָלִי*; *צִדְקִים*; *צִדִּיק*; *קָלִי*; *קָלִי*; *קָלִי*;

b) That in the later books of the Old Testament the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual¹.

5. In the kindred dialects, when a vowel-letter has before it a vowel, that is not kindred or homogeneous, if it be *a*, then a diphthong is formed, e. g. *אֹ* *au*, *אֵ* *ai*. But in Hebrew, according to the pronunciation handed down, *א* and *י* retain here their consonant-sound, so that we get *āw*, *ay*,² e. g. *אֶרֶב* *nāw* (hook), *חַיִּי* *chāy* (living), and so also *גּוֹי* *gōy* (nation), *עָשׂוּי* *āsūy* (made), *גֵּו* *gew* (back). The sound of *אֵ* is the same as *אֹ*, namely, *āw*, as in *דְּבָרָיו* *debhā-rā'w* (his words); therefore often *אֹ* defectively for *אֵ*.

The LXX give generally, in these cases, an actual diphthong as in the Arabic, and this must be considered as an earlier mode of pronunciation; the modern Jewish pronunciation is, on the other hand, similar to the modern Greek, in which *αβ*, *εδ* sound like *av*, *ev*. In the manuscripts *Yodh* and *Waw* are, in this case, even marked with *Mappiq* (§ 14, 1). The Italian Jews sound these syllables more like diphthongs, e. g. *chài*, *gèu*, and so also *bait* (*בַּיִת*).

§ 9.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE SEVERAL VOWELS.

Numerous as the Heb. vowel-signs appear, they are yet insufficient for completely representing the various modifications of the vowel-sounds in respect to length and shortness, sharpness and expansion. It may be observed further, that the indication of the sound by these signs cannot be called always perfectly appropriate. We therefore give here, for the better understanding of this matter, a short commentary on the character and value of the several vowels,

¹ The same historical relation may be shown in the Phœnician, and in the Arabic when *ס* is used as a vowel-letter. Probably the vowel letters have been added to the older text of the Bible, in part at least, by later copyists.

² The *w* and *y* in these cases, as expressing the consonant-sound, are as much as possible like *w* in *wo* and *y* in *yet*, not as in *now* and *nay*.—*Tr.*

especially in respect to *length* and *shortness*; but at the same time noticing also their *changeableness* (see §§ 25, 27).

I. *First Class: A sound.*

1. *Qā'mēš* (—) is every where long *a*, but yet is in its nature of two kinds:

a) The essentially long *ā* which is not easily shortened and never entirely dropped (§ 25, 2), for which the Arabic regularly has **آ**—, as **كَلْبٌ** *kethā'bh*¹ (writing), **גַּנֵּב** *gān-nā'bh* (thief), **קָם** *qām* (he arose), very seldom written **קָאם**.²

b) The prosodically lengthened or tone-long *ā* (see § 26, 3), both in the tone-syllable and close before or after it. This sound invariably proceeds from the original short *ā*,³ and is found in an open syllable (i. e. one ending with a vowel, see § 26, 3), e. g. **לֶכֶּה**, **קָטַל**, **קָם**, **אָסִיר** (in Arabic *lākā*, *qāṭālā*, *yāqūm*, *'āsir*), and also in a closed syllable (i. e. one ending with a consonant), as **יָד**, **כֹּדֵב** (Arabic *yād*, *kaukūb*). In the closed syllable, however, it can stand only when this has the tone,⁴ **דְּבַר**, **עוֹלָם**, but in the open, it is especially frequent *before* the tone-syllable, as **לֵכֶם**, **קָטַלְנִי**, **נִדְוֹל**, **זָקֵן**, **דְּבַר**. When the tone is either moved forward or lessened, this vowel becomes, in the former case, short *a* (Pā'thäch), and in the latter, vocal *Shewā* (§ 27, 3), **דְּבַר**, **דִּבֵּר** (*debhār*); **חֵכֶם**, **חָכַם** (*chākhām*); **קָטַלְנִי**.

Under the final letter of a word, *Qā'mēš* may stand alone (**קָטַלְתָּ**, **לָהּ**), but in this position it is also indicated by **ה** (**קָטַלְתָּהּ**, **אָתָּה**, **אֲשֶׁה**). Comp. § 7, 2.

2. *Pā'thäch*, or the short *ā*, stands properly only in a closed syllable with and without the tone (**קָטַלְתָּם**, **קָטַלְתָּ**). Most of the cases where it now stands in an open syllable, had the syllable originally closed, as in **נָחַל** (original form *nachl*) and

¹ This long *ā* is rare in Hebr., since it has generally changed into *ō*, see No. 10, 2 on p. 42.

² Of another sort are the cases in which **א** has lost its original consonant-sound by softening (see § 23, 1, 2).

³ In the Arabic, the short *a* is still maintained.

⁴ When the tone is marked in this book, the sign — is usually put over the first letter of the syllable, see § 15, 2, Rem. 3.—Tr.

בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28, 4. Such an *ā* in an open syllable is else generally changed into *ā* (—); comp. above in No. 1, *b*.

On the rare union of Pāthäch with א (א—), see § 23, 2; on *ā* as a helping-sound (*Pāthäch furtive*), see § 22, 2, *b* and § 28, 4.

3. *S'ghô'l* (ע, é —) belongs, according to its origin, chiefly to the first class of vowels, but now and then to the second or the third. It belongs to the first, when it is a modification of *a* (as in the Ger. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*) either in an unaccented syllable, e. g. יָדָכֶם (for יָדְכֶם), or in the tone-syllable, e. g. אֶרֶץ from אֶרֶץ, קָרֵן (Arabic *qärn*), קָמַח (Arab. *qāmch*); even in an accented final syllable e. g. בְּרוֹז, or with a final ה as in מְרֹאֶה (Arab. *mar'ā*), or even in the gravest tone-syllable at the end of a clause or sentence (in *pause*, § 29, 4), as in מְלִכָּה, צָדִיק, though it then becomes *ā* in other words of this form, as in קָמַח, קָרֵן. *S'ghô'l*, which seems to be lengthened from *sh'wā* but which in fact comes likewise from an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as פָּרִי (groundform *pāri*), יָהִי (*yāhī*) etc.

II. Second Class · I and E sound.

4. The long *Ch'ireq*, *i*, is most commonly expressed by the letter י (a fully written *Ch'rëq* י—); but even when this is not the case, it makes no essential difference, provided the vowel is long by nature (§ 8, 4), e. g. צָדִיק *just*, plur. צְדִיקִים (*šād-di-qīm*); יִירָא *he fears*, plur. יִירָאוּ *they fear*. Whether a defectively written *Ch'rëq* is long, may be best known from the grammatical origin and character of the form, but often also from the character of the syllable (§ 26), or at the same time from the position of *Méthëgh* (§ 16, 2) at its side, as in יִירָאוּ (*yī-r'ā'*).

5. The short *Ch'rëq* (never written with י) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (אֲמִי, קֶטֶל),¹ and in closed unaccented syllables (לִקְטֵל). It often comes from a shortening of *a*, as in בָּתִּי (*my daughter*) from בַּת, דְּבָרִי from דָּבַר, יִקְטֵל out of יָקֵט; or it is an original *i*, lengthened by the tone to

¹ For this sharp *i* the LXX mostly use ε, Εἰμαυούλ.

ē, as in אֵיבָהּ (*thy foe*) from אֵיבָ (orig. 'āyibh). Sometimes also it is a mere helping-vowel, as in בֵּית for בִּית (§ 28, 4).

The older grammarians call every *fully* written Chîrêq, *Chîrêq magnum*, and every *defectively* written one, *Chîrêq parvum*; but as to the sound, this gives a wrong distinction.

6. The longest é, Šêrê with Yôdh (יֶ—), is a blended sound of the diphthong ai יֶ— (§ 7, 1), which, in the Arabic and Syriac, stands for it, as הַיְכָל (*palace*), in Arab. and Syr. *haikal*. It is therefore a very long and firm vowel, longer even than יֶ—, since it approaches the quantity of a diphthong. This יֶ— is but very seldom written defectively (יֶנִּי for יֶנִּי Is. 3, 8), and then it retains the same value.

At the end of a word, יֶ— and יֶ— must be written fully. In the form קִשְׁלָהּ (§ 44, Rem. 4), the vowels belong to the marginal reading קִשְׁלָהּ, called the Qêrî (§ 17).

7. The Šêrê without Yôdh is the long ē of the second rank, always lengthened from a short ĩ, and it stands only *in* and *close by* the tone-syllable, like the ā above (p. 39) in No. 1, b. It stands in an open syllable *with* or *before* the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (Arab. *sīphr*) *book*, שְׁנָה (Arab. *šināt*) *sleep*; in a closed syllable only *with* the tone, as in בֶּן *son*, אֵלֶם *dumb*.

8. The Šêghôl, so far as it belongs to the second class, is most generally a short obtuse ě, a shortening of the tone-long —, (this shortening having been occasioned by the weakening of the tone through the addition of a suffix or a word joined by *Mäqqêph*), as יָתֵן from יָתַן (*give*), יָצַר from יָצַר (*maker*), but also in the tone-syllable, as גָּרְזֵן (Arab. *kärzîn*) *an axe*, אֲחֵרֶת (fem. of אָחֵר), and at the end of a word as in חֹזֶה *chô-zè* (*a seer*); it appears besides as a helping-sound, as in סֵפֶר for סֵפֶר, יָגֵל for יָגֵל (§ 28, 4).

On the rise of Šêghôl out of other vowels see more in § 27, Rems. 1, 2, 4.

III. Third Class: U and O sound.

9. In the *third class* is found much the same relation as in the second. In the *U* sound we have:

1) the *long u*, whether a) fully written as Šhûrêq וּ (answering to the וֹ— of the second class), e. g. גְּבֻלָּה (border), or b) defectively written (analogous to the long — of

the second class) without the Wāw, as *Qibbūʿ* (—); viz., that which stands for *Shūʾrēq*, and should more properly be called *defective Shūʾrēq* (שׁוֹרֶק, שׁוֹרֶקֶת), being in fact a long vowel like *Shūʾrēq*, and only an orthographic shortening for the same.

2) The short *ū*, the proper *Qibbūʿ* (analogous to the short *Chīʾrēq*), in an unaccented closed syllable, and especially in a sharpened one, as שִׁלְחָן (*table*), סֵבֶה (*booth*).

For the latter the LXX put *o*, e. g. Ὀδολλάμ; but this only indicates on their part a defective pronunciation, since they also express *Chīʾrēq* by *ε*, as Ἐμμαουήλ for עֲמַנְיָאֵל. Equally incorrect was the former custom of giving to both sorts of *Qibbūʿ* the Germ. *ü*, though it finds an apparent justification in Palestine, (comp. the Turkish *bülbül* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the Syrian pronunciation *dünjā* of the Arabic *dunja*.)

Sometimes also the short *ū* in a sharpened syllable is expressed by *ı*, e. g. יִזְרִי=יִזְרִי (see § 27, Rem. 1 and *Dehltzsch* Com. Ps. 31. 3).

10. The *O* sound stands in the same relation to *U*, as *E* to *I* in the second class. It has four gradations:

1) the longest *ô*, sprung from the diphthong *au* (§ 7, 1), and mostly written in full *ı̄* (*Chōʾlēm plenum*), שׁוֹט (*a whip*, Arabic *saut*), עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עוֹלָה; more rarely it is written defectively, as שׁוֹרָה (*thy bullock*), from שׁוֹר;

2) The long *ō*, which has sprung from an original *ā* (comp. Germ. *alt* = Eng. *old*), usually written *fully* in a tone-syllable and *defectively* in a toneless one, as קָטַל (Arab. *qāṭil* and Aram. *qāṭēl*); אֱלֹהִים (*god*), Arab. *ʾilāh*, and Aram. *ʾēlāh*, pl. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sāq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *khâtām*; רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmāʾn*; מְלָכּוּת (*dominion*), Aram. מְלָכּוּת, Arab. *sūlāʾn*; שָׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שָׁלָם, Arab. *sālām*. Sometimes both forms co-exist, as שָׂרָךְ and שָׂרִיךְ (*coat of mail*); comp. § 68.

3) The tone-long *ō*, which is lengthened by the tone from an original short *o* or *u*, and which becomes short again on its removal, as כָּל (*all*), כֹּל (*köl*), כֻּלָּם (*kül-lām*), יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּהוּ, יִקְטְלוּהוּ (in this last instance it is shortened to vocal *Shʾwā*, *yīq-ṭlūʾ*, Arab. *yāq-tūlū*). In this case the *Chōʾlēm* is *fully* written only exceptionally.

4) The *Qā'mēš-chāṭū'ph* (—), always short and in the same relation to *Chō'lēm* as the *S'ghō'l* of the second class to the *S'ērē*, כֹּל *kōl*, נַיִם *nāy-yā-qōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qā'mēš*, see below in this section.

11. The *S'ghô'l* also belongs here, so far as it arises out of *u* or *o* (No. 3), e. g. in אַח, אָטלעם. See § 27, Rem. 4, *b*.

On the *half-vowels*, see § 10.

12. In the following table we give a scale of the vowel-sounds in each of the three classes, with respect to their quantity, from the greatest length to the utmost shortness. The table does not indeed suffice to exhibit all vowel transitions, which occur in the language, but yet it furnishes a view of those in more frequent use:—

First Class: A.	Second Class: I and E.	Third Class: U and O.
— longest \hat{a} (Arabic $\aleph_{\hat{a}}$).	— \hat{e} diphthongal (from ai).	— \hat{o} diphthongal (from au).
	— \hat{e} (from ai).	— or — \hat{o} changed from \hat{a} .
	— or — long \hat{i} .	— or — long \hat{u} .
— tone-long \bar{a} (from short \check{a} or —) in and by the tone-syllable.	— tone-long \bar{e} (from — \check{i} or — \check{e}) in and immediately before the tone-syllable.	— tone-long \bar{o} (from — \check{u} or —) in the tone-syllable.
— short \check{a} .		— short \check{u} , specially in a sharpened syllable.
— partly tone-long \hat{e} , partly short \check{e} , — i attenuated from \check{a} .	— short \check{i} .	— short \check{u} .
	— \check{e} , accented \hat{e} .	— \check{e} , accented \hat{e} .
Greatest shortening to — \check{a} or — \check{e} , also to	Greatest shortening to — \check{e} or — \check{i} .	Greatest shortening to — \check{u} or — \check{e} .

ON THE DISTINCTION OF QĀ'MĒS AND QĀ'MĒS-CHĀTŪPH.¹

As an instance of incongruity in the vowel-signs, we may notice the fact, that the long *ā* (*Qā'-meš*) and the short *o* (*Qā'-meš-chaū'uph*) are both represented by the same sign (֊), e. g. *qām*, ֊ *köl*.² The beginner who has as yet no

¹ This portion must, in order to be fully understood, be studied in connection with what is said on the syllables in § 26, and on Méthégh in § 16, 2.

² For the cause of this, see Note ¹ on p. 35; but cf. *Bær-Del.* Job 17, 9.

knowledge of that surest of guides, viz., the grammatical derivation of the words he has to read, may, in order to distinguish between these two vowels, follow these two chief rules: viz.—

1. The sign (—) is *ö* in a closed syllable which has not the tone (or accent); for such a syllable cannot have a long vowel (§ 26, 5). The examples are various:

a) When simple *Sh'wā'*, as syllable-divider (§ 10, 3), follows, as in חֹכְמָה *chōkh-mā' (wisdom)*, אֹכֶלֶת *'ōkh-lā' (food)*; with a *Methēgh* on the contrary, the (—) is *ā* and closes the syllable, and then the following *Sh'wā* is a half-vowel (*vocal Sh'wā*), as in אָכְלָה *'ā-khēlā (she ate)*, according to § 16, 2.

b) When *Dāghēsh forte* follows, as in חֲנִי *chōn-nē-ni (pity me)*; also בֵּיתִים *bōttīm (houses)*, בֵּית־לֶחֶם *bōt-lē-khēm*, though the *Methēgh* (§ 16, 2) makes others pronounce these words better with *ā*, as *būt-tīm*.

c) When *Māqqēph* follows (§ 16, 1), as כָּל־אָדָם *kōl-hā-'ādāhām (all men)*.

d) When the closed unaccented syllable is final, as וָאֵלָם *wāy-yā'qōm (and he stood up)*.—There are some cases where *ā* in the final syllable loses its tone by *Māqqēph* (§ 16, 1) and yet remains unchanged, e. g. כְּתִיב־הַזֶּה *Est. 4, 8*, שְׁתִּילִי *Gen. 4, 25, 16*, מְנַחֵם *Ps. 118, 5*. In such cases the *Methēgh* or a secondary accent generally stands by the (—).

In cases like לָמָּה *lā'mma*, where the (—) of the closed syllable has the tone, it is *ā*, according to § 26, 6.

2. The sign (—) as short *ö* in an open syllable is less frequent. It occurs:—a) when *Chāṭēph-Qā'mēš* follows, as פְּעֻלָּתוֹ *pū-'lō' (his deed)*; or simple vocal *Sh'wā* as שְׁרִיגָה *sting*;—b) when another *Qā'mēš-chā'ūph* follows, as פְּעֻלַּתְּךָ *pū-'ōl'khā' (thy deed)*;—c) in two anomalous words, where it is also written with (—), which is found in manuscripts, viz., קְדֹשִׁים *qō-dhā-shīm (sanctuaries)* and שְׁרֹשְׁתֵּם *shō-rā-shīm (roots)*.

In these cases (—) is followed by *Methēgh*, which indicates that the *Massora* (comp. *Bær-Del. Job VI.*) read *ā* thus: *pā-'lō, dā-rēbān, pā-'lēkhā, qā-dāšīm*. This tradition though sustained by the Babylon. Punct. (§ 8, 2, Note) and by the orig. Jewish Grammarians, is not to be accepted without question. The *Methēgh* may orig. have had another meaning, or have been founded upon an error. It is better to divide and read: *pō-'lō (f. pō-'lō), pō-'lēkhā, qōdā-šīm (clearly orthogr. for qōdāšīm)*. Quite as difficult would be *Methēgh* as a sign of *ā* in שְׁרֵיפֵי *Ex. 11, 8*, however possibly in שְׂרָפָה *bā-'nā, in the fleet 1 K. 9, 27* where the *ā* of the article is found under the *š*.

§ 10.

THE HALF-VOWELS AND THE SYLLABLE-DIVIDER (SH^WÂ).

1. Besides the full vowels, which § 9 chiefly treats of, the Hebrew has also a series of very slight vowel-sounds, which may be called *half-vowels*.¹ They are to be regarded in general as extreme shortenings, perhaps mere traces, of fuller and more distinct vowel-sounds in an earlier period of the language.

To them belongs, first, the sign —, which indicates the shortest, slightest, and most indistinct half-vowel, something like an obscure half *ë* (°). It is called *Sh^Wâ*,² and also *simple Sh^Wâ*, to distinguish it from the *composite* (see below in No. 2), and *vocal Sh^Wâ* (*Sh^Wâ mobile*), to distinguish it from the *silent* (*Sh^Wâ quiescens*), which is merely a divider of syllables (see No. 3). This last can occur only under a consonant closing the syllable, and is thus distinguished from the vocal *Sh^Wâ*. Of the vocal *Sh^Wâ* we have again to distinguish two kinds,

1) the real *Sh^Wâ mobile*, beneath such consonants as are closely united (as a kind of *appoggiatura*), with the following syllable, whether — *a*) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל *qâ-ṭōl*, מַלְלֵה *m^Wällē*; or — *b*) in the middle of the word, as קָטַלְתָּ *qâ-ṭāṭ*, יִיקְלֹלְךָ *yîq-ṭlū*, קִטְלֵלְךָ *qittl^Wlū*,

2) the so-called *Sh^Wâ medium*,³ or *Sh^Wâ* wavering [*schwebende*] placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effect at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as *appoggiatura* to the following syllable. The *Sh^Wâ medium* therefore stands between the *Sh^Wâ quiescens* and the real *Sh^Wâ mobile*. With reference to pronunciation however, it must be

¹ In the table § 9, 12 on p. 43, the half-vowels have already been exhibited for the sake of a more complete view. We express them by very small letters.

² The name שׁוֹׁאֵ is written also שׁוֹׁאֵ, and its derivation and proper meaning are disputed.

³ Dr. Davies preferred to regard the cases here classified (under the name of *medium*) as exceptionally faint *vocal Sh^Wâs*, to be indicated in English by an apostrophe ('), thus מַלְלֵה *mäl'-khē*.—Ed.

counted among the latter; e. g. *הִנְנִי* *hin-ni* (which stands for *הִנְנִי* *hin-n-ni*); *לַמְנַחֵשׁ* *la-m-naḥṣṣ'ch* (for *לַמְנֵחֵשׁ*, *mal'khé*).

The sound *ē* may be regarded as representing *vocal Sh'wâ*, although it is certain that it often accorded in sound with other vowels. The Sept. express it by *ε*, even *η*, *קְרוֹבִים* *Xeroubím*, *הָאֱלֹהִים* *állēlōúia*, oftener by *α*, *שָׁמוּחַ* *Samouch*, but very often they give it a sound to accord with the following vowel, as *סֹדוֹמָא*, *הַסֹּדוֹמִי* *Solomón* (besides *Σαλωμών*), *נַבְיָא* *Nabīa*, *נַבְיָא* *Nabīa*.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Sh'wâ* is given also by the Jewish grammarians of the middle ages².

How the *Sh'wâ* sound springs from the slight or hasty utterance of a stronger vowel, we may see in *בְּרַכָּה* (for which also *בְּרַכָּה* occurs, see No. 2, Rem.) from *barakha*, as this word also sounds in Arabic. This language has still regularly for *vocal Sh'wâ* an ordinary short vowel.

2. With the simple *vocal Sh'wâ* is connected the so-called *composite Sh'wâ* or *Chāṭēph (rapid)*, i. e. a *Sh'wâ* attended by a short vowel to indicate that we should sound it as a half *ä*, *ē*, or *ö*. We have, answering to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7, 1), the following *three Chāṭēphs*:

(—) *Chāṭēph-Pāthäch*, as in *חַמּוֹר* *ch'môr* (ass).

(—) *Chāṭēph-S'ghô'l*, as in *אָמַר* *'môr* (to say).

(—) *Chāṭēph-Qā'mēs*, as in *חֲלִי* *ch'li* (sickness).

These *Chāṭēphs*, at least the two former, stand chiefly under the four gutturals (§ 22, 3), the utterance of which naturally causes the annexed half-vowel to be rather more distinctly sounded. At the beginning of the syllable a guttural can never have a *simple Sh'wâ*.

Rem. Only (—) and (—) occur under letters which are not gutturals.

¹ This is not unusual in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e. g. *מַלַּאכָּה* *Malaca*, *גִּבּוּלִים* *gubulim* (see *Gesen. Mon. Phœnicia* p. 436, *Schröder*, die phonic. Spr., S. 139 ff., *Movers'* article *Phœnizien* in the *Encyclop.*, p. 436). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in *τέτυφα*, *τετυμμένος*, and the old form *memordi*.

² See, especially *Juda Chayyug*, p. 4 and p. 130 of the edition by Nutt, (Berlin, 1870) = p. 200 in ed. by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844), also in *Ibn Erra's* *Sachoth*, p. 3, *Gesenius's* *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, S. 68. The "Manuel du lecteur" mentioned above § 6, 1 contains also express rules for the different utterances of the *vocal Sh'wâ*.

The *Chāṭēph-Pāṭhāch* is thus found instead of *simple vocal Shēwā*, especially *a*) under a doubled letter, since the doubling causes a more distinct utterance of the vocal Shēwā, as שָׁבְלִי *branches* Zech. 4, 12, especially also where the sign of doubling has fallen away (*Del.* and *Guer.* Ztschr. Bd. 24, p. 499), יִתְאַלְצִי Judg. 16, 18; no less universally where after a consonant with (—) the same consonant follows (for sharper distinction) e. g. שָׁדַדְרִים Ps. 68, 7; קָלְלָתָהּ Gen. 27, 13 (except some special cases like הִנֵּנִי *see me!*) and finally under ר after the long vowel and before the tone e. g. בָּרַכְרִי Ps. 108, 1; *b*) under the initial sibilants after א copulative e. g. הִזְרַב Gen. 2, 12; הִשְׁקָה Gen. 27, 26, to give the *Shēwā* more prominence; for the same reason under emphatic פ in וְקָרַב Ps. 55, 2 and under ר in וְרָצַם Ps. 28, 9; *c*) under liquids, sibilants, or ק after י, e. g. אֶזְרִיחַ Ps. 12, 7, בָּטַחְךָ Ps. 74, 5 for the same reason, as cases under *b*.

The *Chāṭēph-Qāṁēṣ* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for *simple vocal Shēwā* when an *O* sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. רָאָה for רָאָ vision (§ 93, VI. Rem. 6), יִרְדָּקָה for the usual יִרְדָּקָה Ez. 35, 6, from יִרְדָּקָה *his pate* from יִרְדָּקָה. It is used, also, like (—) when *Dāghēsh fortè* has fallen away, לָקַחְהָ for לָקַחְהָ Gen. 2, 23. Here, as in וְשָׁלַח 1 K. 18, 7, and וְצָעַק Jer. 22, 20, the choice of this *composite Shēwā* is dependent on the following guttural and the preceding *U* sound; in וְשָׁחַרְהָ (*u-ṣḥōr*) additionally on the fol. *O* sound.

3. The sign of the *simple Shēwā* (—) serves also as a mere *syllable-divider*, without expressing any sound, and therefore called in this case *silent Shēwā* (Arab. *sukûn* rest). It stands in the midst of a word under every consonant that closes a syllable; at the end of words, on the other hand, it is omitted, except in *final* ד, e. g. מֶלֶךְ (*king*), and in the less frequent case where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant, as in נָרַד (nard), אַתָּה (*thou, fem.*), קָטַלְתָּ (*thou hast killed*), וַיִּשָּׂק (*and he watered*), וַיִּשָּׂק (*and he took captive*), אַל־תִּשָּׂה (*drink thou not*).

Yet in the last examples *Shēwā* under the last letter might rather pass for *vocal*, since it is pretty clear that a final vowel has been shortened, e. g. אַתָּה *'attā* from אַתָּה *'attā*, קָטַלְתָּ from קָטַלְתָּ *yishbē* from קָטַלְתָּ, etc. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in the analogous forms. In נָרַד (Cant. 4, 14) borrowed from the Indian, קָטַלְתָּ (*truth*) Prov. 22, 21, *qōshṭ*, אַל־תִּשָּׂה (*ne addas*) Prov. 30, 6 the final mute draws from itself a very slight vowel sound.

¹ So thought *Juda Chayyūy* among the Jewish grammarians.

Mäppî'q, מַפְּי'ק *proferens*, i. e. *signum prolationis*), and it was expressed in writing by a mere *prick* of the *stilus* (*punctum*). In a manner somewhat analogous, in textual criticism letters and words are represented as expunged (*ex-puncta*) by a *point* or *pointed instrument* (*obeliscus*) affixed to them.—The opposite of Dāghē'sh is רַמַּח soft (§ 14, 2).—That רַמַּח, in grammatical language, is applied to a *hard pronunciation* of various kinds appears from § 22, 4, Rem. 1.

2. Its use as *Dāghē'sh forte*, i. e. for *doubling* a letter, is of chief importance (compare the *Siculus* of the ancient Latins, e. g. *Luculus* for *Lucullus*, and in German the stroke over *m* and *n*). It is wanting in the unpointed text, like the vowel and other signs.

For the cases where it stands, and for further particulars respecting its varieties, see § 20.

§ 13

OF DĀGHĒSH LENE.

1. Dāghē'sh *lene*, the sign of *hardening*, belongs only to the aspirates (*literae aspiratae*) בְּגִרְכַּת (§ 6, 3)¹. It takes away their aspiration, and restores their original *slender* or *pure* sounds (*literae tenues*) e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mal'-lēkh*, but מַלְכּוֹ *mal-kô'*; חָפֶר *tā-phār*, but יִחְפֹּר *yith-pō'r*; שָׁחַד *shū-thā'*, but יִשָּׁחַד *yish-tē*.

2. Dāghē'sh *lene*, as shown in § 21, stands only at the beginning of words and syllables. It is thus easily distinguished from Dāghē'sh *forte*, since in such cases the doubling of a letter is impossible. Thus the Dāghē'sh is *forte* in אָפִי *āp-pī*, רַבִּים *rāb-bīm*, but *lene* in יִגְדֹּל *yigh-dāl*, פָּנִים *pānim*.

3. Dāghē'sh *forte* in an aspirate doubles it in its original harder sound, so excluding its aspiration and serving at once for both *forte* and *lene*, as in אָפִי *āp-pī*, רַכּוֹת *rāk-kō'th*. Compare in German *stechen* and *stecken*, English *stitch* and *stick*, *wachen* and *wecken*, Engl. *watch* and *wake*.

It is natural that where the letter is to be doubled, it does not admit easily of such a softening of its sound. In confirmation of this rule

¹ Prof. *Kautsch* notices here an anomalous application of the *Dāghē'sh lene* to other than the aspirates in order to accentuate the beginning of a new syllable. Examples of this are to be found in the corrected text of *Baer-Delitzsch*, e. g. בְּקִלְלֵי Ps. 9, 2, מְרִשִּׁי Ps. 62, 8, comp. *Delitzsch*, luth. Ztschr. 1863, S. 413.—*Ed.*

we may refer to certain Oriental words, which, in the earliest times, passed over into the Greek language, as כָּפָא χάππα (not χάφφα), yet כָּפָר σάπφειρος.

The doubling of a letter does not occur in Syriac, at least not in its Western dialects. Where it would be required, however, according to etymology and analogy, in some cases the hard sound at least remains: thus אֲפִין in Syriac is read 'apîn for 'appîn, דַּכִּי dakhî for dakkî.

§ 14.

MAPPÎ'Q AND RÂPHÈ.

1. *Mäppî'q*, like Dāghē'sh, to which it is analogous, is a point in a letter. It belongs only to the vowel-letters א, י, ו, and ח (literae quiescibiles, see § 7, 2), and shows that they are to be fully sounded as *consonants*, instead of serving as vowels. It is at present used only in final ח, for in the body of a word this letter always has its consonant force, e. g. גְּבִיחַ gā-bhū'h (to be high), אֶרֶץ אֲרָצָה 'ār-ṣā'h (her land), the h having its full consonant-sound (shortened from -hā), in distinction from אֶרֶץ אֲרָצָה 'ā'r-ṣā (land-ward), which ends with a vowel.

Without doubt such a ח was uttered with stronger aspiration, like the Arabic *He* at the end of the syllable. The use of *Mäppî'q* with א, י, ו, to mark them as consonants, is almost confined to manuscripts, e. g. עֵי (gōy), קָו (qāw); and it appears in the printed text only very seldom with the 'Alēph, thus א Gen. 43, 26, Lev. 23, 17, Ezr. 8, 18.

The name כְּפִיק signifies *proferens* i. e. a sign that requires the sound of the letter to be clearly expressed as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for Dāghē'sh, because the design was analogous, viz., to indicate the strong sound of the letter. Hence also *Rāphè* is the opposite of both.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפָּה i. e. *soft*), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the opposite of both Dāghē'sh and Mäppî'q, especially of Dāghē'sh *lene*. In exact manuscripts especially an aspirate has either Dāghē'sh *lene* or Rāphè, e. g. מְלֶכְךָ mē'lekh, חֲזָקָה, חֲזָקָה; but in printed editions of the Bible (except of Baer-Delitzsch, v. Note, p. 49) it is used only when the absence of Dāghē'sh or Mäppî'q is to be expressly noted, e. g. *Dagh. f.* wanting in חֲזָקָה for חֲזָקָה Judg. 16, 16, and *Dāghē'sh lene* in מְשַׁחֵר v. 28, and *Mäppî'q* in Job 31, 22.

§ 15.

OF THE ACCENTS.

1. The design of the *accents* in general is, to show the rhythmical members of the verses in the Old Testament text, especially in the poetical books. But as such the use is two-fold, according to which they are chiefly to be noticed in the grammar, viz.—*a*) to show the logical relation of each word to the whole sentence;—*b*) to mark the tone-syllable in each word. In respect to the former, they serve as signs of *interpunction*; in respect to the latter, as signs of the *tone* or *accent*.

In their *original* idea accents are chiefly signs of *declamation*, intimating the elevation and depression of the tone, and are used as such in the recitation, or rather the *cantillation*, of the Old Test. in the synagogues. This use of them is also connected with the general rhythmical design.

2. As a sign for marking the *tone* of a single word, the accent, whatever its rhythmical value besides may be, stands regularly (comp. Rem. 2, p. 54) with the syllable which has the chief tone in the word. In most words the tone is on the last syllable, less frequently on the last but one (*penultima*). In the first case, the word is called by the grammarians *mīl-rá'* (מִלְרָא' Aram. *from below*), e. g. קָטַל *qā-tā'l*; in the second, *mīl-ē'l* (מִלְעֵל Aram. *from above*), e. g. מָלַךְ *mā'-lēkh*. On the third syllable from the end (*antepenultima*) the chief tone never stands; but we often find there a secondary one, or by-tone, which is indicated by the *Méthēgh* (§ 16, 2). The Jewish grammarians accept also a proparoxytone in such cases as יָחַד יַעֲמֶדָה Is. 50, 8.

3. The use of the accents as signs of *interpunction* is somewhat complicated, since they serve not merely to *separate* the members of a sentence, like our period, colon, semicolon and comma, but also as marks of *connection*. Hence they form two general classes, *Distinctives* (Domini) and *Conjunctives* (Servi). Again there is to be distinguished a double system of accentuation *a*) the *Prosaic*, found in 21 O. T. books (the so-called א"ב i. e. 21) and *b*) the *Poetical* in the three first

books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Comp. Note⁵ p. 22. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the Prosodic.

The following list of the accents presents them in the order¹ of their value as *signs of interpunction*.

I. PROSAIC ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives (Domini)

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| I. <i>Impetratores</i> | { | 1. () סוף פסוק (<i>Sillū'q</i> , ² "end") with (:) פסוק סוף; |
| | | 2. () אתנח (<i>Athnā'ch</i> , "rest"); ³ |
| | | 3. () סגלתא (<i>Sēghōltā</i> , "bunch of grapes"); †† |
| | | 4. () שלשלתו (<i>Shālshēlēth</i> , "chain") with פסוק following; |
| II. <i>Reges</i> | { | 5. () זקה קטון (<i>Zāqēph qātōn</i> , "slight suspension"); |
| | | 6. () זקה גדול (<i>Zāqēph gādhol</i> , "great suspension"); |
| | | 7. () רביע (<i>Rēbhā'</i> , "square" or "reposing"); |
| III. <i>Duces</i> | { | 8. () פשטא (<i>Pāshṭa</i> , "letting down"); †† |
| | | 9. () יתיב (<i>Yēthibh</i> , "sitting still"); † |
| | | 10. () טפחא (<i>Tiphchā</i> , "palm of the hand"); † ⁴ |
| | | 11. () תביר (<i>Tēbhīr</i> , "interruption"); |
| | | 12. () זרקא (<i>Zarqā</i> , "dispersion"); †† |
| | | 13. () גרש (<i>Gerēsh</i> , "expulsion"); |
| IV. <i>Comites</i> | { | 14. () גרשים (<i>Gerāshim</i> , "double Geresh"); |
| | | 15. () לגרמיהו (<i>Le'garmēh</i> = מרחה (see 21) with פסוק (ו) (<i>Pēsiq</i> , "cut off"); |
| | | 16. () פזר (<i>Pāzēr</i> , "separator"); |
| | | 17. () קרני פרה (<i>Qārñē-phārā</i> , "heifer's horns"); |
| | | 18. () תלישא גדולה (<i>Tēlishā Gēdholā</i> , "great shield"); |

¹ This list has been tabulated and enlarged for the sake of clearness. The order here given is that adopted by *Kautzsch*, with the addition of the Hebrew names and their definitions as given by *Stade* (*Lehrb.* 1879), *Ewald* and others.—*Ed.*

² Only at the end of the verse and always united with (:) *Sēph-pāssū'q* which separates each verse, e. g. : פסוק סוף.

³ Usually under the tone-syllable of the last word in the first half of the verse.

⁴ For explanation of the signs † and †† see Rem. 2 below.

† = prepositional
 †† = postpositional

B. Conjunctives (Servi).

19. (,) מִירְכָּא (*Mēr'khā*, "prolonging");
20. (,) מִירְכָּא כְּפֻלָּא (*Mer'khā khēphūla*, "m. doubled");
21. (,) מוֹנָח (*Mūnāch*, "at rest");
22. (,) דְּרָגָא (*Dārgā*, "progress");
23. (') קִדְמָא (*Qūdhmā*, "beginning");
24. (,) מַהֲפָךְ (*Māhpāch*, "inverted");
25. (') תְּלִישָׁא קַטְנָה (*Tēlishā Qētanā*, "little shield"); ††
26. (,) יְרַח בְּנִי יוֹמֹי (*Yērāch ben Yōmō*, "moon a day old");
27. (,) מֵאַלָּא (*Mē'ailā*, "from afar").¹

II. POETICAL ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives.

1. (:) סְלֻק *Silluq* (see above).
2. (') מִירְכָּא מַהֲפָךְ *Mer'khā m'huppākh* or 'Ölev'jörēd, a stronger separator than
3. (,) אֶתְנָח *'Athnā'ch* (v s). In smaller verses *'Athnāch* suffices as chief separator; in larger ones the *Mer'khā m'huppākh* serves as such, and is then always followed by *'athnach* as greatest distinctive of the second half of the word,
4. (') גְּדוּל רַבִּיעַ *Great Rēbiā*,
5. (') רַבִּיעַ מִגְרֵשׁ *Rēbhiā Mugrāsh*, i.e. *Rēbhiā* with *Ge'rēsh* over the same word,
6. (') שְׁלֵשֶׁלֶת *Shālshēlēth* (v. s.),
7. (') צִנּוֹר *Šinnôr* (*Zārqā*) ††;
8. (,) רַבִּיעַ קְטוֹן *Little Rēbhiā*, immediately before *Mēr'khā m'huppākh*,
9. (,) דְּחִי *Dēchî* or *tūphchā* prepositive †,
10. (') פָּזֵר *Pāzēr* (v. sup.),
- 11a. (,) מַהֲפָךְ לְגַרְמָה *M'huppākh l'garmēh*, i. e. *māhpākh* with *Pēsīq*,
- 11b. (') אֶזְלָא לְגַרְמָה *'Azlā l'garmēh*, i. e. *Azlā* with *Pēsīq*.

¹ To indicate the secondary tone in words which have *Silluq* or *'Athnā'ch*.

B. Conjunctives.

12. () מֵרְכָא *Mēr'khā* (v. s.),
13. () מוֹנַח *Mūnach* (v. s.),
14. () עֲלִי *Illui* or *Munach Superior*.
15. () טָרְחָא *Tār'chā* placed under the tone-syllable and thus easily distinguished from No. 9.
16. () גָּלְגַל *Galgal* (or *Yērūch* v. no. 26 supra.),
17. () מַהְפָּאָה *Māhpākh* (v. s.),
18. () אֲזֵלָא *Azlā* (v. s.),
19. () שְׁלִשְׁתֵּי קֶטְנָה *Shalsheleth q'etannāh* (little Sh). The last three are distinguished from the distinctives of the same name by the absence of the *P'siq* stroke.

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. As Signs of the Tone.

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἰμ' and εἴμ', *entrānce* and *ēntrance*), so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants and vowel-signs are often distinguished by the accent, e. g. בָּנִי *bā-nū'* (*they built*), בָּנוּ *bā'nū* (*in us*), קָמָה *qā'mā* (*she stood up*), קָמָה *qāmā'* (*standing up, fem.*).

2. As a rule, the accents stand on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. Some, however, stand only on the first letter of a word (*prepositive*), others only on the last letter (*postpositive*). The former are designated in the table by †, the latter by ††. These do not, therefore, clearly indicate the tone-syllable, which must be known in some other way.

3. The place of the accent, specially when it is on the penultima, is indicated in this book by the sign (—), e. g. קָמָה *qā-ṭā'l-tā*.

II. As Signs of Interpunction.

4. In respect to this use of the accent, every verse is regarded as a period, which closes with *Sillū'q*¹, or, in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a realm (*dīth*), which is governed by the great Distinctive at the end (*Imperator*). According as the verse is long or short, i. e. as the empire is large or small, so varies the number of *Domini* of different grades, which form the larger and smaller divisions.

¹ This has the same form with *Methēgh* (§ 16, 2); but they are readily distinguished, as *Sillūq* always stands at the last tone-syllable of a verse, while *Methēgh* never stands at a tone-syllable.

§ 16. MAQQEPH AND METHEGH.

5. Conjunctives (*Servi*) unite only such words as are closely connected in sense, as a noun with an adjective, or with another noun in the genitive. For the closest connection of two or several words *Mäqqēph* is used (§ 16, 1).¹

6. In very short verses few conjunctives are used, and sometimes none; a small distinctive, in the vicinity of a greater, having a connective power (*servit domino majori*). In very long verses, on the contrary, conjunctives are used for the smaller distinctives (*fiunt legati dominorum*).

7. Without attempting here to explain¹ the laws of consecution, we may remark, to avoid misunderstanding, that in poetic accentuation, the *Eḇblāʿ* *Mugrāsh* before *Sillāq* and the *Dēchî* before *ʾAṭhnāʿch* must be changed into a conjunctive, unless at least two unaccented syllables precede the chief distinctives. Here *Shēwā mobile* after *Qāʾmēṣ*, *Ṣēʾrē* or *Chōlēṁ* (with *Methēgh*) is considered as forming a syllable.

§ 16.

OF MÄQQĒPH AND METHĒGH.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. *Mäqqēph* (מקף *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between two words, which thus become so united that, in respect to tone and interpunction, they are regarded as one, and have but one accent. Two, three, and four words may be united in this way, e. g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb* Gen. 1, 29, אֶת־כָּל־אֲדָמָה *all which to him* (was) Gen. 25, 5.

Certain monosyllabic words, like אֶל *to*, עַל *on*, אֶת־ sign of the *Acc.*, כָּל *all*, are almost always thus connected. But a longer word may also be joined to a monosyllable, e. g. הָיָה־לְיָמִינוּ Gen. 6, 9, הָיָה־לְיָמִינוּ Gen. 1, 7, 9; or two polysyllables, e. g. שָׁבַע־הַיָּמִים Gen. 7, 11. —Compare the Greek proclitics ἐν, ἐξ, ἐκ, ἐκ, ὡς, οὗ, which as ἄτονα lean on the next word.

2. *Methēgh* (מֶתֶחַךְ *a bridle*), a small perpendicular line on the left of a vowel, indicates a kind of check upon the influence of the accents as marking the tone-syllable, and shows

¹ The curious student is referred, for a full treatment of the Accents, to *Ewald's Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache*, §§ 97—100. See also Prof. A. C. Davidson's *Outlines of Heb. Accentuation*. Edinb. 1861, the appendix to *Delitzsch's* commentary on Psalms, and *Delitzsch's* review, in Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's elements (Leipz. 1877). It is to be noted that a thorough study of the accents can only be made with the aid of correct editions of the text, like those of *Baer Delitzsch*, our ordinary texts being corrupt.

that the vowel, though not accented, should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation; (hence the other names of *Mèthēgh*: *Ma'rikh* (מַאֲרִיחַ), i. e. *lengthener*, or *gā'yā* (גָּאֵיָא) i. e. *raising of the voice*).¹

There has to be distinguished: 1) The *light Mèthēgh*. This is divided again into: a) the ordinary *Mèthēgh* of the secondary tone, as a rule on the second syllable before the tone, e. g. הָאֲרִיחַ; but also in the third when the second is closed, e. g. הָאֲרִיחַ and, when the third cannot take it, even the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Mèthēgh* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone when it already stands in the second. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open *ultima* which is joined by *mäqqē'ph* to a word beginning with *Shēwā* pretonic, e. g. שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי, מִירְלָה to prevent the *Shēwā* from being regarded as *silent*.

This *Mèthēgh* never stands with the ו copulative; therefore not. וְבָנִים etc. (likewise not וְבָנִי etc.—contrary to *b*, α, below; although וְזָרָח etc. according to *b*, δ, comp. § 10, 2. Rem.)

b) the firm or indispensable *Mèthēgh*. α) with all long vowels which are followed by vocal *Shēwā* pretonic, e. g. קָטְלָה etc. β) to emphasize a long vowel immediately before *Mäqqē'ph*, e. g. שְׁדִלִי Gen. 4, 25 (ā, not ō). γ) with *Šērē* which has lost its accent by the removal of the tone, to prevent its pronunciation as *Sēghôl*, e. g. אֶזְרָב (not 'ôhēbh). δ) with all vowels before composite *Shēwā* e. g. יִצְעָקִים, יִצְמָד etc. except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. יִקְבָּנִי Is. 62, 2, because the sharpening by *dāghē'sh* excludes the lengthening of the vowel by *Mèthēgh*. ε) In the initial syllable of all forms of הָיָה to be, and הִיָּה to live, where the ה and ה stand with *silent Shēwā* (for greater distinctness of utterance) e. g. הִיָּה, הָיָה etc. ζ) with the *Qā'mēs* of the plural forms בָּיִת, house (thus בָּתִּים *bāttim* etc.) and with אָנָּה *prithēe!* to avoid the sounds *bōttim*, *ōnnā*.

Every kind of light *Mèthēgh* may in certain circumstance be changed into a conjunctive accent.

¹ Comp. as the source of the article on *Mèthēgh*, the thorough discussion of S. Baer upon the "Metheg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen" in A. Merx, Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test. Heft I (Halle 1867), S. 56, and Heft II (1868), S. 194.

2) The *grave Méthëgh* (Gá'yā in a more limited sense) is not employed to lengthen, but only to give more importance to a short vowel or an initial *Sh'wā*, especially to the *Pāthäch* of the article or the prefixes ל, כ, ב, when followed by *Sh'wā*, e. g. הַמִּסְלָה, לַמִּסְלָה *etc.*, but not before י (except יְיָ and יִיָּהּ when they stand before *Méthëgh* or with the accent *Pāshtā*) nor before or after the ordinary *Méthëgh*. It is also put with interrogative ה when it has *Pāthäch* and at the *right side* of it e. g. הֲאֵלֶּךָ (except before י, *dāghē'sh forte*, or the tone). The so-called *Sh'wā Gá'yā* is especially important in poetical accentuation, for purposes of musical recitation. It stands chiefly upon words whose principal tone is marked by a *Distinctive* without a preceding *Conjunctive*.

3) The *Euphonic Gá'yā*, for the distinct enunciation of such consonants as, in consequence of the loss of the tone, might easily be neglected, e. g. יִשְׁכַּב לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; מִדְּבַר אֶרֶם 28, 2 *etc.*

Rem. 1. The *Méthëgh* is of special service to the beginner, as indicating (according to letter *a*, above) the quantity of *Qāmëṣ* and *Chîrëṣ* before a *Sh'wā*. Thus in אֶחָלָה 'a-khēlā' the *Méthëgh* shows that the *Sh'wā* is here *vocal*; but the (—) in an open syllable before (—) must be *long* (§ 26, 3), consequently *Qāmëṣ*, not *Qāmëṣ-chāṭū'ph*. On the contrary, in אֶחָלָה without *Méthëgh* the (—) stands in a closed syllable and is consequently *short* (*Qāmëṣ-chāṭū'ph*). Thus also יִרָאוּ (they fear) with *Méthëgh* with a long *i*, *yî-rē'û*, but יִרְאוּ (they see) without *Méthëgh* with short *i*, *yîr'û*; see also the rule about *Qāmëṣ* and *Qāmëṣ-chāṭū'ph* above in § 9.

Rem. 2. It should be said however that the Jewish Grammarians do not consider syllables lengthened by *Méthëgh* as open. With them the *Sh'wā* is silent, in cases like אֶחָלָה (above), the כ belonging to the preceding syllable. Comp. *Baer*. *Torath 'Emeth* p. 9. and in *Merx's Archiv* I. p. 60. Rem. 1.

§ 17.

OF THE QĒRI AND KETHIBH.

The margin of the Bible exhibits a number of various readings of an early date (§ 3, 2), called קרי (*read*), because in the view of the Jewish critics they are to be preferred

to what stands in the text, and to be read instead of what is there written, hence called כְּחִיב (written). Those critics have therefore attached the vowel-signs, appropriate to the marginal reading, to the corresponding word in the text; e. g. in Jer. 42, 6, we find in the text אָנֹכִי, in the margin אֶנְחִי קָרִי. Here the vowel-points in the text belong to the word in the margin, which is to be pronounced אֶנְחִי *we*; but in reading the *Kethibh* אָנֹכִי, the proper vowels must be supplied, namely אָנֹכִי *we*. A small circle or asterisk over the word in the text always directs to the marginal reading. — With some words of frequent occurrence, that are *always* read otherwise than they are written, it has not been thought needful to put in the margin the word as read, but only to attach its vowels to the word in the text; and the word so pointed is called a *Qeri perpetuum*. So we find הוּא (Q. הוּא) in the Pentateuch wherever it stands as *feminine* (§ 32, Rem. 6); יִשְׁשַׁכָּר (Q. יִשְׁשַׁכָּר) Gen. 30, 18 *etc.* comp. *Gesen. Lex.* and *Baer-Delitzsch, Liber Genesis* p. 84, יִרְשָׁלַם (Q. יִרְשָׁלַם), properly יִרְשָׁלַם; יְהוָה (Q. אֲדֹנָי the Lord), or יְהוָה (Q. אֱלֹהִים God) whenever אֲדֹנָי stands next before it in the text, but properly it is always יְהוָה *Yäh-wé* (comp. § 102, 2, Rem.).

As to the critical value of the marginal readings see *Gesenius's* *Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache*, S. 50, 75.

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLES AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

In order fully and rightly to comprehend the changes which the forms of the various parts of speech undergo, it is necessary first to get acquainted with certain general laws which govern those changes. These laws are founded

partly on the peculiarities of certain classes of letters, considered individually or as combined in syllables, and partly on certain usages of the language in reference to the syllables and the tone.

§ 19.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

The changes occasioned among consonants by the formation of words, inflection, euphony, or certain influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation*, *assimilation*, *rejection* and *addition*, *transposition*.

1. *Commutation* takes place most naturally among letters which are *homorganic* or homogeneous (comp. § 6, Rem. 1 on page 29), e. g. עָלַם, עָלַז, עָלַז to *exult*; לָאָה, לָהָה, Aram. לָעָא to *tire*; יָם— and יָן— (as plural ending); לָחַץ and לָחַץ to *press*; סָבַר and סָבַר to *close*; מָלַט and מָלַט to *slip* or *escape*. In process of time, and as the language approximated to the Aramæan, hard and rough sounds specially were exchanged for softer ones, e. g. נָעַל for נָעַל to *reject*, צָחַק for צָחַק to *laugh*; and for the sibilants were substituted the corresponding flat sounds, as ד for ז, ט for צ, ת for ש; which latter cases may be regarded as a return to an earlier pronunciation.

This interchange of consonants affects the original forms of words more than it does their grammatical inflection; the consideration of it, therefore, belongs rather to the lexicon. Examples occur, however, in the grammatical inflection of words; viz., the interchange — a) of ת and ט in Hithpa'el, (§ 54); — b) of ר and י in verbs *Pe I'ôdh* (§ 69), as יָדַר for יָדַר (*he began*).

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when a consonant, at the close of a syllable, passes over into the one beginning the next syllable, so as to form with it a double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συν-λαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs—

a) most frequently with the slightly nasal נ, especially before harder consonants, e. g. מִשָּׁם (for מִשָּׁם) *from there*,

מִיָּדָה (for מִיָּדָה) *from this*, יָתֵן (for יִתֵּן) *he will give*, נָתַתָּ (for נָתַתָּ) *thou hast given*. Before gutturals נ is commonly retained (except sometimes with ח); also after the prefix ל, as לִנְתָּה *etc.* and when the נ is the third letter of the stem, as שָׁכַנְתָּ *thou hast dwelt* (comp. however נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּ); finally in isolated cases as הִנֵּה Ps. 68, 3 (here and elsewhere probably as intentional emphasis in long pause, comp. Is. 29, 1; 58, 3 Deut. 33, 9).

b) less frequently, and only in special cases, with ל, ר, ת, ד, e. g. יִקַּח for יִלְקַח *he will take*; הִכְנוֹן for הִזְכִּינוֹ *to be established*, לִי for לִי *who to me* (§ 36); אָהָה for אָהָה.

c) in isolated cases with אהרי e. g. בַּסֵּטֶמָה Is. 27, 8; אָנָּה from אָנָּה; אָנָּה and י mostly before sibilants in forms like יִצָּר for יִצָּר comp. § 71.

In all these cases, the assimilated letter is expressed by *Dāghē'sh fortè* in the next following. In a consonant at the end of the word, however, as it cannot be doubled (§ 20, 3, a), the *Dāghē'sh* is omitted, e. g. אָה *nose* for אָנָּה or אָנָּה, תָּה for תָּנָה (prop. תָּנָה) *to give*, לָהּ for לָהּ *to bear*; comp. *τύφας* for *τύφαν*.

In these last cases the assimilated letter has not *Sh'wā*, but the helping-vowel *S'ghōl* (§ 28, 4), which, however, is only recognized as an euphonic substitute for *Sh'wā*.

By way of assimilation backwards, we occasionally find a second weaker sound swallowed up by the stronger one before it; e. g. קָבַלְתָּהּ from קָבַלְתָּהּ (§ 59, Rem. 3), מִיָּדָה for מִיָּדָה *from him* (§ 103, 2). With this may be reckoned יָסַב for יָסַב *he will surround* (§ 67, 5), also אָסַב for אָסַב (§ 66, 2).

3. The complete *rejection* or *falling away* of a consonant easily happens, especially in the case of the weaker ones, viz. the breathings (א, ה), or vowel-letters (ו, י), or liquids (נ, ל). It happens—

a) at the beginning of a word (*aphæresis*), when such a feeble consonant has not a full vowel, and its sound is easily lost upon the ear, as נָחַנִּי and אָנַחְנִי (*we*), שֵׁ for אָשֵׁר (comp. No. 2, b, above), שֵׁב (*sit thou*) for יָשֵׁב; דֵּעַ for orig. יָדַע; קָה for לָקַח; תָּהָה 2 Sam. 22, 41 is anomalous.

b) in the midst of a word (*contraction*), when such a feeble consonant is preceded only by a Sh'wâ, e. g. מרם for מראם (but comp. ראשון for ראשון), להמלך for להמלך (§ 23, 4, and § 35, Rem. 2), יהקטיל for יהקטיל (§ 53, 1). The contraction (or *syncope*) of א in the beginning of the syllable as באדני, and לקראת for לקראת—the א being orthographically retained. Finally to the department of syncopè belongs the elision of the half vowel at the close of a syllable after a heterogeneous vowel, as e. g. ירד for ירד as well as that of the ו and י in verbs ל"ה (§ 75, 3).

c) at the end of words (*apocopè*), e. g. יקטלון for יקטלון בנים, before the genitive בני (§ 89). Upon the apocopè of half vowels in verbs ל"ה see § 75.

Bolder changes were made in the infancy of the language, particularly in casting away consonants at the end of a word; thus, from אבן was formed אך *only*; perh. from בית, ב, from חל, ח (see § 99, and § 100, 4). Here belongs also the change of the feminine ending ת—*āth* to ת—*ā* (see § 44, 1, and § 80, 2).

4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation the *addition* of א (*Ā'lēph prostheticum*), with its vowel, takes place sometimes at the beginning of a word, e. g. זרוע and אזורע *arm* (comp. *σπῆρας, ἐχθές*, Lat. *spiritus* = French *esprit*, Welsh *ysprid*).

5. *Transposition* seldom occurs in the grammar, as in השתמר for השמר (§ 54, 2) because *sh* is easier to sound than *thsh*; but oftener in the province of the lexicon, as כבש and קטב *lamb*, שמלה and שלמה *garment*, מלתעה and מלתעה *tooth*; they are, however, chiefly confined to the sibilants and liquids.

Even consonants, especially the weaker ones, may at the end of a syllable be softened to vowels, like עז from עז, F. *chevaux* from *cheval* (comp. § 30, 3, c), e. g. כוכב *star* from כבכב for כוכב. Comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. art. כבכב.

§ 20.

OF THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

1. The doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè* (§ 13) takes place, and is *essential*, i. e. necessary to the form of the word (*Dāghē'sh essential*)—

- a) when the same letter is to be written twice in succession, without an intermediate vowel—or *vocal Sh'wâ*; thus for נָתַתִּי we have נָתַתִּי *we have given*; for שָׂתַתִּי שָׂתַתִּי *I have set*; for הִכְרַתִּי הִכְרַתִּי *I have cut off*.
- b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19, 2), as יָתַן for יָתַן. In both these instances (a and b) it is called *Dāghē'sh compensative*.
- c) when the doubling of a letter originally single is characteristic of a grammatical form, e. g. לָמַד *he has learned*, but לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dāghē'sh characteristic*).

The double consonant is actually and necessarily written twice (without admitting the compensation), whenever a vowel sound, even the shortest (a vocal Sh'wâ), comes between. In the latter case according to the correct Maṣsora, there should be a composite *Sh'wâ* preceded by *Mithēgh* e. g. הוֹלִילִים, קָלָלָהּ etc. (comp. § 16). The *compos. Sh'wâ* does not stand before the הֵ, e. g. הִכְרַתִּי Gen. 27, 4, but also here the first כ has *Vocal Sh'wâ* (otherwise the 2d כ would have naturally a *Dāghē'sh lene*). Also in cases where the first of the two consonants has already been doubled by *Dāghē'sh forte*, it can have no other than the *Vocal Sh'wâ* and therefore a further contraction is impossible. This holds true also there when the *Dāghē'sh forte* (v. below 3 b) has been omitted, e. g. מִן הַלֵּלִי really מִן הַלֵּלִי = *hal-l'li*. The form הִתְנַחֲמִי Ps. 9, 14 (not הִתְנַחֲמִי) may be explained as *Imper. Pi'el* = הִתְנַחֲמִי; in the *Imper. Qāl* the insertion of a *Vocal Sh'wâ* under the first נ would be just as strange as in שָׁדַדְתִּי Jer. 49, 28 and in the *Imperf.* שָׁדַדְתִּי Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony*. The use of *Dāghē'sh* in such cases (*Dāghē'sh euphonic*) is only occasional, as being less essential to the forms of words. It is employed—

- a) when two words are more closely united in pronunciation by doubling the initial consonant of the second (*Dāghē'sh forte conjunctive*), 1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word accented on the first syllable and closely united by *Maqqeph* to a preceding word which ends in accented הֶ or הֵ—(except when the הֶ is the ending of the 3. masc. sing. perf. of a verb לָ"ה, or of a substantial infinitive) the so-called *pulsum* of the Jewish grammarians. Some limit the use of the *dāchiq* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following,

B^egadkephath. However here belong also cases like *וְהָיָה שְׁמוֹ* Jer. 23, 6 (for *שְׁמוֹ* is considered *one* accented syllable): *לִקְהֹלָם* Gen. 2, 23; *יִצְחָקֶךָ* Ps. 91, 11, and even with *Rêsh* *מִצְדֵּקְךָ* Prov. 15, 1 (here each 1st word was orig. *mil'ra*).

Analogous to this usage is the Neapolitan *le llaglime* for *le laglime*, and (including the union of the two words in one) the Italian *alla* for *a la, della* for *de la*.

Rem. 1. It is very doubtful whether the close attachment of the interrogative *מָה* (*מה*) to the following word by *Dāghēsh forte* must also be counted here. According to *Olshausen* this *Dāghēsh* comes from assimilation of the really consonantal *Hē*. In favor of this hypothesis are *a*) the form *מִהֲיָה* etc. in which the *ה* has been kept only orthographically (therefore also *מִהֲיָה* Exod. 4, 2 *מִהֲיָה* Is. 3, 15); *b*) the fact that the close union exists when no monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable follows, e.g. *מִהֲיָה* Gen. 38, 29.

Rem. 2. By no means do such examples as the following belong here: *נָאָה* Ex. 15, 1, 21 (Comp. verse 11, *נָאָה*, v. 13 *נָאָה*, v. 16, *נָאָה*). In all these cases the *Dāghēsh* can be nothing but *lene* v. § 21, 1. Rem.

2) in the first letter of a monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable, after a closely connected *Mil'el* terminating in *Qu'mēs*, *הֶ*— or *הֶ*—. Such a *Mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians *אָתִי מְרַחֵק* *veniens e longinquo* (i. e. as to accent). The attraction of the following tone syllable through *Daghesh forte conjunctive* has here its reason in a rhythmical pressure, e.g. *שְׁבִיתָ שְׁבִי* Ps. 68, 19; *הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל* Is. 5, 14 (only the prefixes *ב*, *כ*, *ל*, *י*, in such cases receive no *Daghesh*). Forms like *מִלְאָה שְׁחַד* Ps. 26, 10; *רָחֵקָה מִנִּי* Job 21, 16 as well as *נִעְמְדָה יָחַד* Is. 50, 8, with an accented antepenultima(?), are likewise considered *Mil'el*. The *Daghesh* is used even then when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent but with a syllable having *Méthēgh*, e.g. *הָמָה יִירָשִׁי* Ps. 37, 9; *אֵלָה* Is. 44, 21; *עֲשִׂיתָ קְרָחִירִי* Ex. 25, 29.

Rem. Cases like *קִרְבֵּי צֶאֱה* Gen. 19, 14 (Com. Ex. 12, 15, 31, Deut. 2, 24.) have been wrongly counted here. In such cases the *Dāghēsh* is not *conjunctive* but *orthophonic*, that the sibilants may be duly articulated; v. *Dehltzsch* (commentary) upon the *Dāghēsh orthophonic* in Ps. 24, 12.

b) when a consonant with *Sh^enā*, preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in order to sharpen the syllable still more, and

to make the *Shewâ* more audible (*Dāghē'sh dirimens*), e. g. ענבִּי for עֲנַבִּי *grapes* Deut. 32, 32; comp. Gen. 49, 10, Ex. 2, 3, Is. 57, 6, 58, 3, Job 17, 2, 1 Sam. 28, 10, Ps. 45, 10; Hos. 3, 2; Is. 9, 3. Several cases of this sort may be referred to the influence of a following consonant.¹

c) when the final tone-syllable of a clause or sentence (§ 29, 4), is to receive more strength and emphasis by the doubling, the *daghesh forte affectuosum*, e. g. נָתַנּוּ for נָתַנּוּ *they gave* Ez. 27, 19, יָחֲלוּ for יָחֲלוּ *they waited* Job 29, 21, Is. 33, 12.

d) the doubling of liquids by the so-called *Daghesh forte firmativum* in the pronoun הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה and in לָמָּה *wherefore*, to give greater firmness to the preceding vowel.

3. The Hebrew omitted, however, the doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, in many cases where the analogy of the forms required it: viz.—

a) *almost always* at the end of a word, because there the pronunciation, at least as handed down to us, does not easily admit of such a sharpening. Thus the syllable *all* would be pronounced, not as in German with a sharpened tone, but like the English *all, call, small*. Instead, therefore, of doubling² the consonant, they often lengthened the preceding vowel (§ 27, 2, b), as רֵב (*multitude*) from רָבֵב; עַם (*people*) with a distinctive accent (§ 15, 3), for עָם from עָמַם. The exceptions are very rare, as אַתָּה *thou f.*, נָתַתָּה *thou hast given* Ez. 16, 33 (see § 10, 3, Rem.).

b) *often* in certain consonants with *vocal Shewâ* in the body of a word (where the doubling of a letter is less audible, as in Greek ἄλτο, Homeric for ἄλλετο), under this rule come first ר and ל, as well as the liquids מ, נ and ל, and then the sibilants (except ש), especially when a guttural

¹ *Kautzsch* refers such cases chiefly to the nature of the consonant affected viz: *liquids, sibilants*, or the emphatic *Qôph*. Comp. however 3, b.—*Ed.*

² The doubling of a final letter is also omitted in Latin, as *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, gen. *mellis*; *os*, gen. *ossis*. In the Middle-High German, the doubling of consonants never took place at the end of a word, but always in the middle (as in the Old-High Germ.), as *val* (Fall), gen. *valles*; *svam* (Schwamm), etc.: *Grimm's Deutsche Gramm.* 2nd ed. I. 383.

follows, and finally the emphatic ק. Of the *B'gadk'phat* ת is found only once (Is. 22, 10) without *Dāghē'sh*. Examples: עָרִירָם, נִיחִי (so always the prefix י in the *Impf.* of the verb), לְמַנְצָח, הַנָּנִי, הַלְלִי, יִשְׂאֵל, יִקְחֵי etc. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dāghē'sh* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in open syllables, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of the *Dag. forte implic.* v. § 22, 1. Rem.

c) In the gutturals (see § 22, 1).

Rem. We sometimes find *Dāghē'sh* omitted, especially in the later books in an abnormal way by lengthening the preceding vowel which is usually *chîrēq* (comp. *mīle* for *mille*), as יִרְחִיקֵן *he terrifies them* for יִרְחִיקֵם (Hab. 2, 17), וִירָקִים Is. 50, 11 *fiery darts* for וִירָקִים.

§ 21.

ASPIRATION WHERE IT OCCURS AND WHERE NOT.

The *hard* but *thin* (*tenuis*) sound of (ה, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב) the six *aspirates* with *Dāghē'sh lenē* inserted, is to be regarded, agreeably to the analogy which languages generally exhibit in this respect, as their original pronunciation, from which gradually arose the softer and weaker aspirated sound (§ 6, 3 and § 13). The original hard pronunciation maintained itself in greatest purity when it was the initial sound, and after a consonant; but when it immediately followed a vowel or vocal *Sh'wā*, it was softened and aspirated by the influence of the vowel, so פָּרָץ *pārā'sh* becomes פִּרְץ *y'phrō'sh*; כָּל *kāl*, לָכֵל *l'khōl*. Hence the *aspirates* take *Dāghē'sh lenē*:

1. At the beginning of words, a) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, as עָלֶיכֶן *'āl-k'ēn* (*therefore*), עֵץ פְּרִי *'ēš p'rî* (*fruit-tree*, lit. *tree of fruit*), b) at the beginning of a chapter (בְּרֵאשִׁית *in the beginning* Gen. 1, 1), a verse, or even of a minor division of a verse (consequently after a distinctive accent, § 15, 3), even when the preceding word ends with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the influence of the vowel on the

following *tenuis*, e. g. **וַיְהִי כֵּאֲשֶׁר** *it happened when* Jud. 11, 5 (on the contrary, **וַיְהִי־כֵּן** *it was so* Gen. 1, 7); **יִהְיֶה חֲרָבִי פָּנֶי** *and lo! the face of the ground was dried up* Gen. 8, 13; **וַיִּפְּלֵי פָּנֶיהָ** (with dist. accent) 4, 5, but in ver. 6 **וַיִּפְּלֵי פָּנֶיהָ** (with conj. accent); **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** Gen. 35, 5; **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** Ex. 5, 14.

Rem. 1. The vowel letters **א, ו, י, ה**, as such, naturally effect no close of syllable and are therefore followed in close connection by aspirates without *Dāghēsh*, e. g. **וַיִּמְצָא** *etc.* On the contrary syllables are closed by consonantal **ו** and **י** as well as by **ה** with *Mappiq*, e. g. **וַיִּמְצָא** Ps. 22, 14. (*Dāghēsh lenè* is therefore regularly found after **והיה**, because **וַיִּמְצָא** was read instead of it, § 17.)

2. In a number of cases the *Dāghēsh lenè* remains, although a vowel closely precedes. It is almost always so when the word begins with combinations of consonants like the following: **כב, ככ, כפ, כפ** (i. e. the aspirates with *Shewâ* before another aspirate), **כג** is uncertain; according to *David Kimchî* and **כד, כר** must remain aspirate. Sometimes the first letter in the above cases has a *Dāghēsh*, even when it is followed by a firm vowel instead of *Shewâ*. In all these cases an endeavor is shown to prevent too great an accumulation of aspiration. Doubly anomalous are the forms **כרכר** Is. 54, 12 and **ככלל** Jer. 20, 9.

2. In the middle of words after *silent Shewâ*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, immediately preceded by a vowelless consonant, e. g. **יִרְפָּא** *yir-pā' (he heals)*, **יִזְכֹּר** *he remembers*, **קָטְלָתֶם** *ye have killed*. On the contrary, after *vocal Shewâ* the soft pronunciation obtains, e. g. **רָפָא** *r-phā (heal thou)*, **כִּבְדָּהּ** *she was heavy*.

On **קָטְלָתֶם** and like forms see in § 10, 3.

Whether *Shewâ* be vocal and consequently cause the aspiration of the *tenuis*, depends upon the formation of the respective words. It is always vocal

- a) when it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. **רָפָא** *pursue ye* (not **רָפְּוּ**) from **רָדַף**; **מָלְכִי** (not **מָלְכִי**) formed immediately from **מְלָכִים** *kings* (on the contrary, **מָלְכִי** *māl-kî*, because it is formed directly from **מָלַךְ** *mālk*); **בֵּיתָהּ** *house-ward* (not **בֵּיתָהּ**) from **בֵּיתָהּ**.
- b) With the **כ** in the *suffixes* of the 2d person (**הָ, יָ, כֶּם**), in which *vocal Shewâ* is characteristic, see § 58, 3, b.

Rem. 1. The form **שֵׁלַחְתְּ** *thou (fem.) hast sent*, where we might expect the feeble pronunciation of **ח** on account of the preceding vowel, was originally **שֵׁלַחְתְּ**; and the sound of the **ח**, notwithstanding the slight vowel sound thrown in before it, was not changed. Comp. § 28, 4.

2. The hard or soft pronunciation of these letters does not affect the *signification* of the words (comp. in Greek *θρῆς*, *τριχός*); but this affords no ground to deny that such a distinction was made in the sound.

§ 22.

PECULIARITIES OF THE GUTTURALS.

The four gutturals, ה, ח, ע, א, have the following properties in common, which result from the pronunciation peculiar to them; yet א and ע, both having a weaker sound than ח and ה, differ from these in several respects.

1. The gutturals cannot really be doubled in pronunciation, although they may be strengthened and so they do not admit *Dāghē'sh fortè*. But we must here carefully distinguish between *a*) the complete omission of the doubling and *b*) the so-called *half*, or better *virtual* doubling. In the first case the syllable preceding the letter which omits *Dāghē'sh* becomes longer in consequence of the omission;¹ hence its vowel is commonly lengthened, especially before א (*always* after the article § 35); as a rule also before ע, less often before ח, and still less before ה. The second case admitted a sharpening of the syllable, though orthography excluded the *Dāghē'sh f.* (as the *ch* in the German *sicher*, *machen*, has the sharp pronunciation without being written double), and hence the short vowel almost universally maintains its place before these letters, or in some cases, when it is a *Päthäch* followed by a guttural with *Qāmeš*, it is merely augmented into *Sēghöl*. This virtual doubling takes place most frequently with ח, usually with ה, more rarely with ע and very seldom with א.

Examples of *a*) מאן (f. מאן); האָרם f. האָרם; הָרָר; הָרָבא (f. רָבא). Of *b*) הָחַרשׁ, אָחַר, הָחַג, מָחוּט (f. מָחוּט); הָחַרִּים, הָחַר; בָּעַר, הָעִיר (on the contrary before ע as initial letter of the tone-syllable always *Qāmeš* of the article, e. g. הָעִירָב and so mostly before ה,

¹ Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*; the Germ. *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; Germ. *drollig*, and Fr. *drôle*. In this omission we see an enervating of the language. The fresher and more original sounds of the Arabic (§ 1, 6), still admit always the doubling of the gutturals.

e. g. *הָיָה*, whilst *הָיָה* Gen. 6, 19 is an exception); *נָאֵץ*, *נָאֵץ* etc.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dāghēsh fortè* is to be regarded at least as *implied* (therefore it is called *Dāghēsh fortè implicitum, occultum, delitescens*).

2. The gutturals are apt to take a short *A* sound before them, because this vowel is organically closely akin to them. Hence—

- a) Before a guttural, *Päthäch* is used instead of any other short vowel, such as *i, e* (*Chirēq parvum, Sēghôl*), and even for the rhythmically long *ē* and *ō* (*Šerē* and *Chōlēm*); e. g. *זָבַח* *sacrifice* for *זָבַח*, *שָׁמַע* *report* for *שָׁמַע*. This is still more decidedly preferred when the form with *Päthäch* is the original one, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the *Imper.* and *Impf.* *שָׁלַח* of verbs, *שָׁלַח* *send thou*, *יִשְׁלַח* *he will send* (not *יִשְׁלַח*); *Perf.* *פָּעַל* *שָׁלַח* (not *שָׁלַח*); *נָעַר* *a youth*, *יִחְמַד* (not *יִחְמַד*) *he will desire*. In the last 3 cases, *ä* is the original vowel.

Rem. But before the weak *א* final the — remains, e. g. *בָּרַא*, *דָּשַׂא*, etc.

- b) After a heterogeneous long vowel i. e. after all except *Qāmēš*, the hard gutturals (consequently not *א*) demand, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a hasty *ä* (*Päthäch furtive*) between them and the vowel. This *Päthäch* is placed under the guttural but sounded before it. It is merely an orthographical indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. *רוּחַ* *rūäch* (*spirit*), *שְׁלוּחַ* *shū-lūäch* (*sent*), *ריחַ* *rēäch* (*odour*), *רֵעַ* *rēäch* (*companion*), *גְּבוּהַ* *gā-bhōäch* (*high*) when consonantal *ה* is final, it necessarily takes *Mäppiäq*, *הִשְׁלִיחַ* *hish-liäch*,¹ etc. But *הַמְצִיא* without *Päthäch furt.* and so with hard gutturals at the beginning of a syllable e. g. *רוּחַ* etc.

For the same reason the Swiss pronounces *ich* as *iäch*, *Buch* as *Buäch*, and the Arabian *مَشِيح* as *mesīäch*, though neither writes the supplied vowel. The LXX write *ε* instead of *Päthäch furtive*, as *Νῶε*, at times *α*, as *Ἰησοῦς* (also *Ἰησοῦς*).

¹ Compare with the above our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after long *ē, i, ū* and the diphthong *ou*, e. g. *here* (sounded *hēer*), *fire* (*fīer*), *pure* (*pūer*), and *our* (*ouer*).—Tr.

increase at the end, or loses the tone, א also takes — (considered as lighter), as אֶלִּי *to*, but אֶלֶיכם *to you*; אָכַל *to eat*, but אָכַלְתָּ Gen. 3, 11. Comp. § 27, Rem. 5.

- b) In the middle of a word, the choice of a composite Sh'wâ is regulated by the vowel (and its class), which another word of the same form, but without a guttural, would take before the Sh'wâ, as *Perf.* *Hiph'il* וְהִקְמִיד (after the form וְהִקְטִיל), *Inf.* וְהִקְמִיד (after וְהִקְטִיל), *Perf.* וְהִקְמִיד (after וְהִקְטִיל).

For some further vowel changes in connection with gutturals, see § 27, Rem. 2.

5. The ה, which in sound belongs also to the gutturals (§ 6, 4), shares with the other gutturals only the characteristics mentioned above in No. 1, and a part of those given in No. 2; viz. —

- a) The exclusion of Dāghē'sh fortè; in which case the vowel before it is always lengthened, as בָּרַךְ *he has blessed* for בָּרַךְ; בָּרַךְ *to bless* for בָּרַךְ.
- b) The use of Pāthāch¹ before it, in preference to the other short vowels, though this is not so general as in the case of the other guttural sounds, e. g. וַיֵּרָא *and he saw*, while the full form וַיִּרְאֶה is in use; וַיָּסָב for וַיִּסָּב *and he turned back*, and for וַיָּסָב *and he caused to turn back*.

Rare exceptions to the principle given under letter *a* are מְרָחַת *mōr-rā'th* (trouble) Prov. 14, 10; לֹא-קָרַח שְׂרָפָה *lō khōrrā'th shōr-rē'kh* (thy navel was not cut) Ez. 16, 4, (cf. Pl. 3, 8); וַיִּרְאֶה Cant 5, 2 וַיִּרְאֶה 1 Sam. 10, 24 (the Arab. and Samar. retains this doubling, and the LXX write שְׂרָפָה Σάραφα). A case of virtual doubling (after מ for כ) is found in Is 14, 3 מְקַנְנֶה and in 1 Sam. 23, 28 מְקַנְנֶה (for כְּקַנְנֶה), comp. 2 Sam. 18, 16.

§ 23.

OF THE FEEBLENESS OF THE BREATHINGS א AND ה.

1. The א, a light and scarcely audible breathing in the throat, regularly loses its feeble power as a consonant (i. e.

¹ The preference of *r* for the vowel *a* is seen also in common Greek, e. g. in the feminine of adjectives ending in *pos*, as *φανερά* for *φανερή* from

quiesces), whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves merely to prolong the preceding vowel (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*), as in מָצָא *he has found*, מָלָא *he was filled*, מָצָא *to find*, כָּלָא, מְצָאָהּ (from מְצָאָהּ). In cases like שָׁאָה, שָׁאָה etc. the א has only an orthographical significance.

2. On the contrary א retains, generally, its power as a consonant and guttural in all cases where it begins a word or syllable, as אָמַר *he has said*, מָאָסוּ *they have rejected*, or in a closed syllable with silent *Sh'wā* e. g. נָאָדָר *nēdār*, or where it is protected by *Chāṭeph* in a slightly closed syllable e. g. לֶאֱכַל *for to eat*. Yet even in this case it sometimes loses its consonant sound, *a*) when it follows with a long vowel, a half-vowel (*vocal Sh'wā*) in the middle of a word; for then the vowel under א is shifted back, to the place of the *Sh'wā*, as in רָאשִׁים (heads) for רָאשִׁים, בָּרָאם for בָּרָאם Neh. 6, 8, מֵאָרִים (two hundred) for מֵאָרִים; א is *orthogr.* in רָאשִׁין for רָאשִׁין (chōṭi'm) for חֲטָאִים 1 Sam. 14, 33. Sometimes this causes a still greater change in the syllables, as מְלָאָהּ for מְלָאָהּ, לְקָרָאָהּ for לְקָרָאָהּ or with silent *Sh'wā* יִשְׁמְעָאָל for יִשְׁמְעָאָל; *b*) when it stands with (—) or (—) preceded by their corresponding firm vowel, the latter is sometimes lengthened and retains א only as a vowel letter (or merely orthographically), e. g. וְרָאָעַל Num. 11, 25 for וְרָאָעַל; יִאָכַל modified from יִאָכַל for יִאָכַל; יִאָכַל for יִאָכַל etc. An elision of the *Chāṭeph* and retention of the short vowel occurs in וְרָאָעַל and *my lord* for וְרָאָעַל, וְרָאָעַל for וְרָאָעַל (§ 102; 2) וְרָאָעַל Is. 41, 25, etc.

Instead of א in such a case, there is often written one of the vowel letters ו and י, according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ō* and the latter with *ē* and *i*; e. g. בָּאָר for בָּאָר (*cistern*), בָּאָר (*buffalo*) for בָּאָר, רִישִׁין (*first*) for רִישִׁין in Job 8, 8; comp. לֹא for לֹא (*not*) 1 Sam. 2, 16 in *K'ithb*; at the end of a word ה also is written for א, as רִמָּה (*he fills*) for רִמָּה Job 8, 21.

3. When א is thus quiescent, it is sometimes entirely dropped, e. g. יָצָאתִי (*I went forth*) for יָצָאתִי, מָלָאתִי (*I am full*) for מָלָאתִי Job 32, 18, אָמַר (*I say*) constantly for אָמַר, מָלָא for מָלָא Ezek. 28, 16, לְהַשִׁית (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for לְהַשִׁית (*K'ith.*) comp. Is. 37, 26.

Rem. 1. In Aramæan the א becomes a vowel much more readily than in Hebrew; but in Arabic, on the contrary, its power as a consonant is much firmer. According to Arabic orthography א serves also to indicate the lengthened *â*; but in Hebrew the examples are very rare, in which it is strictly a vowel-letter for the long *â* sound, as in קאם Hos. 10, 14 for the usual קם *he stood up*, ראש *poor* Prov. 10, 4, 18, 23 for רש (comp. § 7, 2). Hebrew orthography generally omits, in this case, the vowel-letter (§ 8, 3).

2. In Syriac א even at the beginning of words cannot be spoken with a half vowel (*vocal Sh'wâ*), but always receives then a full vowel, usually *E*, as Aram. אכל, in Syr. ܐܠܬܐ. Accordingly in Hebrew, also, instead of a composite *Sh'wâ* it receives, in many words, the corresponding long vowel, as אזור *girdle* for אזור, אהלים *tents* for אהלים, אריות *stalls* for אריות, אפי *bake ye* Ex. 16, 23 for אפי.

3. We may call it a mode of writing common in Arabic, when at the end of a word an א (without any sound) is added to a final *û*, *î* and *ô*, as הלכוּא for הלכוּ (they go) Josh. 10, 24; אבוא (they are willing) Is. 28, 12; also נקיא for נקי *pure*, לוא for לו *if*, אפיא for אפי *then*, רבוא *myriad* Neh. 7, 66, 72. As to the א in רוא and ריא, see also § 32, Rem. 6.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and scarcely ever loses its aspiration (or *quiesces*) in the middle of a word;¹ at the end also it may remain a consonant, and then it takes *Müppiq* (§ 14, 1). Yet at times the consonant sound of the ה at the end of a word is given up, and ה (without *Mäppiq*, or with *Râphè* ה) then remains only as a representative of the final vowel, e. g. לה (to her) Num. 32, 42 for לה, Job 31, 22, Ex. 9, 18. The ה is often elided *a*) by transferring its vowel to the place of the preceding *vocal Sh'wâ* (v. § 23, 2, *a*, with א) e. g. (the ה of the article) לבקר (at the morning) for להבקר, בארץ (in the land) for בהארץ; יפקיר (Impf. Hiph.) for יהפקיר; יהונתן contracted יונתן. *b*) by contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e. g. סוכו (also written סוכה) from סוכהו (*a + u = ô*).—In other cases, however, the vowel *under* ה is displaced by the one *before* it, as בם (in them) from בהם.

¹ A very few examples are found in proper names, as קדוצור, קשהאל, which are compounded of two words, and in many MSS are also written in two separate words. One other case, יהוה-יהוה Jer. 46, 20, is also in the printed text divided by *Magghêph*, in order to bring the *quiescent* ה at the end.

According to this, the so-called *quiescent* ה at the end of a word stands, sometimes, in the place of the consonant ה. But usually it serves quite another purpose, viz., to represent final *ā*, as also *ō*, *ē* and *é* (S^ghō'l), e. g. גִּלְהָ, גִּלְהָ, גִּלְהָ, אֲשֶׁהּ. See § 7, 2, and § 8, 3.

Rem. In connection with *ō* and *ē*, ה is occasionally changed for ו and י (וָאֵה=וָאֵה=וָאֵה Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases for א according to later and Aramaean orthography, particularly with *ā*, e. g. שָׁנָא (sleep) Ps. 127, 2 for שָׁנָה, נָשָׂא (to forget) Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׂה, etc., which shows that the so-called vowel letter, ה final, has chiefly an orthographical importance.

§ 24.

CHANGES OF THE FEEBLE LETTERS ו AND י.

The ו *w* and the י *y* are as consonants so feeble and soft, approaching so near to the corresponding vowel-sounds *u* and *i*, that they easily turn into these vowels in certain positions. On this depend, according to the relation of the sounds and the character of the grammatical forms, still further changes which require a general notice in this place, but which will also be explained in detail wherever they occur in the inflection of words. This is especially important for the form and inflection of the feeble stems, in which a ו or י occurs as a stem consonant (§ 69 etc., § 85, III.—VI, and § 93).

1. The cases where ו and י lose their power as consonants and turn into vowel-sounds, are principally only in the middle and end of words, their consonant sound being nearly always heard at the beginning. (Respecting the use of ו for ו and, see § 26, 1, and § 104, 2, c.) These cases are chiefly the following:—

- a) When ו or י stands at the end of a syllable with a *silent Shewa* immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel. The feeble letter has not strength enough, in this position, to maintain its consonant sound but blends with its homogeneous vowel. Thus הוֹשֵׁב it has been inhabited for הוֹשֵׁב or הוֹשֵׁב, יִיקֵץ he awakes for יִיקֵץ, בִּיהִיָּה for בִּיהִיָּה; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי 'ibh-rî'

(properly *-riy*, hence fem. עֲבֵרְיָה *'ibh-rîy-yā'*) a *Hebrem*; עָשָׂה (*made*) Job 41, 25 for עָשִׂיתָ (comp. עֲשִׂייתָ 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethibh*). Thus the vowel substance of ו and י is blended with the preceding vowel into *one* (necessarily long) vowel, but they are mostly retained orthographically as quiescent letters. But after a heterogeneous vowel they sound as consonants (according to § 8, 5), as in שָׁלוֹ quiet, מַי *May* (*month*), גּוֹי *nation*, נִלְוִי *disclosed*. Yet with a preceding short *ā* the ו and י mostly form a diphthongal *ô* and *ê*; see below, No. 2, *b*.

- b) When ו or י is preceded by *vocal Sh'wâ*, and such syllables are formed as *q'wom*, *b'wô*. Hence בֹּא *to come* for בִּיא, קִים *to arise* for קִים. When ו and י preceded by *Sh'wâ* come to stand at the end of a word, they are either entirely dropped and orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בָּכָה from בָּכִי, though we have also the regularly formed בָּכִי *fletus*; comp. § 93) or they are likewise softened into their vowel sound. In the latter case the י, with its homogeneous *Chireq*, also attracts the tone and the preceding vowel becomes *Sh'wâ*, as e. g. פָּרִי from פָּרִי, really פָּרִי; ו changed into י is often without the accent (e. g. תָּהִי from תָּהִי).
- c) Very seldom when the feeble letter has a full vowel both before and after it; as קָיִם *surgendo* for קָיִם, קִים for קָיִם. Comp. in latin *mhi*=*mî*, *quum*=*cum*.

In Syriac, where these letters flow still more readily into vowel-sounds, י is sounded, even at the beginning of words, merely as *i*, not as ו or י (like *e* for *ā* § 23, 3, Rem. 2); and so in the LXX יִרְדּוּהָ is written ἱρδούᾱ, יִצְחָק ἱצᾱᾱ. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage, examples of which occur also in Hebrew, which shifts the vowel *i*, belonging to the feeble letter, forward to the preceding consonant, which should properly have simple *Sh'wâ*, e. g. כִּיְדָרִי as *the superiority* for כִּיְדָרִי Ec. 2, 13, יִרְדּוּהָ (in some editions) for יִרְדּוּהָ Job 20, 21 (acc. to *Kimchi* יִרְדּוּהָ=*ikṭol* and the 1. pers. is punct. אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion; in fact the Babylonian punct. has always *i* instead of *e*).

2. After such a contraction has taken place, the vowel-letter quiesces (see No. 1, *a* above) regularly in a *long* vowel. Respecting the *choice* of this vowel, the following rules may be laid down:—

- a) When the vowel is short and homogeneous with the vowel-letter (ו or י) they are contracted into their corresponding long vowel, as *he is good* for *יִיטב* (analogous to *יִכבד*), *הַיֵּשֶׁב* for *הַיִּשֵּׁב*.
- b) When a short *ä* stands before י and ו, then we get diphthongal *ê* and *ô* (according to § 7, 1); thus *מַיְטִיב* becomes *מֵיטִיב* *doing good*; *הַיֹּשִׁיב*, *הַיֹּשֵׁב*; *עוֹלָה*, *עוֹלָה*.¹
- c) But when the vowel is heterogeneous (*ä*), while the character of the form prevents contraction to a diphthong, especially at the end of words, the above mentioned dropping of ו and י (No. 1, b), or the substitution of ה occurs. So especially in the so-called ל"ה verbs, e. g. orig. *גָּלִי* = *גָּל(י)* = *גָּלָה*, whilst *ä* after the rejection of י comes to stand in an open syllable, and must be lengthened to *ā*. ה stands orthographically for the long vowel; in the same way *שָׁלָה* for *שָׁלַי*.² On the origin of *יגלה* from *יגלי* v. § 75, 1; upon *קָם* as perf. of *קום* § 72, 2; upon *יָלַד* etc. from *וָלַד* § 69, 1.

§ 25.

IMMOVABLE OR FIRM VOWELS.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and not removable, can be known, certainly and completely, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and from a comparison with the Arabic, in which the vowel-system appears purer and more original than in Hebrew. This holds, especially, of the *essentially long* vowels in distinction from those which are long only *rhythmically*, i. e. through the influence of the tone and of syllabication, and which, having arisen out of short vowels,

¹ Instances in which no contraction takes place after a short *a* are *מַיְמִינִים* *using the right hand* 1 Chron. 12, 2; *אִי־סִירָם* *I chastise them* Hos. 7, 12; *שְׁלֵוֹתִי* *I am at ease* Job 3, 26. At times both forms are found, as *עוֹלָה* and *עוֹלָה* *evil*; *חַי* *living*, construct state *חַיִּי*. Analogous is the contraction of *מָוֶת* (ground-form *מָוֶת*) *death*, constr. *מוֹת*; *עֵיִן* (ground-form *עֵיִן*) *eye*, constr. *עֵינִי*.

² The Arab. often writes in this case (etymologically) *גָּלִי*, but speaks *gālā*, So the LXX write *סִינִי* as *Σινᾶ*. But in Arabic *شَلَا* is written for *שָׁלַי* and sounded *shālā*.

readily become short again or become *Sh'wâ* by a change in the position of the tone and in the division of the syllables. The beginner may be guided by the following specifications: —

1. The essentially long and hence hardly changeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, viz., *î*, *û*, *ê*, *ô*, are mostly expressed in the text by their vowel-letters, *î* and *ê* by ו, *û* and *ô* by ו, with their appropriate vowel signs; thus וי, וי, וי, וי, as in ויטב *he does well*, ויכל *palace*, ויכל *boundary*, ויכל *voice*. The *defective* mode of writing these vowels (§ 8, 4) is frequent enough; e. g. ויטב for ויטב, ויכל for ויכל, ויכל for ויכל; but this is merely a difference of orthography, by which nothing is essentially changed in the nature and quantity of such a vowel, and the *û* in ויכל is as essentially long as in ויכל; comp. § 8, 4.

It is an exception, when now and then a merely tone-long vowel of these two classes is written *fully*, e. g. the *ô* in ויכל for ויכל.

2. The essentially long and immovable *â* (so far as it is not become *ô*; see § 9, No. 10, 2) has in Hebrew, as a rule, no representative among the consonants, though in Arabic it has, viz., the *â*, which occurs in Hebrew but very seldom (§ 9, 1, § 23, 3, Rem. 1). For ascertaining, therefore, whether *a* is long by nature (*â*) or only tone-long (*ā*), there is no guide but a knowledge of the forms (see § 84, Nos. 6, 13, 28).

Cases like ויכל (§ 23, 1) do not belong here.

3. Unchangeable is also a short *ô* vowel in a sharpened syllable (§ 26, 6), followed by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, e. g. ויכל *thief*; likewise in every closed syllable (§ 26, 2, c) which is followed by another closed syllable, e. g. ויכל *garment*, ויכל *poor*, ויכל *wilderness*.

4. Such are also the vowels lengthened because a *Dāghē'sh fortè* has been omitted on account of a guttural, according to § 22, 1 (or ו see § 22, 5), e. g. ויכל for ויכל *he has refused*, ויכל for ויכל *he has been blessed*.

§ 26.

OF SYLLABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

To obtain an adequate view of the laws, according to which the long and short vowels are chosen or exchanged one for another, a previous acquaintance is required with the *theory of the syllable* on which that choice and exchange depend. The syllable may then be viewed with reference, partly to its commencement (its *initial* sound) as in No. 1, and partly to its close (its *final* sound) as in Nos. 2—7.

1. With regard to the *commencement* of the syllable, it is to be observed, that every syllable must begin with a *consonant*; and there are no syllables in the language which begin with a vowel. The single exception is ו (and), in certain cases for ו, e. g. in וּמַלְכָּךְ (§ 104, 2, c),¹ The word אֶמֶר is no exception, because the א has here its consonant force as a light breathing.

2. With regard to the *close* of a syllable, it may end—

a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ qā-ṭā'l-tā the first and last are open. See No. 3.

b) With one consonant, and called a *closed* or *mixed* syllable, as the second in קָטַלְתָּ qā-ṭā'l, לָבַב lā-bhā'bh. See No. 5

Here belongs also the *sharpened* syllable, as the first in קָטַלְתָּ qāṭ-ṭā'l. See No. 6.

c) With two consonants, as in קֹשֶׁת qōshēṭ, קָטַלְתָּ qā-ṭā'lt; comp. § 10, 3.

We shall now (in Nos. 3—7) treat in particular of the vowels that are used in these various kinds of syllables.

3. The *open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a *long vowel*,² whether they have the tone, as in בָּהּ in *thee*, סֵפֶר *book*,

¹ It may be questioned whether ו in the above position be a real exception; for וּמַלְכָּךְ ought probably to be pronounced wūma'lēkh (not ūmālēkh), the ו retaining its feeble w sound before the Shûrêq.—Tr.

² In opposition to the fundamental law in Hebrew (long vowel in open syllable) the Arabic, and partly also the other Semitic languages retain every-

קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, or not, as in קֶטֶב, עֵנֶב *grape*, יִרְאוּ *they will fear*. Usually there is a long vowel (*Qā'mèš*, less frequently *Šé're*) in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לָהֶם, יָקִים, קֶטֶב, לֶבֶב.¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur more or less apparently:—

- a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4) from monosyllables (*Ségholates*), as נָחַל *brook*, בֵּית *house*, let him increase, from the crude forms נָחַל, בֵּית, יָרַב. But the helping vowel cannot be taken strictly as a full vowel, i. e. it does not effect a complete close of the syllable. Forms like נָחַל (Arab. *nachl* etc.) are therefore to be taken as one closed syllable.
- b) The so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3) in certain forms of the suffixes, as קָטַלְתָּ (Arab. *qātālānī*).²
- c) Sometimes before the so-called *He local* (ה־), which has not the tone (§ 90, 2), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness*, however only in the construct state (1 K. 19. 15), because the character of the form is unchanged, elsewhere it is מִדְבָּרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the chief tone of the word.³ Elsewhere it has at least the support of *Méthègh*, viz.—

- d) In these combinations, —, —, —, as טַעַם *his taste*, יָאֵסַר *he will bind*, פְּעֻלָּה *his deed*. In all these cases there really at first existed a closed syllable, but the guttural had caused the *Chateph*, and with it the opening of the syllable (comp. however יָאֵסַר 1 K. 20, 14). For cases like יְהִדְרֶה comp. § 104, 2.

where the orig. short vowels in open syllables. The above Heb. words in their Arabic forms sound as *bikā, sifr, qūds, qātālā, 'ināb*. Undoubtedly therefore the Hebrew had also short vowels in open syllables. Still it would be very hazardous to suppose that the present pronunciation is derived from the solemn, slow and chanting way of reading the Old Testament in the synagogues for with this hypothesis, facts like the very ancient lengthening of *i* and *u* in the open syllable to *ē* and *ō* would remain unexplained.

¹ The Arabic has for this pretonic vowel constantly a short vowel (*lāhūm, yāqūm*, etc.); the Aramaic only a vocal *Sheva*, לָהֶון, יָקִום, קֶטֶב, לֶבֶב, which is the case also in Hebrew, when the tone is shifted forward (§ 27, 3, a). But this pretonic vowel must not be regarded as if it had been adopted, perhaps in place of *Sh-wā*, on account of the tone on the following syllable; but it originally was a short vowel, and the circumstance of its standing before the tone-syllable only lengthens it, whilst it is reduced to a vocal *Sh-wā* upon the shifting forward of the tone.

² But as *ḥ* is often Daggheshed, we may presume that the accented *Pāthāch* causes a sharpening of the following liquid which is equivalent to the closing of the syllable.

³ Compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

c) In some other forms, as **יָחִזְקוּ** *yē-chē-zēqū'* (*they are strong*), **פָּעֲלָהּ** *pō'ēl'khā'* (*thy deed*). These cases had originally a closed syllable (therefore also **יָחִזְקוּ**; the other case originally sounded *pō'ēl'khā*).

The first syllable in **יָחִזְקוּ**, **יָחִזְקוּ**, and similar forms, does not belong here (cf. No. 6); neither does accented — (fr. *ā*) in suffix as **יָחִזְקוּ**, on **יָחִזְקוּ** and **יָחִזְקוּ** (ō for *—*) comp. p. 44, No. 2.

4. The above described independent syllables with the firm vowel are often preceded by a consonant with *vocal Shēwā* (simple or composite). Such consonants with *vocal Shēwā* have never the value of an independent syllable, and they constantly lean on to the stronger syllable that follows, e. g. **חֵרֶץ** (*cheek*) *l'chi*, **יִלְמְדוּ** *yil-mēdhū'*, **חֵלִי** (*sickness*) *chēli*, **פָּעֲלָהּ** *pō'ēl'ā'* (*his work*). The so-called prefixes **ב**, **כ**, **ל**, especially belong here. See § 102. It is true, these *vocal Shēwā*'s have sprung from an originally firm vowel (e. g. **יָקֻטְלוּ**, Arab. *yāqtūlū*, **בָּה**, Arab. *bihā* etc.); from this however it cannot be concluded that the Masorites should have considered them as a kind of open syllable, for this would be in contradiction of their fundamental law requiring a long vowel in an open syllable, much more so than the exceptions cited in No. 3 above. Nor does the placing of the Méthēgh by the *Shēwā* in certain cases (v. § 16, 2) prove that the Masorites considered these as open syllables.

5. The *closed* syllables, ending with one consonant, have necessarily, when *without* the tone, *short* vowels, both at the beginning and at the end of words,¹ as **מֶלֶכָּה** *queen*, **חֵשְׁבֹן** *understanding*, **חֵכְמָה** *wisdom*, **וָיָסַר** *and he turned back*, **וָיָסַר**.

When *with* the tone, they may have a long-vowel just as well as a short, e. g. **חָכֵם** *wise* and **הָיָה** *he was wise*; yet of the short vowels only *Pā'thäch* and *Sēghōl* have strength enough to stand in such a tone-syllable.² The accented closed penult permits only the *tone* long vowels (*ā*, *ē*, *ō*), not the *longest* vowels (*ī*, *ē*, *ū*, *ō*). Thus with **יָקֻטְלוּ** (3d pl. impf. masc.

¹ There are some exceptions, when a word loses the tone through *Maqqēph*, as **כֶּתֶב-יְהוָה** (*kethābh*) Esth. 4, 8. In such cases the *Methēgh* prevents a wrong pronunciation.

² See § 9, 2. Short *Chîrēq* (*i*) occurs only in the particles **אֵם**, **בֵּן**, **אֵם**, which, however, are often toneless, because followed by *Maqqēph*.

Hiph.) we have the fem. **הַקְטִילָהּ**, the *i* being reduced to *ē*; with **קִימִי** (2d pl. imperat. *Qāl*) the fem. is **קִמְיָהּ** (*ū* contracted into *ō*).

6. A peculiar sort of *closed* syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end with the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, as **אִמִּי כָלֹ** *'im-mī' kāl-lō'*. Like the other closed syllables, these have, when *without* the tone, short vowels, as in the examples just given, when *with* the tone, either a short vowel, as **סָבֵר**, **רִנָּה**, or a long, as **שָׁמָּה**, **הָמָּה**.

Sharpened syllables are wholly avoided at the end of words; see § 20, 3, *a*.

7. Closed syllables, ending with two consonants, occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, as **קָטַלְתָּ**, **וַיֵּשֶׁב**, yet sometimes also *Sērē*, as **נָרַד**, **וַיִּבֶן**, and *Chōlēm*, as **קָשַׁת**. But compare § 10, 3. Most commonly this harshness is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4).

§ 27.

CHANGES OF VOWELS. ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO QUANTITY.

The changes which the Hebrew language has undergone, with respect to its sounds, before arriving at the state represented in the Massoretic text (see § 2, 4), have especially affected its vowel-system, so that, for the better comprehension of the vowel changes occurring in the O. T. language, it is of importance to go back to the corresponding states and relations of the language in that earlier period, and, at any rate, to compare that which is preserved in the Arabic. In general it is to be observed especially:—

1) That the language has now in an originally open syllable often preserved only a half-vowel (vocal *Shēvā*), where a full, short vowel stood; this is the case in the second syllable of the noun, and the first of the verb, before the tone, e. g. **עֲגָלָה** (original form *'ägälāt*) *waggon*, **צִדְקָה** (original form *šādāqāt*) *righteousness*, **קָטַל** (Arab. *qātālū*);

2) That vowels originally short have now, in the tone-syllable, as also in open syllables before the tone, passed

over into tone-long vowels, \check{a} into \bar{a} , \check{i} into \bar{i} , \check{u} into \bar{u} (see § 9, No. 1, 2. No. 7 and No. 10, 3). These, again, either return to their original shortness, when the tone is shifted or made lighter, or they become still more shortened even to half-vowels (vocal *Shewás*), at a greater distance from the tone, or are entirely dropped in consequence of a change in the relations of the syllables. E. g. מָטָר (Arab. *māṭār*) *rain*, in construction with a following genitive (in the *construct state*, § 89) מֵטָר, pl. מֵטָרוֹת, *constr.* מֵטָרוֹת; עָקֵב (Arab. *‘āqīb*) *heel*, dual עֲקֵבַיִם, עֲקֵבַי, יֵקְטֵל (Arab. *yāqtūl*), pl. יֵקְטְלוּ (Arab. *yāqtūlū*).

The vowels, with the changes of which we are chiefly concerned here, have been given in the vowel-table § 9, No. 12. According to that threefold classification, we have the following graduated scale to describe the process of lengthening or shortening:

A-class \check{a} (\check{e}) \bar{a} . Shortening: \bar{a} (\check{e}) \check{a} , attenuation from \check{a} to \check{i} .

I-class \check{i} (\check{e}) \bar{i} . " \bar{i} \bar{e} \check{e} \check{i} .

U-class \check{u} \check{o} \bar{u} . " \bar{o} \check{u} (as *obsc.* from \bar{o}) \bar{o} \check{o} \check{u} .

Here also occurs in all the three classes the reduction of the original strong vowel (especially also the tone-lengthened or pretonic \bar{a} \bar{e} \bar{o}) to simple *Shewâ mobile*.

Agreeably to the principles of § 26, the following changes occur:—

1. A tone-long vowel is changed into the original or kindred short one, when a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26, 5). Thus, when the tone is moved forwards, יָד *hand* is יֶד, as יְדִי־יְהוָה *hand of God*; בֶּן *son*, בֶּן־יִצְחָק *son of the king*; כָּל *a whole*, כָּל־יְהוּדָה *the whole-of-the-people*; also when the tone is moved backwards, e. g. יָקָם, יָקָם; יָלַף, יָלַף. So also, when an open syllable with a tone-long vowel becomes by inflection a closed one, e. g. סֵפֶר *book*, סֵפֶר *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, קֹדֶשׁ *my sanctuary*. In these cases *Šērê* (\bar{e}) passes over into *Chirêq* (\check{e}) or *Sêghôl* (\check{e}), *Chôlêm* (\bar{o}) into *Qâmêš-châṭûph* (\check{o}). But

when a closed syllable with a long vowel becomes a sharpened one, i. e. ending with a doubled consonant, *Ṣērē* is changed back into *Chirēq*, and *Chōlēṃ* into *Qibbūṣ*, as אִם *mother*, אִמִּי *my mother*; חֹק statute, plur. חֻקִּים.

2. On the contrary, a short vowel is changed into a corresponding long one,—

- a) When a closed syllable, in which it stands, becomes an open one, i. e. when the word receives an accession beginning with a vowel, to which the final consonant of the closed syllable is attached, as קָטַל, קָטַלְוּ *he has killed him*; מִרְסָּתִי מִרְסָּתִי *my mare* from מִרְסָּת = מִרְסָּה
- b) When a syllable, which should be sharpened by *Dāghē'sh forte*, has a guttural or ר for its final consonant (see § 22, 1), or stands at the end of a word (see § 20, 3, a).
- c) When it meets with a feeble consonant (according to § 23, 1, 2, § 24, 2), as מָצָא for מָצָא *he has found*, for the א, losing its value as a consonant, loses also the power to close a syllable, and the open syllable demands a long vowel.
- d) When the syllable is in *pause*, i. e. is the tone-syllable of the last word in a sentence or clause (§ 29, 4).

3. When a word increases at the end, and the tone is at the same time shifted forward, full vowels (long and short) may, according to the division of syllables, either pass over into a half-vowel (vocal *Sh'wā*), or may even be entirely *dropped*, so that only the syllable-divider (silent *Sh'wā*) supplies their place; e. g. the first is the case in שֵׁם (*name*), pl. שְׁמוֹת, which become שְׁמִי (*my name*), and שְׁמוֹתָם (*their names*); the second in בְּרָכָה (*blessing*), constr. בְּרַכְתָּ. Whether the full vowel remains, or is changed into a half-vowel, or is altogether dropped (דָּם, דְּמִי; שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two vowels disappears in two successive syllables, must be determined by the nature of the word; but in general it may be said, that in the inflection of nouns the first vowel is mostly shortened in this manner, while the second, when it stands immediately before the tone-syllable (as a pretonic vowel), remains, as יָקָר (*dear*), fem. יִקְרָה *yēqārā*; in the in-

flection of verbs, the second, as יָקָר (*he was dear*), *fem.* יָקָרָה *yāqār'.* Thus we have a half-vowel in place of—

a) *Qāmēš* and *Sērē* in the first syllable (principally in the inflection of nouns), as דָּבָר *word, plur.* דְּבָרִים *great, fem.* גְּדוּלָה; לֵב *heart, plur.* לְבָבִי *my heart*; תָּשׁוּבָה *she will return, plur.* תִּשְׁוּבוֹתָ *they (fem.) will return.*

b) The short or merely tone-long vowels *a, e, o*, in the last syllable, especially in the inflection of verbs, e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קָטְלָה *qāṭlā'*; קָטַל *plur.* קָטְלִים *qōṭlīm*; יָקַטְלוּ *yāqṭlū'.* The *Sēghôl* as a helping vowel is entirely rejected (becomes silent *Sh'wâ*), e. g. מָלַךְ (*grd* מְלֹךְ) *מְלֹכִי*. If there be no shifting of the tone, the vowel will remain notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, as יָשׁוּבָה, יָשׁוּבוּ, כָּרַמְלָה, כָּרְמְלָה.

Where the tone is advanced two places or syllables, *both* the vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, so that the first becomes *i* and the second becomes *Sh'wâ*. From דָּבָר we have in the *plur.* דְּבָרִים, and with a *grave suffix* (i. e. one that always has a strong accent) this becomes דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (comp. § 28, 1). On the shortening of *ā* into *i*, see especially in Rem. 3, below.

Some other vowel changes, chiefly also with respect to quantity, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

Rem. 1. The diphthongal *ā ō* (from *au*), as also the *ō* derived from the firm *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), is longer than *ā ū*, and therefore, when the tone is moved forward, the former is often shortened into the latter, e. g. נִפְּחָה (*see Paradigm M. Niph.*), נִפְּחָה *flight, fem.* מְנוּפָּחָה, with *suffix* מְנוּפָּחִי; מְנוּפָּחִי *sweet, fem.* מְנוּפָּחָה. The *ā* stands sometimes even in a sharpened syllable, as in הוֹפָּחָה Ps. 102, 5, כִּיָּם Jer. 31, 34, הוֹפָּחָה Ez. 20, 18, יוֹפָּחָה Judg. 18, 29. Nearly the same relation exists between diphthongal *ā ē* and long *ā î*; see examples in § 75, 2.

NB. On the contrary, *ā ū* is shortened into *ō*, which in the tone-syllable appears as a tone-long *ō* (*Chōlēm*), but on the removal of the tone it becomes again *ō* (*Qāmēš-chāṭṭūph*), as רָקַם (*he will rise*), רָקַם (*jussive, let him rise*), וַיָּרָם (*and he rose*), see Parad. M. *Qal.* So also *ā ē* becomes a tone-long *Sērē* (*ē*), as רָקַם (*he will set up*), רָקַם (*let him set up*), and in the absence of the tone, *Sēghôl* (*ē*), as in וַיָּרָם (*and he set up*); see Parad. M. *Hiph'il.*

2. From a *Päthäch* (*ă*) in a closed syllable there arises a *S'ghôl* (*ě*), through an obscuring of the sound [Umlaut]. This happens—

- a) in the closed antepenult, e. g. אֲבִירָה (*proper noun*) for אֲבִירָה; also in the closed penult e. g. יָדְכֶם *your hand* for יָדְכֶם.
- b) This is more regularly the case when *Dāghē'sh fortè* is omitted in a guttural, that has a *Qāmēš* under it. Thus always הָ— for הָ— (הָ—) e. g. אחֵיו *his brothers* for אחֵיו, from אחֵיו; הַחֲזוֹן *the vision*; בָּחַשׁ *false* for בָּחַשׁ, and so always with ח. With ה and ע the *S'ghôl* is used only where a greater shortening is required on account of the distance of the tone; hence, הַהָרִים for הַהָרִים *the mountains*, but הָהָר *the mountain*; הַזֵּן *the misdeed*, but הָעָם *the people*. Before א and ר, where a short sharpened vowel cannot so easily stand (§ 22, 1), *Qāmēš* is constantly used, as אֲבֹתָם *the fathers*, רֹאשׁ *the head*, הַרְקִיעַ *the firmament* (as an exception we find הָרָה *mountain-ward*). Comp. also the interrogative הָ (הָ, הָ) in § 100, 4.
- c) in the first class of the so-called segholate forms, when a helping vowel is inserted after the 2nd cons. (§ 28, 4); thus from כֶּלֶב with helping *S'ghôl*, כֶּלֶב (Arab. *kelb*, and the LXX, Μελαγισεδέχ for כֶּלֶב) with helping *Päthäch*, כֶּלֶב. Thus in verbal forms like יִגַּל (*Jussive of the Hiph.* of יָגַל) with a helping *S'ghôl* for יִגַּל.

3. In a closed syllable, which loses the tone, *ă* is often attenuated into *ĭ*, e. g. a) with firm closing: מִדָּו *his measure* for מִדָּו (sharpened); יִגְדִּילִי *I have begotten*, יִגְדִּילְךָ *I have begotten thee*,¹ cf. Ez. 38, 23, Lev. 11, 44; b) with a loose closing: דְּמָמְךָ *your blood* for דְּמָמְךָ; so with numerous segholates forms (*grdf.* קָטַל e. g. צָרָךְ for צָרָךְ *constr. st. pl.* of בָּנָה).

4. The *S'ghôl* arises, not only in the cases given above, in Rem. 1 and 2, but also—

- a) From the obscuring in isolated cases of *ă* (*Qāmēš*) final (ח— for ח—): Ps. 20, 4, Is. 59, 5, 1 Sam. 28, 15.
- b) Even from the obscuring of *u*, as אַתָּם (*you*) from the original 'attum (Arab. 'antum), see § 32, Rem. 5 and 7; לָהֶם (*to them*) from the original (also Arab.) lakum. Comp. § 8, Third Class of vowels, p. 35.

5. Among the Chatephs (—) counts for shorter and lighter than (—), and the group (—) than (—), e. g. אֶדֹם *Edom*, but אֶדְמִי *Edomite*; אֶמֶת (*emēth*) *truth*, אֶמְתִּי *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden*, plur. נֶעְלָמִים; יִחְבֹּדֶה, יִחְבֹּדֶה.

¹ Analogous to this attenuating of *ă* into *ĭ*, is the Latin *tango*, *attingo*; *laxus*, *prolixus*; and to that of *ă* into *ě* (in Rem. 2), the Latin *carpo*, *decerpo*; *spargo*, *conspargo*.

§ 28.

RISE OF NEW VOWELS AND SYLLABLES.

1. When a word begins with a so-called *Appoggiatura* (§ 26, 4), i. e. with a consonant which has a vocal *Sh^ewâ*, and there comes another consonant with *Sh^ewâ* before it, then this latter receives, instead of the *Sh^ewâ*, an ordinary short vowel. This vowel is almost always *ĭ* (*Chî'rĕq*). In most cases this is probably a weakened *ă* (*Păthăch*), and not a mere auxiliary vowel. In other cases analogy may have led to the choice of the *ĭ*. Thus the prefixes ב, כ, ל, before a consonant with (—) become ב, כ, ל, e. g. בפרי, כפרי, לפרי; ביהודה (from ביה according to § 24, 1, *a*); the same with *Waw copulative* ויהודה for ויה. This restoration of the original vowel i. e. of *ă* (or *ĭ* weakened from *ă*) occurs frequently in certain *appoggiatura* in the formation of verbs which elsewhere (that is to say before consonants with a firm vowel) are pronounced simply with *Sh^ewâ*. At times the first *appoggiatura* after the restoration of the short vowel combines with the second into a firmly closed syllable, as לִנְפֹל *lin-pōl* Num. 14, 3, in isolated cases also with כִּכְרֶ Jer. 17, 2.

2. When the second of the two consonants is a guttural with *composite Sh^ewâ*, then the first takes, instead of the simple *Sh^ewâ*, the short vowel with which the other is compounded, so that we obtain the groups —, —, — e. g. כָּאֶשֶׁר *as*, לְעֹבֵד *for to serve*, לֹאֲכַל *for to eat*, לְחָלִי *for sickness*, for כָּאֶשֶׁר, לְעֹבֵד, לֹאֲכַל, לְחָלִי. The new vowel has *Mêthĕgh*, according to § 16, 2, *a*. Sometimes also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel which belonged to the suppressed *Chăĕph*, e. g. לְחָטָב *for לָחַטָב*; לֹאֲסֹר (but also לָאֲסֹר; and even רַעְצֹר Job 4, 2). In the verbs הָיָה *to be* and יָחִיה *to live* a simple *Sh^ewâ* vocal is maintained under the gutturals after a prefix, e. g. לְהָיָה *to be*, and וְיָחִיה *and be ye!* (comp. רַחֲמֶיךָ *and be thou!* and רַחֲמֶיהָ *and live!* with *S^ghó'l* of the prefix, for וְיָחִיה)

3. By the same analogy a *Chāṣeph* (especially under a guttural) before a vocal *Sh'wā*, in the midst of a word is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, e. g. יַעֲמְדוּ *yā'ăm'dhū'* for יַעֲמְדוּ *they will stand*, נֶהְפְּכוּ *nēhēph'khū'* for נֶהְפְּכוּ *they have turned themselves*, פָּעִלָהּ *pō'ōl'khā' (thy work)*. Comp. § 26, 3, e. The division should be *yā'ăm'dhū'*.

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10, 3, § 26, 7); yet only when the last of these is a consonant of strong sound, ט, ק, or an aspirate with its hard sound (*tenuis*), viz. ב, ד, ג, ח,¹ e. g. יָשַׁב *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשָּׁק *and he caused to drink*, תָּהָת *thou (fem.) hast killed*, וַיִּבֶךְ *and he wept*, וַיִּרָד *let him rule*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*. This harsh combination of letters is, however, avoided in general by supplying between the two consonants a *helping-vowel*, which is mostly *S'ghō'l*, but *Păthäch* under gutturals,² and *Ch'irēq* after י, e. g. וַיִּגַּל *and he revealed* for וַיִּגַּל *let it increase* for וַיִּרָב *sanctuary* for וַיִּרָב *stream* for וַיִּרָב *thou f. hast sent*, בֵּית *house* for בֵּית. These helping-vowels have not the tone, and they are dropped when-

¹ There is hardly an instance of a similar use of ג and ח, which would in that case likewise require Dāghē'sh. The use of חִיִּים in Prov. 30, 6 (shortened from חִיִּים) is the only exception, and in some MSS the ח has not Dāghē'sh here.

² With the exception, however, of the א, as אֲרִי *wild ass*, אֲרִי *fresh grass*. Elsewhere the א loses its consonant power and is merely retained orthographically as in אֲרִי *sin*, אֲרִי *valley* (also אֲרִי), אֲרִי (Job 15, 31 *Kethibh* אֲרִי).

³ In this form (§ 65, 2) *Dāghē'sh lenē* remains in the final *Tāw* just as if no vowel preceded (§ 22, 2), in order to indicate that the helping *Păthäch* is not a full vowel but merely an orthographical indication of a hasty sound. (Accordingly לָקַחְתָּ *thou hast taken* is distinguished also in pronunciation from לָקַחְתָּ *for to take*) The false epithet *furtive* given to this helping-vowel, in connection with the notion that such a vowel must be sounded *before* the consonant, caused the decided mistake, which long had its defenders, viz., that שָׁלַחְתָּ should be read *shalāacht*; although such words as שָׁחַל, נָחַל were always correctly sounded *shūchāth*, *nāchāl* not *naächl*. Quite analogous is יָחַד in Job 3, 6 (from יָחַד *to rejoice*, see § 75, Rem. 3, d).

ever the word increases at the end, as בֵּיתָהּ *house-ward*, קִדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*.

These helping-vowels have inappropriately been called *furtive*, a term which should be restricted to the *Päthäch* sounded before a final guttural, according to § 22, 2, *b*.

5. Full vowels rise out of *simple Shewâ* also by reason of the *Pause*; see § 29, 4.

·§ 29.

OF THE TONE AND ITS CHANGES, AND OF THE PAUSE.

1. The principal tone, indicated by the accent (§ 15, 2), rests on the final syllable of most words, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבַר; דְּבָרָו, קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ (and as the last four examples show, even on additions to the stem); less frequently on the penultima, as in מִלָּחָמָה, לַיְלָה *night*, קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ.

Connected with the principal tone is *Méthègh*, a kind of secondary accent (§ 16, 2). Words which are united by *Mäq-qēph* with the following one (§ 16, 1), can have at the most a secondary tone.

It is not necessary here to single out the words accented on the penultima (*voces penacuta*); for the sake, however, of calling attention to these words, they are chiefly marked in this book with —, put over the tone-syllable.

In Arabic the tone is more on the penultima, and even on the antepenultima. The Aram. also accent mostly the penultima; and the Hebrew is pronounced thus, contrary to the accents, by the German and Polish Jews, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא, which they pronounce *brëshis bóro*.

2. The original tone of a word frequently shifts its place on account of changes in the word itself, or in its relation to other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is thrown forward (*descendit*) one or two syllables according to the length of the addition, as דְּבַר *word*, דְּבָרִים *words*, דְּבָרֵיכֶם *your words*; קִדְשׁ *sanctuary*, קִדְשִׁים *sanctuaries*; קָטַל, קָטְלוּ. On the effect of this in the changes of the vowels, see § 27, 1, 3.

3. On the contrary, the original tone is shifted from the final syllable to the penultima (*ascendit*)—

- a) When the syllable נַ (§ 49, 2) is prefixed to certain forms of the Imperfect, as יֹאמַר *he will say*, וַיֹּאמֶר *and he said*; יֵלֶךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*.
- b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllabic word, or one with the tone on the 1st syllable follows, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical shifting back of the tone (נָסוּג אָחֳרִי retrogression as it is called by the Jewish grammarians) takes place however only on condition that the penult which now receives the accent, be an open syllable,—with long vowel,—while the last syllable, which loses the accent, must be an open one with a long vowel, or a closed one with a short vowel. Only Šé're can be kept in a closed unaccented *ultima*, but it is then, in correct editions, provided with a retarding *Méthègh* in order to prevent its pronunciation as Š'ghô'l, e. g. לִבְיָדָה קֵין Num. 24, 22. In other instances the shortening into Š'ghô'l really takes place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פָּעַם *beating the anvil* Is. 41, 7, for הוֹלֵם פָּעַם, Gen. 1, 5, 3, 19, 4, 17, Job. 3, 3, 22, 28, Ps. 5, 11, 21, 2.
- c) In *pause*. See No. 4 below.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (*letter b*) is avoided in another way, viz., by writing the words with *Mäqqēph* between them, in which case the first wholly loses the tone, as וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם *and he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32.

4. Very essential changes of the tone, and consequently of the vowels, are effected by the *Pause*. By this term is meant the strong accentuation of the tone-syllable of the word, which closes a verse or clause of a verse, where a great *distinctive accent* stands (*Sillûq*, *Athnāch*; also *Ôlê neyôrêd* in poetical accentuation); apart from these principal pauses there also occur often pausal changes with smaller distinctives (espec. with *Zäqēph-qātôn*, *Rēbiâ*, *Päzēr*, even with *Tiphchâ* etc.) The changes are as follows:—

- a) When the syllable in *pause* has a short vowel, it becomes long; as קָטַל, קָטַל; מִים, מִים; קָטַלָּה, קָטַלָּה; קָשָׁר, קָשָׁר (orig. form

¹ Even the prose of the Hebrews proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That the authors of the system intended to secure this object is evident, particularly from the application of *Méthègh*.

קשר *conspiracy*, קשר 2 K. 11, 14; ארץ, ארץ Jer. 22, 29. דבר becomes in pause דבר.

Yet sometimes the sharper *ă* is intentionally retained in Pause, especially if the closing consonant has *Dāghē'sh forte implicitum*, the vowel thus being really sharpened e. g. כו Is. 8, 1 etc. but also elsewhere, e. g. צר.

- b) When a full vowel in an accented final syllable has lost its tone and become *Shewā* before an affirmative, it is restored again in *pause*—if it was a short vowel—lengthened e. g. קטל *fem.* קטלה (*qāṭlā*) in *pause* קטלה (*qāṭlā*); שמעו (*šimē'ū*) *pause*: שמעו (from sing. שמע); מלאה, מלאה; יקטלו, יקטלו (sing. יקטל). In segholate forms like לחי, פרי (*grdf.* לחי, פרי) the orig. *ă* returns at least as accented *Sēghôl*, thus לחי, פרי; orig. *i* as *ē*, e. g. חצי, in *pause* חצי; orig. *ö* (*ü*) as *ō*, e. g. חלי (*grdf.* חלי), in *pause* חלי. In analogy with forms like לחי etc. the shortened *impf.* יהי and יחי would become in *pause* יהי and יחי (because in the full forms like יהיה *he will be*, and יחיה *he will live* the *Chîrēq* is attenuated from orig. *ă*). Here belongs also שכם *the neck*, in *pause* שכם (*grdf.* שכם) and the pronoun אני *I*, in *pause* אני, as well as the restoration of orig. *ă* as *ě* before the suff. ה—*thou, thee* e. g. דברה *thy word*, in *pause* דברה; ישמרה, in *pause* ישמרה (on the other hand after the prepositions ב, ל, את, אה, בך, לך, אה become in *pause* בך, לך, אה).

- c) This tendency to place the tone on the *penultima* in *pause* shows itself, moreover, in several words, as אנכי *I*, אנכי; אתה *thou*, אתה; עתה *now*, עתה; and in special cases, like כלו Ps. 37, 20 for כלו, and also לעו Job 6, 3 for לעו, from לעה.

Of other influences of the pause we have still to mention 1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *ě*) into the sharper *ă* (v. supra. Remark to letter a) e. g. הרו for הרו Is. 18, 5; קמל Is. 33, 9; הפר Gen. 17, 14 etc. mostly before liquids or sibilants (yet also השב Is. 42, 22 and without the pause הדר Lam. 3, 48). The pausal of נלך (shortened from נלך) is נלך; comp. Lam. 3, 1 נלך; Judg. 19, 20 נלך for נלך. 2) the

¹ Such a pause-syllable is sometimes strengthened further by doubling the following consonant, § 20, 2, c.

transition from *ā* into *ē* in the ultima; so always in the expression לעולם ועד (for עד) *for ever and ever*. 3) the *pausal Qāmeṣ* of the *Hithpael* form (for Šērē) e. g. ירחיק Job. 18, 8. for ירחיק Job. 21, 11 ירחיק for ירחיק. 5) the restoration of the י dropped from the end of the stem with its preceding vowel e. g. אָמַרְיִי, בָּעִירִי Is. 21, 12 (for בָּעִירִי, אָמַרְיִי, the latter word found thus also outside of the pause Is. 56, 9. 12); Comp. Job. 12, 6 and the same occurrence even in a word before the pause Deut. 32, 37; Is. 21, 12.

Several other changes occasioned by the *pause* will be noticed farther on, when treating upon the inflections of verbs and nouns.

NB. The supposition of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the pause springs merely from liturgical considerations, i. e. "to develope conveniently the *musical value* of the final accents by the aid of fuller forms" at Divine service, is at variance with the fact that similar phenomena may be observed even at the present day in the vulgar Arabic, where they can be based only upon *rhythmical reasons* of a general character.

PART SECOND.

OF FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30.

OF THE STEM-WORDS AND ROOTS (BILITERALS, TRI- LITERALS, QUADRILITERALS).

1. The stem-words of the Hebrew and of the other Semitic languages have this peculiarity, that by far the most of them consist of *three consonants*, on which the meaning essentially depends, while its various modifications are expressed by changes in the vowels, e. g. עָמַק *he was deep*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֲמֻק *depth*, עַמּוּק *valley*. Such a stem-word may be indifferently either a verb or a noun, and usually the language exhibits both together, as זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *wise*, חֵכֶם *he was wise*. Yet it is customary and of practical utility for the beginner to consider the *third pers. sing. mas. of the Perf.* in *Qāl* (i. e. one of the most simple forms of the verb), as the stem-word, and the other forms of both the verb and the noun (both substantive and adjective), together with most of the particles, as derived from it, e. g. צָדִיק *he was righteous*, צִדִּיק *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, etc. Sometimes the language, as handed down to us, exhibits only the verbal stem, without so simple a form for the cognate noun, as סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and occasionally the noun is found without the corresponding verb-stem, e. g. נָגַב *south*, אֶבֶן *stone*. Yet it must be supposed that the language, as spoken,

often had the forms now wanting, since they still exist in several of the other Semitic dialects, e. g. for אֲבִי the Arabic has the verb-stem 'ābinā to become hard (for נִגַּב Aram. *n'gabh*).

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem-word, i. e. the 3. pers. sing. masc. of the Perf. in *Qāl* the *root* (שֹׁרֵשׁ), for which the Latin term *radix* is often used; and hence the three consonants of the stem are called *radical letters*, in contradistinction from the *servile* (or *formative*) *letters* (viz. א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, צ, ק, ר, forming the mnemonic expression אֶתָּן מֹשֶׁה וְקָלֵב *Ethan, Moses and Caleb*), which are added in the derivation and inflection of words.¹ We, however, employ the term *root* in a different sense, as explained here, in No 3.

2. Many etymologists give the name *root* to the three stem-consonants, viewed as vowelless and unpronounceable, from which the stems for both the verbs and the nouns are developed, as in the vegetable kingdom (from which the figurative expression is taken) the stems grow out of the concealed root. Thus for example—

Root. מִלַּךְ (*ruling in general*)

Verb-stem. מָלַךְ *he has reigned.* Noun-stem. מֶלֶךְ *king.*

This supposition of an unpronounceable root is, however, an abstraction, and the term root instead of stem is liable to mislead and it is better, at least for the historical mode of treatments, to consider the concrete verb (3. pers. sing. masc. Perf. *Qāl*) as the stem-word.

3. These trilateral stems now generally form two syllables, as מֶלֶךְ. But among them are reckoned also such as have for their middle letter a ו, and by contraction (§ 24, 2, c) become one syllable, e. g. קָם for קָמָה; also, as a rule, stems whose second and third consonant are identical, e. g. צָר with צָרָר. But the original forms were doubtless trisyllabic, and became dissyllabic by dropping the final vowel, as קָטַל from *qātālā* (still so in Arab.); קָם from *qāwāmā* (already dissyllabic in Arab. *qāmā*).

2. The use of three consonants in the stems of the verbs and nouns is so prevalent a law in the Semitic languages, that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the trilateral form (e. g. יָדָם for יָדָה in verbs עָ"ד). Even such monosyllabic nouns as might be deemed originally monosyllables (*biliteral roots*), since they express the first, simplest, and commonest ideas, as אָב *father*, אָם *mother*, אָח *brother*, show by inflection that they also are mutilations of a trilateral stem. However the verbal stem has not been found for all such cases.

¹ See more in § 81, Rem. 1, Note 2.

3. Yet, on the other hand, stems with three consonants may be traced back to two consonants, which, in themselves unutterable are pronounced with a vowel between them and form a sort of *root-syllable*, to designate which grammarians use the sign $\sqrt{\quad}$, e. g. $\sqrt{\text{כר}}$. Such root-syllables are called *primary* or *biliteral* roots. They are very easily distinguished when the stem has a feeble consonant, or the same consonant in the second and third place. Thus the stems $\sqrt{\text{דכ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{דק}}$, $\sqrt{\text{דכ}}$ have all the meaning of *to beat* and *to break in pieces*, and the two stronger letters $\sqrt{\text{דך}}$ *dakh* (comp. Eng. *thwack*, Sans. *tag* = ठिगृन् , L. *tago* (*tango*) = E. *touch*) constitute the monosyllabic root. The augmentation into a stem may also take place however by the addition of a strong consonant, which may be either a sibilant, liquid or guttural. To such a monosyllabic root there often belongs a whole series of triliteral stems, which have two radical letters and the fundamental idea in common.

Only a few examples of this sort:—

From the root $\sqrt{\text{קץ}}$, which imitates the sound of *cutting*, are derived immediately $\sqrt{\text{קצ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קצה}}$ *to cut off*, and metaph. *to decide, to judge* (hence $\sqrt{\text{קצין}}$ Arab. *qādhī*, *a judge*); then $\sqrt{\text{קצב}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קצע}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קצר}}$, with the kindred significations *to shear, to mow*. Related to this is the syllable $\sqrt{\text{קש}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קס}}$, from which is derived $\sqrt{\text{קסס}}$ *to cut into*, $\sqrt{\text{קשט}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{קשה}}$ *to pare*. With a lingual instead of the sibilant $\sqrt{\text{קט}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קד}}$; hence $\sqrt{\text{קטב}}$ *to cut down, destroy*, $\sqrt{\text{קטל}}$ *to hew down, to kill*, $\sqrt{\text{קטה}}$ *to tear off, to pluck off*, $\sqrt{\text{קדר}}$ *to hew asunder, to split*. A softer form of this radical syllable is $\sqrt{\text{כס}}$; hence $\sqrt{\text{כסה}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{כסס}}$ *to cut off, to shear off*, $\sqrt{\text{כס}}$ Syr. *to sacrifice or to slay a victim*. Still softer are $\sqrt{\text{גז}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{גר}}$; hence $\sqrt{\text{גזז}}$ *to mow, to shear*, $\sqrt{\text{גזה}}$ *to hew stones*, $\sqrt{\text{גזם}}$, $\sqrt{\text{גזל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{גזר}}$ *to hew off, to cut off, to eat off, to graze*; and so $\sqrt{\text{גרד}}$ *to cut, to cut off*; compare also $\sqrt{\text{גרה}}$, $\sqrt{\text{גרה}}$. With the change of the palatal for the guttural sound, $\sqrt{\text{חצב}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חטב}}$ *to hew stones or wood*, $\sqrt{\text{חצץ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חצה}}$ *to split, divide*, $\sqrt{\text{חץ}}$ *arrow* (חץ), $\sqrt{\text{חרר}}$ *to sharpen*, $\sqrt{\text{חיו}}$ *arrow, lightning*, also $\sqrt{\text{חזה}}$ *to see* (comp. $\sqrt{\text{חרל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חור}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חרר}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חוש}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חיס}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חיון}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חסל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חסס}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חסק}}$ — $\sqrt{\text{חט}}$ in Ges Lex.).

The syllable $\sqrt{\text{הם}}$ expresses the *humming* sound made with the mouth closed (هم); hence $\sqrt{\text{המה}}$, $\sqrt{\text{הום}}$, $\sqrt{\text{הום}}$ (Arab. *to hum, to buzz*). To these add $\sqrt{\text{בהם}}$ *to be dumb*; $\sqrt{\text{רהם}}$ *to become mute, to be astonished*.

The root-syllable $\sqrt{\text{רע}}$, of which both letters have a trilling sound, means *to tremble*, in the stemwords $\sqrt{\text{רעז}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעם}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעש}}$; then it is expressive of what causes thrilling motion or agitation, as *thunder* ($\sqrt{\text{רעם}}$), the act of *shattering* or *breaking in pieces* ($\sqrt{\text{רעצ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעץ}}$). Comp. $\sqrt{\text{פר}}$, $\sqrt{\text{פל}}$.

See also what is said in the Heb. Lexicon about the root-syllables **גב** with the idea of *elevation, curving upward (gibbous)* **פר** to *break*; **לע**, **לח** to *lick, to sip up*, under the articles **גָּבַב**, **פָּרַר**, **לִיץ**.

From further consideration of this subject, the following observations occur:—

- a) These roots are *mere abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves *not* in use. They merely represent the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet the latter have, now and then, so short a form, that they exhibit only the elements of the root itself, as **הָ** to *be finished*, **לָ** *light*. The determination of the root and its signification is of the highest importance to the lexicographer. Another much contested question is whether there has ever been a period in the development of the Semitic languages when merely bi-literal roots, either rigidly isolated or already augmented by inflection, have served for the communication of ideas. If so, it must have been at a stage in its progress, when the ideas conveyed were extremely few and elementary and the gradual enlargement of words was required by the influx of stronger shades of thought. No historical evidence of such a transition has been clearly established.
- b) Many of these monosyllabic roots are imitations of natural sounds, and sometimes coincide with like-meaning roots of the Indo-Germanic stock (§ 1, 4), e. g. **הָפַח** (comp. E. *tap, thump, dump*), **רָפָא** **רָאָפַטוּ** (**רָאָפַטוּ**) (comp. Welsh *rhâff* = G. *Reif* = E. *rope* = *ribbon*), **כָּלַח** **כֹּלָאָפַטוּ** (comp. E. *club, clap*). Of other roots it is evident that the Semitic linguistic instinct regarded them as onomatopoeitic, whilst the spirit of the Indo-Germanic languages refuses to accept them as imitations.
- c) The stems with hard, strong consonants are to be regarded, according to the general progress of language (§ 6, 4), as the *oldest*, while the feebler and softer consonants distinguish forms of a later period, which consequently are more frequently used for the derivative and metaphorical significations, e. g. **קָרַח** and **קָלַח** to *be smooth, to be shorn, to be bald*; and even **קָלַח** to *be bare*. Comp. **פֹּר** and **בֹּר**, **צָחַק** and **חֹק**, **שָׂחַק** and **עָלַח**, **עָלַח** and **עָלַח** (**עָלַח**), **רָקַח** and **רָכַח**, and also the almost universal softening of initial **י** and **ר**. In other instances however harder stems have been adopted at a later period from the Aramaic, (e. g. **טָעַח**, Hebr. **טָעַח**). Sometimes the harder or softer sound is essential to the imitative character of the word, as **גָּלַל** to *roll* (spoken of a ball, of the rolling of waves), but **פָּרַר** more for a rough sound, as made in the act of *scraping* = **פָּרַר**, **פָּרַר**, **פָּרַר**; so in **חָצַב** to *cut stones or wood*, we find a stronger sound than in **חָצַב** to *cut grass, to mow*.
- d) It appears also that those consonants, which *resemble* each other in strength or feebleness, are commonly associated in the formation of root-syllables, as **קָחַן**, **כָּס**, **גָּז**, **גָּר** (never **כָּחַן**, **כָּחַן**); **פָּחַן**, **בָּחַן** (seldom **פָּחַן**); **קָחַן**, **גָּר** (not **גָּחַן**). Rarely if ever are the first two radicals the same

in the (triliteral) stem. The seeming exceptions come from the reduplication of the root, e. g. אִיִּבּ אִיִּבּ אִיִּבּ or from other reasons. Comp. בָּבֶה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants may be identical only in the so-called hollow stems (with middle ו or י), e. g. בָּוִי, צִוִּי. On the contrary, the last two are very often the same (§ 67).¹

- e) The tendency to substitute smooth for harsh sounds (see letter c) is sometimes so great, that *l, n, r*, especially when used as middle stem-letters, are even softened to vowels, as אָלֵץ, אָלֵץ (comp. אָנֵס) to *press*, בָּלֵץ, בָּלֵץ, and many others. Comp. *salvare*, French *sauver*; *calidus*, Ital. *caldo*, in Naples *caudo*, French *chaud*; *falsus*, It. *falso*, in Calabria *fauzu*, French *faux*, and the pronunciation of the English words *talk, walk*. Comp. § 19, 5, Rem.
- f) The cases where the triliteral stems cannot safely be traced back to a biliteral root, may have arisen in part from a combination of two roots, by which were created corresponding expressions for complicated ideas.

A fuller development of this active change in the primitive elements of the language belongs to the Lexicon.

4. To a secondary development (or later stage) of the language belong stem-words of *four*, and, in the case of nouns, even of *five*, consonants. These are, however, comparatively far less frequent in Hebrew than in its sister dialects, especially Ethiopic. They spring from the extension of the triliteral stem. This extension of the form is effected in two ways:—a) by adding a fourth stem-letter;—b) in some cases probably by combining into one word two triliteral stems, by which process even *quinteliteral*s are formed. Such lengthened forms as arise from the mere repetition of one or two of the three stem-letters, as קָטַלְטַל from קָטַל, סִכְסַּךְ from סִכַּךְ, are not regarded as quadriliteral, but as variations in the so-called conjugation forms (§ 55). So likewise the few

¹ Letters which are not found associated as radicals are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly such as too strongly resemble each other, as קֵץ, קֵץ, כֵּץ, כֵּץ. Some letters, however, have been falsely considered *incompatible*, as ל, ר, which are found associated, e. g. in לָרַל and לָרַל, softened from the harsher forms לָרַר, לָרַר. Comp. γαργαρεω along with γράβδην, ὄξα along with ὄξος, and much that is analogous in Sanskrit.

words which are formed by prefixing ש, as שֹׁלֶהֶבֶת *flame* (from לָהֵב), Aram. conj. *Shāphēl* שֹׁלֵהֵב.

Rem. on a). Some forms are made by the *insertion* particularly of *l* and *r* between the first and second radicals; as כָּרַס, כָּרַסָּה *to shear off, to eat off*; שֹׁרֵבֵית = שֹׁרֵבֵית *sceptre* (the form with ר very frequent in Syr.); by the insertion of *l* we have from זָקָה *to glow*, זָלִצָה *hot wind*, זָלִצָּה *tranquil* (from שָׁאֵן) Job 21, 23, possibly also גָּלְמִיד from גָּלַם but comp. *Delitzsch* in Is. 49, 21. Comp. the Aramaic עָרַג *to roll*, as an expansion of the *Pa'el* conjugation (corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'el*) עָרַל. In Latin there is a corresponding strengthening of the stem; as *findo, scindo, tundo, jungo* (in Sanskr., Class. VII.) from *fid, scid, sxdedw* (=Eng. *scatter*), *tud* (=Eng. *thud*), *jug* (=Eng. *yoke*=Welsh *iau*). Additions are also made at the end, principally of *l* and *n*; as גָּרַן *axe*, from גָּרַז *to cut* (comp. *graze*); כָּרְמֵל *orchard*, from כָּרַם; חֲבִיט *flower-cup*, from חָבִיץ *to hobble* which *Ges.* derived from חָרַג is by *Dietrich* referred to חָרַג with the insertion of ר, v. Lex.

Rem. on b). So probably are compounded צִפְרִיד *frog* Ex. 8, 1 ff., and חֲבַצְלֵה *meadow-saffron* (or *crocus*, comp. *Delitzsch* on Is. 35, 1) Cant. 2, 1, although this explanation is not altogether certain. [Comp. *Ges. Lex.* 8th Ed. where צִפְרִיד is not regarded as a compound but, according to *Dietrich*, a derivation from the Arabic form of the word (ضَفْدَع) as the older, and this from the usual stem expansion]. Many words of this class may prove to have been taken from other languages (§ 1. 4) and therefore not appropriately considered here.

5. To a special class as derived from an earlier stage of the language, in which other laws prevailed, or from mutilations of already developed word-stems belong the *pronouns*. At all events their very irregular mode of formation requires a special treatment (§ 32). In like manner the *interjections* (§ 105), as an immediate imitation of natural sounds stand outside of existing formative laws.¹ On the other hand all the so-called particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) have in Hebrew, arisen from the fully developed nominal-stem, although in some instances, on account of their very great abbreviations, the original form is no longer distinguishable, see § 99.

¹ Comp. *Hupfeld's System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelbildung*, in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II, S. 124 ff. 427 ff.

§ 31.

OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems, and their inflection, are effected in two ways:—*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels;—*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after. On the other hand the expression of grammatical relations through separate words by periphrasis (as in expressing the comparative degree and several relations of case), belongs rather to the syntax than to that part of grammar which treats of *forms*.

The second mode of forming words, viz., by agglutination, which is exemplified in the Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient of the two. Yet other languages, and particularly the Semitic, had early recourse also to the first mode, viz., internal modification of the stem, and in the period of their youthful vigour developed a strong tendency to follow this process, but in their later periods this tendency continually diminished in force, so that it became necessary to use syntactical circumlocution.—This is exemplified in the Greek (including the modern), and in the Latin with its branches (called the *Romance dialects*).

2. Both methods of formation and inflection are found together in Hebrew. That which is effected by vowel changes exhibits considerable variety (קטל, קטל, קטל; קטל, קטל, etc.). To this is joined in numerous cases the external formation (התקטל, הקטיל, נקטל etc.), and even the formative additions undergo, also often, the inner transformation, e. g. הקטל, הקטל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, in the formation of the persons of the verb, where also the import of these annexed syllables is still, for the most part, perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47); moreover, it occurs in the distinction of gender and number in the verb and the noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, there appear in Hebrew only imperfect traces (§ 90).

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 32.

OF THE PERSONAL OR SEPARATE PRONOUN.

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronouns generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest component parts of the language (§ 30, 5); and therefore it here claims our first attention, because it lies at the foundation of the inflection of the verb (§§ 44, 47).

2. The separate and primary forms of the personal pronoun, which, as in Greek and Latin, serve to express more emphatically the subject-nominative, are the following:—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִכִּי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִכִּי; } <i>I</i>	אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי	1. <i>com.</i> אֲנֶחְמֵנּוּ, in <i>pause</i> אֲנֶחְמֵנּוּ } <i>we</i>	(נֶחְמֵנּוּ, p. נֶחְמֵנּוּ), (אֲנֵנּוּ)
2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (אַתָּה) in <i>p.</i> אַתָּה } <i>thou</i>	or אַתָּה f. אַתָּה (אַתָּה, pr. אַתָּה) p. אַתָּה	2. { <i>m.</i> אַתֶּם	{ <i>f.</i> אַתֶּנּוּ (אַתֶּנּוּ, אַתֶּנּוּ) } <i>ye</i>
3. { <i>m.</i> הוּא	<i>he, also it</i>	3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם (הֵם), הֵמָּה	{ <i>f.</i> הֵנָּה (הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה) } <i>they</i>
{ <i>f.</i> הִיא	<i>she, also it</i>		

The forms included in parentheses seldom occur. A complete view of these pronouns, with their shortened forms (*suffixes*), is given in Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar. Comp. also § 121.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִכִּי is less frequent than אֲנִי which is probably shortened from it. The *former* is found in the Phœnician, Moabitic and Assyrian, but in no other kindred dialect;¹ from the *latter* are

¹ In Phœnician and Moabite (§ 2, 2) it is אֲנִכִּי, without the ending אֲנִי, and in Punic *anec* (Plaut. Pœn. 5, 1, 8) or *'anekh* (Plauti Pœnulus, 5, 2, 35, comp. Schröder, Phon. Sprache, S. 143); in Assyrian, *anaku*. In ancient Egyptian, ANEK, Coptic *anok, nok*.

formed the *suffixes* (§ 33). אָנִי prevails chiefly in the Pentateuch. In the Talmūd אָנִי has almost entirely disappeared and in some later books wholly. The *ō* is probably an obscuring of orig. *a* (comp. Aram. אָנִי, Arab. 'āna).

2. The formation of the plural in this and the following persons, though analogous with that of nouns, exhibits (as also in the pronoun of other languages) much that is peculiar and irregular. The short form אָנִי, which resembles the suffix (§ 33), occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 (*Kethîbh*). The form אָנִי is found only six times; e. g. Num. 32, 32. (Gen. 42, 11 in pause אָנִי). In the Mishna the form אָנִי alone appears; in Arab. *nachnu* is the standard form.

3. The first person only is always of the *common gender*, because one that is present speaking needs not the distinction of gender, as does the second person addressed (in Greek, Latin, English etc., the distinction is omitted here also), and as the third person spoken of which needs it still more (but see Rem. 6).

II. Second Person.

4. The forms אָנִי, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, are contracted from אָנִי אַתָּה, etc., and the kindred dialects have still the *n* before the ה, Arab. *ānta*, f. *ānti* thou, plur. *āntum*, f. *antūmma* ye. In Syriac אַנְתָּה, fem. אַנְתָּה is written, but both are pronounced *at*, in the Western Aramaic אַתָּה stands for both genders.

אָנִי without ה occurs only five times, e. g. Ps. 6, 4, and each time as *Kethîbh* with אַתָּה as *Qerî*. As the vowels of the text belong to the *Qerî* (§ 17), the reading of the *Kethîbh* may have been אַתָּה, as an abbreviation from אַתָּה (acc. to Aram., see above), for אַתָּה actually serves twice for masc., as in Num. 11, 15, Deut. 5, 24, Ezek. 28, 14.

The feminine form was originally pronounced אַתָּה, as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is still found in seven instances as *Kethîbh* (e. g. Judg. 17, 2, 1 K. 14, 2), and shows itself also in the corresponding personal ending of the verb (see § 44, Rem. 4), specially before suffixes (אָנִי § 59, 1, c). The final *i* sound, however, was gradually given up (in Syriac also it was at length only written, not pronounced), and the *h* therefore dropped, so that the Jewish critics, even in those seven passages, place in the *Qerî* אַתָּה, the Sh'wā of which stands in the punctuation of the text (אָנִי, § 17). The same final *h* appears, moreover, in the rare forms of the suffix, אָנִי, אָנִי (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals אַתָּה, אַתָּה (אַתָּה), are blunted forms (comp. 27, Rem. 4, b) of אַתָּה (Arab. *āntūm*, Aram. אַתָּה, אַתָּה), and אַתָּה or אַתָּה (Arab. *antūnnā*, Aram. אַתָּה, אַתָּה). Hence doubtless the fact that the *suffix* of the 2d pers. pl. perf. is added to the ending הוּ (instead of הוּ or הוּ). אַתָּה is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, being found only in Ez. 34, 31 (so *Kimchi*,

others אִתָּךְ, and אִתָּהּ (for which MSS have also אִתְּךָ) occurs only four times, viz., in Gen. 31, 6, Ez. 13, 11, 20, 34, 17 (13, 20 together with אִתָּם for *fem.*).

III. Third Person.

6. At the end of הוּא *hû* and הִיא *hî*, the א seems to be only an orthographic finish for the long open syllable, as in לוֹא, נָקִיָּא, (§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), yet the writing with א is constant in the separate pronoun, and הוּא becomes הוּ (but הִיא becomes הִי) only as a toneless suffix (§ 33, 1)¹ (In Arab., as in Syr., they write הוּ and הִי but speak *hûwa*, *hûa*, *hû*, and *hîya*, *hî*). However this Arab. pronunciation alone would decide nothing, as the vowel complement may be derived from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and ה; but the Æthiopic *we'tû* for הוּא, *yêlî* for הִיא, shows that originally the א indicated a vowel termination (comp. *Noldeke*, *Ztschr. der DMG* Bd. XX, S. 459).

The form הוּא stands in K'thîbh in the Pentateuch (except in 11 cases) also for the *fem.* הִיא as if similar to the epicene use of נָזַר for boy and girl (see § 2, 5, Rem.). But the puncticators, whenever it stands for הִיא, give it the pointing הוּא, and require it to be read הִיא (comp. § 17).²

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֶמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *pref.* הֵן. הֵן) are derived from הוּא and הִיא in the same manner as אֵלֶּם from אֵלָּה. In Arab., where they are sounded *hûm*, *hûnna*, the obscure vowel-sound is retained, for which in Hebrew S'ghôl stands also in the suffixes הֵם and הֵן (comp. § 27, Rem. 4, b). The הֵ- in both forms (הֶמָּה, הֵנָּה) is of *demonstrative* nature, but without observable effect of the sense. In West Aram. (רַמְנִי, רַמְנִי), Syr. *henûn*, Arab. *hūmû*, (archaist. for *hum*) and Ethiop. (*tômû*) there is an *ô* or *û* appended, which appears in Hebrew in the poetical forms מִי, מִי, מִי (§ 58, 3, Rem. 1). In some passages הֵמָּה stands as feminine (Zech. 5, 11; Cant. 6, 8; Ruth 1, 22). The quite anomalous עֲדֵיהֶם 2 K. 9, 18 should probably be read עֲדֵיהֶם.

8. The pronouns of the third person הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן, refer to *things* as well as persons. On their *demonstrative* meaning, see § 122, 1.

¹ In the inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2), הוּא stands for הוּא in line 6.

² *Kautzsch* does not accept the common opinion (v. *Lex.* 8th ed.) that this use of הוּא for הִיא is an archaism,—since the epicene use *a*) lacks analogy in Sem. dialects, *b*) is not in oldest texts outside the Pent., *c*) is wanting in the kindred text of Joshua, and since *d*) הִיא occurs 11 times (Gen. 38, 25 together with הִיא),—but regards it as an orthographic peculiarity arising from some revision of the text of the Pentateuch. He cites as deserving of consideration, the supposition of Levy that originally הוּא was written for both forms (as it is found on the Moabite stone, see note above) and was then enlarged into הוּא without regard to gender.—*Ed.*

§ 33.

THE SUFFIX PRONOUN.

1. The full forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronouns*), as given in the foregoing section, express only the nominative (but comp. § 121, 3): the accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed mostly by shorter forms (or fragments) of them which are joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*suffix pronouns*, or usually *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (without accent) and הֵּ *him* and *his* (from הוּא *he*), thus קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*, קָטַלְתָּהּ or (with *āhū* contracted to *ō*) קָטַלְתָּהּ *thou hast killed him*, סוּסָהּ and סוּסוֹ *his horse*.

The same method occurs in all other Semitic tongues, as also in the Egyptian, Persian, Finn, Tartar and others; but in Greek, Latin and German, we find only slight traces of it, as πατήρ μου for πατήρ ἐμόν, Lat. *eccum* in Plautus for *ecce eum*, Germ. *er gab's* for *er gab es*.

2. As to the *cases* which these suffixes indicate, let it be remarked that—

- a) When joined to verbs, they denote the accusative (but comp. § 121, 4), as in קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*.
- b) When joined to substantives, they denote the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater ejus*), and then serve as *possessive pronouns*, as אָבִי (*ābh-i'*) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse* (answering to the Latin *equus ejus* or *equus suus*, comp. § 124, 1, b).
- c) When joined to particles, they denote either the genitive or the accusative, according as the particle involves the meaning of a noun or a verb, e. g. אִצְמִי (prop. *my vicinity*) *with me*, like Lat. *mea causa*, on the contrary הִנֵּה *behold me*, Lat. *ecce me*. בֵּינִי literally *interstitium mei* “between me.”
- d) The Indo-Germanic dative and ablative of the pronoun are expressed by combining with the suffixes the prepositions, that are signs of these cases (לֵּ to sign of the dative, בֵּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), as לֵּי *to him* (Lat. *ei* and *sibi*), בֵּי *in him*, מִנִּי *from me*.

3. The suffixes of the 2d person (הָ—, etc.) are formed with the *k* (and not *t*) sound, based on an exchange of these two sounds exemplified also elsewhere.¹

So likewise in all the Semitic tongues; but in Ethiopic also the verbal form is *qatalka* (thou hast killed)=Heb. קָטַלְתָּךְ.

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative), and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive), are mostly the same in form, but sometimes they differ, e. g. נִי— *me*, י— *my*.

Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar, gives a view of all the forms of the *pronoun*, both *separate* and *suffix*; fuller explanations about the *suffix to the verb* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in §§ 58—61, about the *suffix to the noun* in § 91, about *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, about *adverbs with suff.* in § 100, 5.

§ 34.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

Sing. m. זֶה ^d	}	this.	Plur. com. אֵלֶּה (rarely אֵל)
f. זֹאת (זֹה, זֹה)			these.

The feminine form זֹאת is (*ð* obsc. fr. orig. *â*) for זֹה (comp. אֵלֶּה = זֶה; for the feminine ending *h*, see § 80), and the forms זֹה, זֹה, which are both of rare occurrence, come from זֹה by dropping *h*. In Ps. 132, 12 זֹה is used as *relat.*, v. Lex. For זֹה is found Jer. 26, 6 in *Kethibh* הִנֵּה זֹה (with article and demonstrative הִנֵּה—). אֵל and אֵלֶּה are plural by usage, and not by grammatical form. The former (אֵל) occurs only in the Pentateuch and then always with the article as אֵלֶּה and 1 Chr. 20, 8, (without הִנֵּה). Both the singular and the plural is applicable to things as well as to persons.

¹ That a palatal (*k*) and lingual (*t*) are liable to be exchanged, is manifest from the speech of young children, who frequently confound them, as *likke* for *little*. Obvious instances of this exchange are found in many languages, as Gr. δαίω=χαίω, Gr. τίς=Aeol. χίς, Lat. *quis*, and in the Hebrew itself שָׁרַח=שָׁרַח to drink. There is thus a strong presumption that the pronoun of the second person in the Semitic languages must have had two forms, one with *k* and the other with *t*, as אֵלֶּה and אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּה and אֵלֶּה.—*Tr.*

² In many languages the demonstratives begin with *d*, hence called the *demonstrative sound*, which is, however, interchanged with a *sibilant* (as in Heb. זֶה) or a rough breathing. Thus in Aram. דֵּן, דֵּן, דֵּן, דֵּן this, Arab. *dhâ*, *dhî*, *dhâ*, Sanskr. *sa*, *sâ*, *ta*; Gr. *ô*, *î*, *ô*; Goth. *sa*, *sô*, *thata*; Germ. *da*, *der*, *die*, *das*, Eng. *the*, *this*, *that*, Welsh *dyna*; *hyn*, *hyna*; *hwn*, *hon*, etc.

A secondary form **הַ** is used only in poetry. It stands mostly for the relative (like Eng. *that* for *who*), and serves alike for the sing. and plur. and for both genders, like **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36). Cf. § 122, 2.

Rem. 1. This pronoun receives the article (**הַ**, **הָ**, **הֶ**) according to the same rules as the adjectives, § 111, 2 and § 122, 1.

2. Rarer secondary forms, with stronger demonstrative force, are **הַזֶּה** Gen. 24, 65, 37, 19; **הַזֵּה** *fem.* Ez. 36, 35, and shortened **הִזֵּי** *masc.* in Judg. 6, 20, 1 Sam. 14, 1, 17, 26; but *fem.* in 2 K. 4, 25. In Arabic there is a corresponding form *‘allādhī*, as relative pronoun.

3. Also the personal pronouns of the 3d person often have a demonstrative force, see § 122, 1. Some other pronominal stems occur among the particles, § 99—105.

§ 35.

THE ARTICLE.

By nature the article is a demonstrative pronoun, akin to the pronoun of the 3d person. It nowhere occurs in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connection with the word before which it stands; and it usually takes the form **הַ**, with a short sharp-spoken *ă* and a doubling of the following consonant (by *Dāghē’sh fortē*), e. g. **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** *the sun*, **הַיָּאֵר** *the river* for **הַיָּאֵר** (see § 20, 3, b).

When, however, the article (**הַ**) stands before a word beginning with a guttural, which (according to § 22, 1) cannot be doubled, then the short and sharp *ă* (*Pă’t’hăch*) is mostly lengthened into *ā* (*Qā’mēs*) or *ū* (*S°ghôl*).

But to be more particular:—

1) Before the weakest guttural **א** and before **ר** (§ 22, 1 and 5, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, b) the vowel of the article is always lengthened into *Qā’mēs*, as **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאֵחֵר** *the other*, **הָאִמָּה** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאוֹר** *the light*, **הָאֱלֹהִים** *the gods*, **הַרְגֵל** *the foot*, **הָאָרֶץ** *earth* becomes **הָאָרֶץ**, **הָרֹאשׁ** *the head*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the evil-doer*.

2) For the other gutturals there occurs either a sharpened syllable (virtual doubling § 22, 1),—especially with **ח** and **ה**, less often with **ע**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the

first case the article retains —, the syllable remaining virtually closed; in the second, the *Päthäch* is either slightly lengthened to — or fully to —. The following cases are to be distinguished:—

- A) When the guttural is followed by any other vowel than \bar{a} (—) or \bar{o} (—), then—1) before the stronger ה and ה, the article regularly remains ה, as הַהוּא *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, but with some rare exception, as in הַחַי Gen. 6, 19, הַחַיִּים Is. 17, 8 and always in הַהֵם, הַהֶם, הַהֵּם *those*;—2) before פ *Pä'thäch* becomes generally Qāmēs, as הַעֵין *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הַעֲבָד *the servant*, pl. הַעֲבָדִים. (Exceptions in Is. 24, 2; 42, 18, Jer. 12, 9, Prov. 2, 17.)
- B) But when the guttural is followed by \bar{a} (—), then—1) before ה and פ the article is always ה, provided it stands immediately before the tone-syllable, else it is ה, e. g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in pause), הַהֶרָה *towards the mountain*, on the contrary הַהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעוֹן *the guilt*;—2) before ה the article is always ה, without regard to the place of the tone, as הַחֶכֶם *the wise*, הַחֹזֶק *the strong*, הַחֹג *the festival*, הַחַי *the live* Lev. 16, 20; so also—3) before ה, as הַחֲלִי *the sickness*, הַחֲרָשִׁים *the months*. On the contrary הַחֲכָמָה according to A, 1.)

Gender and number, as in English and Welsh, have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The form of the Hebrew (also the Phœnician) article ה־ seems to have originated from הַל, the ל of which however has been constantly assimilated to the next letter (as in יִלְכָּח from יִלְחָח § 19, 2). This assimilation is to be accounted for from the enclitic nature of the article. In the Arabic it sounds هـ (pronounced *hal* by the modern Bedāwīn¹), the ل of which is likewise assimilated, at least before all letters like *s* and *t*, and before *l*, *n* and *r*; e. g. 'al-Qor'ān but 'as-sana (Bed. *has-sana*)=Heb. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*. The Arabic article itself occurs also in the Old Testament prob. in the Arabic name אֱלִימוֹרֶד Gen. 10, 26, in אֱלִימֹרִים 1 K. 10, 11, 12 (also אֱלִימֹרִים 2 Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11) perhaps

¹ See Wallin in the Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. VI, S. 195, 217.

sandal wood (acc. to Ges. fr. Sansk. *mocha*¹, but comp. Lex. 8th ed.), and perhaps also in אֶלְעָבִיר *ice, hail*=אֶבֶרֶשׁ (Arab. *gibs*) Ez. 13, 11, 13, 36, 22, and perhaps also אֶלְקִיִּים² in Prov. 30, 31.

2. When the prepositions בְּ, לְ, and the ׀ of comparison (§ 102, 2, b) come before the article, the ה is dropped by contraction, and the preposition³ takes its points (§ 19, 3, b, and § 23, 4), as בְּשָׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשְׁמַיִם לְקָדְם *to the people* for לְהַקְדָּם בְּהָרִים *in the mountains*. Exceptions appear almost exclusively in the later books (Ezr. Eccl. Neh. Chr.; yet comp. 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6. Elsewhere e. g. 2' K. 7, 12 the Massora, in Q^oî requires the Syncope). But in 8 places with ב, the ה remains in בְּהָרִים Gen. 39, 11, etc. but oftener without ה, as בָּרִים Gen. 25, 31, 33. But see 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6.—With וְ (and), the ה always remains, as וְהָעָם *and the people*.

§ 36.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The relative pronoun is the same for all *genders* and *numbers*, viz., אֲשֶׁר *who, which*. In the later books, (esp. Eccl. Lam. and the late Psalms) as well as in Canticles constantly and in Judges occasionally, instead of this full form we have ׀ (with the א elided and the ר assimilated, § 19, 2, 3), more rarely ׀ Judg. 5, 7, Cant. 1, 7, once ׀ before א Judg. 6, 17 (else ׀ before gutturals), and before ה even ׀⁴ Eccl. 3, 18, and according to some (e. g. *Kimchi*) also 2, 22. On the mode of expressing the *cases* of the relative, see § 123, 1. On the signification see *Lex.* 8th ed.

¹ So also ἐλέφας=elephant is most likely derived from the Sanskrit *ubhas* (elephant), with the Semitic article הָ or אֵל prefixed.—Tr.

² Arab. *alqum* with the signification of *multia* (Heerbaum).

³ The prep. וְ, if prefixed before the article (as rarely happens, § 102, 1), does not take its place, but becomes ׀, as in וְהַשְׁמַיִם in 2 Ch. 7, 1, for the usual מִן הַשְׁמַיִם *from the heavens*.—Tr.

⁴ In Phœnician the full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur, but ׀, esp. in the later Ph. (Plaut. Pœn.) pronounced *sa, su, si*, and אֲשֶׁ (pron. *asse*=אֲשֶׁ, *esse* but also *as, es, is, us, ys*), Schröder's Phœn. Sprache, p. 162—66. Comp. above in § 2, 7. Also in modern Hebrew the ׀ has become quite predominant.

§ 37.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. The interrogative pronoun (about persons) is **מִי** *who?* and (about things) **מָה** *what?*

According to Olshausen **מָה** *what?* was originally **מַה**, which in close connection (v. below) was assimilated with the following consonant. The forms **מָה**, **מַ** etc. (with *Dāghē'sh fortè conj.*) can however be sufficiently explained from the close uttering of the words. It should be further remarked that *a*) in closest connection stands **מַה־** *mă* with *Mäqqē'ph* and *Dāghē'sh fortè conjunctive* (§ 20, 2) as **מַה־לָּךְ** *what to thee?* and even in one word, as **מַה־לָּכֶם** *what to you?* Is. 3, 15. **מַה־זֶּה** *what is this?* Ex. 4, 2;—*b*) before gutturals in close connection with *Mäqqē'ph* or a conjunctive accent it either likewise receives *Păthäch* with the *Dāghē'sh* implied in the guttural (§ 22, 1)—so especially before **ה**, and (Gen 31, 36, Job 21, 21) before **ה**,—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *ă* is lengthened into *Qā'mēs* comp. § 35, 1,—so always before **א** and **ר**,—or only slightly lengthened into *S'ghō'l*, especially before **ק**, **ח**, **ה** (before **ה** however also **מָה**). The omission of the implied doubling also occurs, as a rule, with the hard gutturals, when they have no *Qā'mēs* and then it stands **מָה** or **מַה** the latter especially before **ה**, **ע** when *Mäqqē'ph* follows. The longer forms **מַה־** and **מַה־** also remain before non-gutturals if the connection does not take place through *Mäqqē'ph*, but by a simple conj. accent. As a rule then **מָה** stands, but, by a wider separation from the chief tone we have also **מַה** Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (upon **מַה** in the combination **בְּמַה**, **בְּמַה־** and even **לְמַה** 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102, 2, *d*). *c*) in great pause **מָה** stands without exception, also generally with smaller *distinctivi*, and almost always before gutturals (**מַה־** in very rare cases only). On the other hand **מַה** stands also occasionally before letters that are not guttural, as **מַה קוֹל וְגו'** *what voice, etc.*? 1 Sam. 4, 6, 2 K. 1, 7, but only when the tone of the clause is far removed from the word; moreover, in the form **בְּמַה**, **בְּמַה־** (see under **מַה** in the Heb. Lexicon).

2. Both **מִי** and **מָה** occur also as indefinite pronouns, in the sense of *whoever*, *whatever*; see § 123, 3.

CHAPTER II.

T H E V E R B.

§ 38.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The verb is, in the Hebrew, the most elaborated part of speech as to inflection, and also the most important, inasmuch as it mostly contains the *word-stem* (§ 30), and its various modifications are, to a great extent, the basis for the forms of the other parts of speech.

2. Verbal stems are either original or derived. They may be divided, in respect to their origin, into three classes,—

- a) *Primitives*, representing the simple stem, e. g. מָלַךְ *to reign*.
- b) *Verbal derivatives*, those derived from *primitives*, e. g. צָדַק *to justify*, הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify one's self*, from יָצַד *to be just*; usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).
- c) *Denominatives*, those derived from nouns (both primitive and derivative), e. g. אָהַל and אָהַל *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ *to take root* and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שֹׁרֶשׁ *a root*.

The noun, from which the denominative verb comes, is in most cases itself derivative, though the meaning shows that the orig. stem is nominal and not verbal, e. g. לָבָן *to be white*, hence לִבְנָה *a brick*, and hence again לָבַן *to make bricks*, from רָבָה *to be prolific* comes דָּג *a fish*, and hence again דָּגַג *to fish*.

§ 39.

1. The 3d person singular of the *Perfect*, in the simple form of the primitive verbs (i. e. in Qāl, see No. 4) is generally regarded as the stem or ground-form of the verb, as קָטַל *he*

has killed, כָּבַד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.¹ From this are derived the other persons of the Perfect, and also the *Participle*. Another stem-form, more simple still, is the *Infinitive*, as קָטַל, also קָטַל, with which the *Imperative* and the *Imperfect* (see § 47) connect themselves.

Both groundforms contain the idea of a noun (§ 44, 1) and both have therefore this analogy in noun forms. More closely considered the second ground-form, which is generally monosyllabic (Arab. *qāṭl*, *qāṭl*, *qāṭl*) may be called the abstract, and the first, consisting of two syllables (Arab. *qāṭālā*, *qāṭūlā*, *qāṭūlā*), the concrete. The same analogy prevails in the division of nouns into abstract and concrete.

In verbs whose second radical is י, the full stem appears only in the second form which is accordingly adopted to represent the verb; e. g. Inf. לָיַט *to turn*, of which the 3d person Perf. is טָבַח *he turned*; also most stems with middle י, e. g. דָּיַן *to judge*.

2. From the simple form of the primitives, viz., *Qāl*, are formed, according to an *unvarying analogy* in all verbs, the *verbal derivatives*, each distinguished by a specific change in the form of the stem, with a corresponding definite change in its signification (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative; reflexive, reciprocal, partly with corresponding passive forms); e. g. לָמַד *to learn*, לָמַד *to cause to learn, to teach*; שָׁכַב *to lie*, הִשְׁכִּיב *to cause to lie, to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, נִשְׁפָּט *to contend in judgment, to litigate*. In other languages such words are regarded as new, *derivative verbs*, e. g. G. *fallen*, *fällen* = E. *to fall, to fell*, G. *trinken*, *tränken* = E. *drink, drench*, L. *lactēre* (*to suck*), *lactāre* (*to give suck*); *jacēre* (*to throw*), *jacēre* (*to lie down*); γίνομαι, γειννάω. But in Hebrew, where these formations are incomparably more regular than (e. g.) in the German, Latin and Greek, they are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations*² (the Heb. grammarians call them בִּנְיָיִם i. e. *formations*, more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and both in the grammar and lexicon are always treated of in connection, as parts of the same verb.

¹ For brevity's sake the sense of the Heb. stem is expressed in the Infinitive, in most of our grammars and lexicons, thus לָמַד *to learn*, prop. *he has learned*.

² The term *conjugation* must therefore be taken here in a totally different sense from what it bears in Greek and Latin grammar.

3. The changes of the primitive form consist partly in varying its vowels, and doubling the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַט; קוּטַל, קוּטַט); comp. G. *liegen, legen; fallen, fällen*. E. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*; partly in the repetition of one or two stem consonants קָטַל, קָטַטַל and finally in the addition of formative letters or syllables (נִקְטַל, comp. E. *to speak, to bespeak; to count, to recount; to bid, to forbid*), to which sometimes the first is united, as הִתְקַטַּל. Comp. § 31, 2.

In the Aramæan this is effected less by the change of vowels than by the addition of formative syllables; so that, for instance, all the passives are formed as reflexives by the prefix syllable אִתְ, אִתְ. The Arabic is rich in both methods, while the Hebrew holds also here the middle place (§ 1, 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number and arrangement* of these so-called conjugations. The common practice, however, of giving to them still the old technical designations, prevents any error. The simple form is called *Qāl* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (כְּבִידִים *heavy*, because weighted as it were with formative additions) take their names from the Paradigm (or pattern) used by the old Jewish grammarians, viz. עָשָׂה *he has done*.¹ Several of them have passives which distinguish themselves from their actives by more obscure vowels. The most common conjugations (including *Qāl* and the passives) are the *seven* following; but only a few verbs exhibit them all:—

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
1. Qāl,	קָטַל <i>to kill</i> .	(wanting)
2. Niph'āl,	קָטַט <i>to kill one's self; also passive.</i> ²	

¹ This verb, on account of the guttural which it contains, is unsuitable for a Paradigm, and has been exchanged by some for פָּקַד, which has this advantage, that all its conjugations are actually in use in the Old Testament, but the disadvantage, that there is some indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, as in פָּקַדְתָּ, פָּקַדְתִּי. The Paradigm קָטַל, in common use since the time of Danz, obviates this inconvenience, and is especially adapted to the comparative treatment of the Semitic languages, inasmuch as it is found with a slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קַטַּל) in them all. In Hebrew, it is true, it occurs only a few times in *Qāl*, and that only in poetry; yet it may be retained as a *type* or model sanctioned by usage.

² Comp. § 51, 2 d.

Active.	Passive.
3. Pī'ē'l, קטל to massacre.	4. Pū'ā'l, קטל.
5. Hīph'ī'l, הקטיל to cause to kill.	6. Hōph'ā'l, הקטל.
7. Hīthpā'ē'l, התקטל to kill one's self.	(Hōthpā'ā'l, התקטל.)

There are *several other less frequent* conjugations, of which some, however, are more common than these in the kindred languages; and in the weak (see § 41) or irregular verb in Hebrew they sometimes take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55)

In Arabic there is a greater variety of forms, and their arrangement is more appropriate. Arranged after the Arabic manner, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus — 1. Qāl. 2. Pī'ē'l and Pū'ā'l. 3. Pō'ē'l and Pō'a'l (§ 55, 1). 4. Hīph'ī'l and Hōph'ā'l. 5. Hīthpā'ē'l and Hōthpā'ā'l. 6. Hīthpō'ē'l (§ 55, 1). 7. Nīph'ā'l. 8. Hīthpā'ē'l (§ 54, Rem. 2). 9. Pī'lē'l (§ 55, 2). The more appropriate division is into *three* classes. — 1. The intensive Pī'ē'l, with the analogous form Hīthpā'ē'l; — 2. The causative Hīph'ī'l, and its analogous forms Shāph'ē'l, Tīph'ē'l; — 3. The reflexive and passive Nīph'ā'l.

§ 40.

1. It is chiefly from these *conjugations* or derivative forms, that the Hebrew verb obtains a certain affluence and compass. In *moods* and *tenses* however it is poor, having only two tenses, the *Perfect* (or *Preterite*) and the *Imperfect* (or *Future*),¹ besides an *Imperative*, (active) an *Infinitive* (with two forms), and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms alone (hence the diversity in the senses of the same form, §§ 125—129), or by syntactical combination. The *Jussive* and the *Optative* are partly indicated by expressive modifications of the Imperfect (see § 48).

¹ See note on § 47. *Gesenius*, like other Hebraists, called the tenses the *Preterite* and the *Future*; but since *Ewald* adopted the names *Perf.* and *Imperf.* instead, *Rodiger* and most of the present Orientalists have followed the example, which therefore may now be accepted as the most approved style; though one may not be able to see clearly any decided advantage in the change of terminology, and hence the name *Future* is used in my *Heb. Lexicon*, as being more convenient. The truth is, that the well-known difficulty about the Hebrew tenses remains practically the same on either system.—*Tr.*

2. In the *inflection* of the Perf. and Impf. as to the persons, the Hebrew differs from the Western languages, since it has distinct forms for both *genders* (in most instances), *just as in the personal pronoun, by whose incorporation with the verb-stem the personal inflection of these tenses is formed.*

As a preliminary view for the beginner, we exhibit here in a Table the formative syllables (*affirmatives* and *preformatives*) of both tenses. Fuller information concerning them will be found in §§ 44—47, in connection with the Paradigms.

Perfect.

<i>Sing.</i>				<i>Plur.</i>			
3 m.	.	.	.	3 c.	ה	.	.
3 f.	הִ	.	.				
2 m.	ת	.	.	2 m.	תם	.	.
2 f.	ת	.	.	2 f.	תן	.	.
1 c.	ת	.	.	1 c.	ת	.	.

Imperfect.

<i>Sing.</i>				<i>Plur.</i>			
3 m.	.	.	י	3 m.	י	.	י
3 f.	.	.	ת	3 f.	ת	.	ת
2 m.	.	.	ת	2 m.	י	.	ת
2 f.	י	.	ת	2 f.	ת	.	ת
1 c.	.	.	א	1 c.	.	.	נ

§ 41.

The general analogy in the inflection of verbs, which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants, holds good for all verbs; and the deviations which occur from this model of the *strong* or *regular verb*, are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and the feebleness of many consonants, viz.—

- a) When one of the stem-letters or radicals is a guttural, which occasions various vowel (not consonant) changes, according to § 22 (*guttural verb*, §§ 62—65)

- b) When a stem-letter disappears by assimilation (§ 19, 2) or contraction (*contracted verb*, §§ 66, 67), as in **קָטַב**, **קָטַב**.
 c) When one of the radicals is a feeble letter (§§ 23, 24), so that many changes appear through its commutation, omission or quiescence (*quiescent or feeble verb*, §§ 68—75), as in **יָשַׁב**, **קָם**, **מָצָא**, **גָּלָה**.

NB. The letters of the old Paradigm **פָּעַל** are used in naming the letters of the stem, **פ** denoting the first radical, **ע** the second, and **ל** the third. Hence the expressions, *verb* **פֿ"ע** for a verb whose first radical is **פ** (*primæ radicalis פ*); *verb* **ל"פ** for one whose third radical is **פ** (*tertiæ radicalis פ*); *verb* **פֿ"ע** (**ע** doubled) for one whose second and third radicals are the same (*mediæ radicalis geminæ*).

I. THE STRONG VERB.

Paradigm B.

E. G. **רָצַח** to kill, **חָבַד** to be heavy, **קָטַן** to be small.

§ 42.

As the rules for the inflection of the strong or regular verb apply, with only occasional modifications, to all the weak or irregular verbs, it will be most convenient, and at the same time set the subject in the clearest light to the learner, if while treating of the former, we present whatever belongs to the general analogy of the verb.

Paradigm B (together with the above Table of the formative syllables in § 40, 2) exhibits a complete view of the usual and normal forms. Full explanations are given in the following paragraphs (§§ 43—55), where every subject is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus, under *Qāl* the inflections of the *Perfect*, and of the *Imperfect* with its modifications, are minutely explained with reference also to the other conjugations; and under the strong verb are given the forms and significations of conjugations which apply also to the weak, etc.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QĀĻ.

§ 43.

ITS FORM AND SIGNIFICATION.

The common form of the 3d person *Perf.* in *Qāl* is **קָטַל**, with a short *ä* (*Pä'thäch*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs. There is also a form with *ē* (*Šē're*), and

another with *ō* (*Chō'lēm*), in the second syllable; the two latter are usually found with *intransitive* meaning, and serve for expressing states and qualities, e. g. כָּבֵד *to be heavy*, קָטַן *to be small*. Sometimes the transitive meaning is distinguished from the intransitive of the same stem by the aid of vocalization, as מָלֵא *to fill* (Est. 7, 5), מִלֵּא *to be full* (comp. § 47, Rem 2); but also with the same (intrans.) sense for both forms, as קָרַב and קָרַב *to approach*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A*, a verb *middle E* and a verb *middle O* are given side by side. The second example כָּבֵד shows, at the same time, the effect of inflection in the setting of *Dāghē'sh lenē*.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal one, and hence the distinction between the transitive and intransitive¹ meaning depends on it. The *Qāmīṣ* of the first syllable is lengthened from original *ā* (comp. Arab. *qātīlā*) but it can be maintained in Hebrew only before the tone,—or at most with the secondary tone or *Mithēgh*—; in other places, like all so-called pretonic vowels (*ā*, *ē*) it becomes vocal *Sh'wā* on the shifting of the tone, as קָטַלְתָּ. In Aramæan it wholly disappears in the root itself, as קָטַל=Heb. קָטַל.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qāl — קָפַץ *to cover with pitch*, from קָפַץ *pitch*, מָלַח *to salt*, from מֶלַח *salt*, v. § 38, 2, c.

§ 44.

PERFECT OF QĀL AND ITS INFLECTION.

1. The inflection of the Perfect, in respect to person, number and gender, is effected by the addition of fragments of the personal pronouns and signs of 3 fem. sing. and 3 pl. (*affirmatives*) to the end of the ground-form, which expresses the predicate idea. In explaining this connection, we may treat the ground-form as a *participle*² or a *verbal adjective*, but ex-

¹ The intransitive forms are in Arabic *qātīlā*, *qātūlā*; consequently, in Hebrew (after rejecting the closing vowel) *ī* in the accented syllable is regularly lengthened to *ē*, *ū* to *ō*.

² On the intimate connection between the Perfect and the Participle or verbal adjective, see what has been already said in § 39, 1. In intransitive verbs they have the same form, as מָלֵא *he was full*, and *full*; קָטַן *he was small*, and *small*. In transitive verbs the participle presents, indeed, a different form (קָטַלְתָּ), but yet with קָטַל may be compared the nominal form קָטַל, though generally it is expressive of quality, as חָכָם *wise*, זָהָב *gold* (§ 84, 1).

pressing by itself the 3d pers. sing. masc. Perfect; as קָטַל he has killed, קָטַלְתָּ thou hast killed (as it were killing-thou, or killer-thou, a killer wast thou, קָטַל אָתָּה), יָרָא he was fearing, יָרְאוּ *fearing were ye* (for יָרְאוּ אַתֶּם). In the second pers. sing. and pl. this is readily seen as well as in קָטַלְנוּ we have killed for קָטַל. In the first person sing. קָטַלְתִּי we have יָרִי, which probably by virtue of an exchange of כ for ח (comp. § 33, 3) has come directly from יָרִי.¹ In the third person, הִיא (originally חִיא, comp. Rem. 4) is a mark of the feminine (as in the noun § 80, 2, and הִי (orig. חִי, as still in Deut. 8, 3, 16, Is. 26, 16; comp. *unā* as termination of the masc. pl of nouns in written Arabic) is a sign of the plural.

In the Indo-Germanic tongues, the personal inflections originated in the same manner, by appending pronominal forms, as is shown in Sanscrit and Greek, e. g. from the stem, *as* (to be) Sans. *asmi*, εἰμί, Doric ἐγμί (for ἐσμί) I am, where the ending μί belongs to μοί and μέ; Sans. *asi*, Dor. ἐσσί thou art, where σι is identical with σύ; Sans. *asti*, ἐστί he is, where τί answers to the pronoun τό, etc. But the etymology in all these languages (except in Welsh) is more obliterated than in Hebrew. This is partly true also of inflection in the other Semitic languages; e. g. 1st pers. Arab. *qataltū*, Syr. *qetleth*, where the characteristic *t* is lost.

2. The characteristic *Päthäch* of the second syllable becomes *Shewā* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, because it then would stand in an open syllable (thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but in pause קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant, the *Päthäch* remains in the tone syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; in pause קָטַלְתָּ etc.) as well as before it. In the latter case however the *Qāmēṣ* of the first syllable, standing no longer before the tone is reduced to *Shewā*, thus; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 27, 3 and § 43, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E*, falling back in their inflection to the type of verbs *middle A*, generally lose in Heb. as in Ethiopic (but not in Arabic and Aramæan), the *E sound*, which passes over into *Päthäch*, as the Paradigm shows. This tendency comes from the laws

¹ See Note to § 33, 3 by Dr. Davies.—Rödiger held that the demonstrative הִי was inserted before the simple germ of the pronoun (חִי) as if to form יָרִי, יָרִי after the analogy of יָרִי; others (Gesenius, Ewald) maintained that יָרִי, יָרִי may have been ancient forms actually in use for יָרִי. The explanation given above, as adopted by Kautzsch from Olshausen, is much simpler.—Ed.

of vocalisation of the accented closed penult, which does not easily take *Šērē*, and not at all the *Chîrēq* shortened from *Šērē*. The original *E* appears, however, in open syllable; regularly so in the feeble stems *ל"א* (§ 74, Rem. 1); in strong stems only in *pause*, e. g. *שֶׁבַח* *she cleaves* (not *שֶׁבַחָה*), Job 29, 10; comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23, Job 41, 15; even in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. *שָׁכַן* Deut. 33, 12 (but *שָׁכַן* without the pause Is. 32, 16).

2. In some feeble stems *middle A*, the *ā* under the second radical sometimes passes over into (—), in one example also into (—), when the syllable is closed and toneless. Thus *שֶׁאֲלַחְתִּי* *I have asked him* 1 Sam. 1, 20, *שֶׁאֲלַחְתֶּם* *ye have asked* 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29; *וְיִרְשְׁתֶּם* *ye possess* Deut. 4, 1, 22; *וְיִרְשְׁתֶּם* Deut. 17, 4, *וְיִרְשְׁתֶּם* Deut. 19, 1; *וְיִלְדֶּתְךָ* *I have begotten thee* Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12, Jer. 2, 27, 15, 10); *וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּ* Mal. 3, 20. The *š* in these forms may be simply an attenuated *ā* (§ 27, Rem. 2, 3), which is also favored by the following sibilant or labial and esp. sustained by the consimilation of the vowels; but see § 64, Rem. 1, § 69, Rem. 4 and Davies' Heb. Lex. on a secondary form *Med. E*.

3. In verbs *middle O*, *Chó'lem* is retained in the inflection where it has the tone, as *תִּכְלֶה* *thou hast trembled*, *תִּכְלֶה* in *pause* for *תִּכְלֶה* *they could*. But when the tone is thrown forward, *Chó'lem* becomes *Qā'mēš-chā'úph*, as *תִּכְלֶה* *I have prevailed over him* Ps. 13, 5, *תִּכְלֶה* (see § 49, 3) *and thou will be able* Ex. 18, 23.

4. Uncommon forms.¹ *Sing. 3. fem* in *—* (as in Arab., Ethiop., Aram.), e. g. *אָזְלָה* *it has gone* Deut. 32, 36. Before suffixes this is the prevailing form (§ 59, 1, a), so with stems *ל"ה* partly in the form *ל"ה* (as often w. verbs *ל"ה*, § 74, Rem. 1) partly with disapp. of *—* bef. the pleon. ending *ה*, e. g. *תִּכְלֶה* § 75, Rem. 1.—In Ez. 31, 5 *תִּכְלֶה* acc. to Aram. orthog. for *תִּכְלֶה*.—2. *masc.* *ה* (differing only orthographically) for *ה*, as *תִּכְלֶה* *thou hast been unfaithful* Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12.—2. *fem.* sometimes has still a *Yôdh* at the end, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as *תִּכְלֶה* Jer. 31, 21 (which really means *תִּכְלֶה* pointed as if without *י*, cf. *אֶחָד* in § 32, Rem. 4). Thus we have the form *תִּכְלֶה* always before suffixes (§ 59, 1, c).—1. *com.* sometimes without *Yôdh*, as *תִּכְלֶה* in Ps. 140, 13, Job 42, 2, 1 K. 8, 48, Ezek. 16, 59. This, however, is found only in the K'thîbh and is probably only a curtailed form anal. w. 2. *fem.* *תִּכְלֶה* (comp. Aram. 1st pers. *תִּכְלֶה*), the Q'ri has the full form.—*Plur. 2. fem.* *תִּכְלֶה* (according to others *תִּכְלֶה*) Amos 4, 3 (as *ה* follows it may be merely *dittography*; but cf. *תִּכְלֶה* § 32, Rem. 5).—3. *com.* 3 times with the old plural ending *ן* (but often in Aram. and Samar.), as *תִּכְלֶה* *they know* Deut. 8, 3, 16 (probably to avoid a hiatus) and Is. 26, 16, or with a superfluous *א* (according to Arabic orthography

¹ Almost all these forms, which in Hebrew are infrequent, are the usual ones in the kindred dialects, and they may be called Aramaisms, Syriasms, and Arabisms. It should be understood however that they have not been taken from these dialects but merely indicate a return to more original forms.

§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), as **הָלַכְתָּ** Josh. 10, 24, Is. 28, 12. For the Impf. with **וְ** see § 47, Rem. 4.

5. With the affirmatives **וְ** (ח), **וְ**, **וְ**, which are generally unaccented the word is *Mil'el* (e. g. **וְלָלַח**), with the others it is *Milra'* (§ 15, 2). The place of the tone is shifted,—a) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), where it is moved backwards, and at the same time the vowel of the second syllable, if it has become a *Shewâ* (—), is restored, as **וְלָלַח** for **וְלָלַח** (רָבָה f. רָבָה), **וְלָלַח** for **וְלָלַח** f. מָלַח;—b) in certain cases after *Waw consecutive of the Perfect* (see § 49, 3).

§ 45.

THE INFINITIVE OF QĀL.

1. The Infinitive, strictly a verbal substantive, has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The shorter form (*Infinitive construct*), in *Qāl* **קָטַל**, is used in various ways, partly in connection with the pronominal suffixes, and as governing the genitive as well as the accusative of the object (§ 133), partly in connection with prepositions before it, as **לְקָטַל** for *to kill* (§ 132, 2) and finally in dependence upon substantives (as genitive) or upon verbs (as accusative of the object). The longer form (*Infinitive absolute*), in *Qāl* **קָטַל**, is limited to the expression of the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently, when added to a finite verb of the same stem, as an adverbial accusative (see § 131).¹

To the flexibility and variety in the uses of the Infin. constr. and the inflexibility of the Infin. absolute corresponds also their vocalisation. The latter has *Chô'lem* unchangeable, but the former has *Chô'lem* changeable (hence with suff. **קָטַלְי** *qotli'*).

Besides **קָטַל**, the Infin. Qāl has also the following unusual forms:—

- a) **קָטַל**, e. g. **שָׁכַב** to lie down Gen. 34, 7, **שָׁכַל** to sink Ec. 12, 4 especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the imperfect or with those whose second or third stem consonant is a guttural (frequently in addition to the usual form). Before suffixes the form **קָטַל** becomes **קָטַל** or by attenuating *ā* into *ī* **קָטַל**, e. g. **בָּלַעַי** Job 7, 19.

¹ In the Paradigms, the *Inf. constr.*, as the predominant form, is put before the other, under the name of Infinitive *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.

b) קָטְלָה and, attenuated from it, קָטְלָה, קָטְלָה and קָטְלָה (feminine forms from קָטַל and קָטַל mostly used with intransitive verbs and partly beside forms without feminine-endings), as אֶשְׁכַּח to trespass, שִׂנְאָה to hate, קָרְבָה to approach Ex. 36, 2, חַמְלָה to pity Ez. 16, 5. But see Gen. 19, 16 חַמְלָה (orig. *ā* inflected into *ē*); comp. also Is. 8, 11.

These rare forms are more in use as *verbal nouns* (§ 84, Nos. 10, 11, 14).

2. A sort of *Gerund* is formed in Hebrew by the *Infin.* constr. with the preposition ל, as לְקַטֵּל (*for to kill*) *interficiendo*, *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל (*for to fall*) *ad cadendum*.

The ל is here so closely connected, that it constitutes part of the grammatical form, as appears from the syllable-division and the use of *Dāghē'sh lenē*, viz. לְנַפֵּל *ln-pōl* (§ 28, 1), so probably also לְקַטֵּל. On the contrary, בְּנַפֵּל *bn'phōl* Job 4, 13, כְּנַפֵּל *kn'phōl* 2 Sam. 3, 34, where the prepositions ב and כ are conceived to be less closely connected with the Infinitive, and by way of exception it is so also with ל, as לְקָרוֹשׁ וּלְהוֹיֵץ Jer. 1, 10. לְשִׁדְדִיר 47, 4 and according to some לְקַבֵּב Num. 21, 4.

§ 46.

THE IMPERATIVE OF QĀL

1. The groundform of the Imperative קָטַל (קָטַל) is consonant with the infin. construct and lies also at the basis of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ It expresses only the *second* person, but has forms for the feminine and the plural. For the *third* person it has no distinct form (see § 130, Rem. 2), but this is expressed by the Imperfect as the jussive form (§ 127, 3, c), and even the second person must be expressed by the jussive form, when a negative precedes, as אַל תִּקַּטֵּל (not קָטַל) *kill thou not*, Lat. *ne occidas*, see § 128, 2, b. The proper passive conjugations have no Imperative,² but the reflexive Niph'al and Ilithpā'el have.

2. The inflection of the 2d Sing. fem. and the 2d pl. masc. is quite similar to that of the Imperfect, and it will be understood from the explanations given below in § 47, 2. Like the Imperfect, the Imperative Masc. Sing. also has a lengthened

¹ The *Inf. absol.* also is occasionally used, like the Greek Infinitive, for the Imperative (§ 131, 4, b). Upon the infinitive in general comp. *Koch, Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffh. 1874).

² An Imper. is found twice (Ez. 32, 19, Jer. 49, 8) in *Hoph'al*, but with a reflexive meaning rather than a passive.

and a shortened form, the first after the manner of the cohortative (הִ— paragog.), the second after the analogy of the jussive (see § 48, 5).

Rem. 1. Besides the form קטל (also קטיל; before *Māqqēph* קטל־), there is also one with *Päthäch*, for verbs middle *E* and also for a number of intransitive verbs which have *ä* in the perfect, as שָׁכַב *lie thou down* as in the *Inf.* and *Impf.* 2 Sam. 13, 5; in *pause* שָׁכַב. See the Paradigm.

2. Now and then there is found in the first syllable of the feminine sing. and masc. plural (which have the *Shevâ* vocal, as קִיְלִי, קִיְלִי; therefore שָׁכַב, without a *Dāghēsh lenē*, comp. however אָסַר Jer. 10, 17, and in the same combination חָשַׁב Is. 47, 2) an *ō* (Qā'mēs-chāṭuph) instead of the *ī*, as שָׁכַב *draw ye* Ez. 32, 20, מָלַךְ *reign thou (fem.)* Judg 9, 10. This throwing back of original *ū* of the 2d syllable (for *ō* is inflected from *u*) would be really according to rule, and the forms with *ī* are merely an attenuation of the characteristic vowel. In *pause* we get אָרַר 1 K. 3, 26, from שָׁרַר=שָׁרַר etc., likewise from 2. sing. fem. in *Pause* כָּרַר Is. 23, 12 (even outside of *pause* קָרַר 1 Sam. 28, 8 in *Kethibh*); from שָׁחַ=שָׁחַ Joel 2, 21.

3. In the form קָטַל, the הִ— is at times dropped, and then a helping vowel is introduced, as in שָׁמַע *hear ye (fem.)* for שָׁמַע Gen. 4, 23. The anomalous קָרַע *call ye (fem.)* for קָרַע Ex. 2, 20 ought perhaps to be read קָרַע, as it is in Ruth 1, 20.

§ 47.

THE IMPERFECT OF QAL AND ITS INFLECTION.¹

1. Fragments of the personal pronoun are employed in the inflection of the Imperfect as well as of the Perfect; but

¹ The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to *Perfect*; and therefore in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Heb. (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes, in general, the *concluded* and *past*, what is come to pass or is gone into effect; but at the same time, that which is *represented* as completed, whether extending still into the present, or in reality yet future. The *Imperfect*, on the contrary, denotes the *incoming*, *unfinished* and *continuing*, that which is being done, or coming to pass, and is future; but also that which is repeated or in connected sequence in past time (the Latin Imperfect). From the above it is manifest that the formerly used designation of the *Impf.* as *Future* expresses only a part of the idea. Altogether the transfer of the names of Indo-Germanic tenses to the Semitic tenses (carried out under the influence of Greek grammarians by the Syrian, Arabic and afterward the Hebrew scholars, following their example) has created a great many misconceptions. To the Semitic idea of time which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the indo-germanic division into three *tempora* (past

in the Imperfect these fragments are *pre-fixed* (*preformatives*) to the stem in the abstract or Inf. form (קטל), as however the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the stem form, or passes over (2 fem. sing. and 3 and 2 masc. pl.) to the affirmatives, these preformatives of the Imperfect, are much more curtailed than the affirmatives of the Perfect, so that in every case only one consonant remains (י, ה, א, נ). But as these are not always sufficient to mark, at the same time, the distinction of gender and of number, the defect is in some cases supplied by additions at the end. Comp. the Table in § 40, 2.

2. The derivation and signification of both the preformatives and the affirmatives, are still in most cases clear.

In the 1st pers. אקטל, plur. נקטל, א is an abbreviation of אֶנִּי, נ of נִהְיֶה; and here no addition at the end was needed to mark the gender and number. As to vocalization, the Arab. points towards the groundforms 'äqtûl and näqtûl; the i of the 1. plur. is therefore attenuated from a (as in the other preformatives). The *Seghöl* of the 1. sing. may be explained from the predilection which the א has for this sound.¹

In the 2d pers. sing. the ה in תקטל (orig. form täqtûl) is from אַתָּה, the י — in תקטלי is the sign of the feminine, as in אתי thou (feminine, see § 32, Rem. 4). In the 2d pers. plur. the ו (more fully וָ, see Rem. 4 below) in תקטלו is the sign of the plural as in the 3d person, and as already in the Perfect (§ 44, 1), but it is here appropriated to the *masculine*;²

present and future) is quite foreign.—Thus Semitic distinction of tenses shows itself in the mode of their formation. Thus, in the more objective Perfect, the verbal-stem precedes, and the designation of the person follows as some accessory idea; but in the Imperfect, the subject, from which the action proceeds or of which some state is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun. See more in the Syntax §§ 125—29.

¹ According to *Kimchi* the *Seghöl* of the 1st sing. may be explained from the endeavor to avoid the conformity of sound in אקטל and יקטל, the latter being supposed to have been pronounced *ıqtöl*.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ân, û*. It is true that in the Perf. the Hebrew employs it for both genders; but in the kindred tongues, it stands even in the Perf. for the masculine alone: as in Syriac, mas. *qetalân*, fem. *qetalên*; in Arabic, mas. *qätälû*, fem. *qätälnä*; in Eth. *qitälä, qätälä*.

while η (for which also η) in תקטלנה is the sign of the 2d and 3d pers. plural *feminine* and either points towards an old fem. pl. ending (in Aramaic η) or is borrowed from תהנה *they or those (fem.)*, and אתנה *you (fem.)*.

In the 3d person the preformatives (η in the masc. יקטל ,¹ Grdf. *yäqṭül*, plur. יקטלו , Grdf. *yäqṭülû*; η in fem. תקטל , plur. תקטלנה), have not yet found a satisfactory explanation. The η is probably allied to the original feminine-ending η — of nouns as well as of the 3 sing. fem. Perfect. For the affirmative η (η) and η see above.

3. The characteristic vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Shēwā* before an accented affirmative beginning with a vowel, but is retained (in the tone-syllable) before the unaccented affirmative η . Therefore תקטל , תקטלי , תקטלו (*pause תקטלי* etc.), תקטלנה .

Rem. 1. The final \bar{o} , leng from \bar{u} , is only tone-long (§ 9, No. 10, 3), as in the *Infin. constr.* and *Imper.* Hence,—a) The examples in which it is written *fully*, though not rare, are to be regarded as exceptions,—b) Before *Māqqēph* it becomes *Qāmēṣ-chāṭiph*, e. g. וַיִּכְתְּבֵם and *he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32,—c) It becomes vocal *Shēwā* before the affirmatives η — and η (v. above No. 3). Quite anomalous are the three examples which have long \bar{u} instead of *Shēwā*. $\text{הֵם יִשְׁפּוּטֶיךָ}$ Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the great pause, but according to *Qimchi* (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18 b), contrary to our editions, with the tone in the ultima; in the same way $\text{לֹא־תִזְכְּרוּ מִזֶּה}$ Ruth 2, 8; חֲשׂוֹנֶיךָ (in great pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the two first cases perhaps יִשְׁפּוּטֶיךָ and תִּזְכְּרוּ (for יִשְׁפּוּטֶיךָ etc.) were intended, by virtue of a retraction of the pause, whilst η Prov. 14, 3 could only be explained as a vocal equivalent for η (comp. e. g. Ez. 35, 6). In the few instances in which it remains before these affirmatives, the pointing becomes \bar{u} , because it stands close before the pause, e. g. $\text{יִשְׁפּוּטֶיךָ הֵם}$ *yīsh-pūṭû* (*they were judging*) Ex. 18, 26, Ruth 2, 8, comp. Prov. 14, 3.

2. This *Chōlēm* is confined almost exclusively to verbs *middle A*, like קָטַל . *Intransitive* verbs (*middle E* and *O*) take \bar{a} (*Pärthäch*) in the Impf., as קָרַל *to be great*, יִגְרַל ; קָטַן *to be small*, יִקְטַן . Sometimes

¹ The usual derivation of the η from the η of the pronoun $\text{הֵיאָה$, analogous to הָיָה from הָיָה (§ 69) has little in its favor, nor does it explain the η preformative of the plural. *Rodiger* supposed that formerly a corresponding pronoun of the third person (*ya*?) may have existed, and compared with it the Amharic *yēh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the supposition that this is old Semitic. The fact that in the Arabic and West. Aram. *Yodh* stands also as preformative of the 3d pl. fem., at all events, deserves consideration (v. below, Rem. 3).

both forms exist together; the Impf. with *ō* is then transitive, and that with *ā* intransitive; e. g. יִקְצַר *he will cut off, will reap.* יִקְצַר *he will be cut off*; i. e. will be short. So also הִלָּשׁ, Impf. *ō*, *to subdue* Ex. 17, 13, Impf. *ā*, *to be subdued* Job 14, 10. More seldom both occur without any difference in signification, e. g. יִשֶּׁךְ and יִשֶּׁךְ *he will bite*, יִחַסֵּן and יִחַסֵּן *he is inclined* (but. cf. Job 40, 17). In the irregular verbs פִּי and some אִפִּי, a changeable *ē* (*Šere*) is also found in the final syllable (§ 68, 1; § 69, 1), besides only in יִתֵּן for יִתֵּן *he will give* (יָתַן). These three forms of the Impf. are called Imperfect *O*, Imperfect *A*, Imperfect *E*.

3. For the 3d plur. fem. תִּקְלָנָה there occurs in three instances, as if to distinguish it from the 2d pers., the form יִקְלָנָה, as in West. Aram. Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, e. g. יִזְבְּרָנָה *they shall arise* Dan. 8, 22; comp. Gen. 30, 38, 1 Sam. 6, 12. In several instances תִּקְלָנָה seems to have been used improperly for the 3d pers. fem. or 2d masc. singular, as תִּשְׁלָנָה (for which תִּשְׁלָנָה ought probably to be read) Judg. 5, 26 and Obad. 13 (for 2 masc. sing., acc. to Olsh. mutil. fr. תִּשְׁלָנָה); comp. Job 17, 16, Is. 28, 3.¹—In the Pentateuch (mostly) נָ (nā) occurs in place of נָה, especially after *Waw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), e. g. Ex. 1, 18, 19, 15, 20, in Arabic always *nā*. Acc. to Elias Levita תִּלְכָּשֶׁן 2 Sam. 13, 18 is the only ex. of this kind in strong verbs.—Once occurs (Ezek. 16, 50) the anomalous form תִּזְכָּרְנָה with יִ inserted, after the manner of verbs זָעַר and עָיַר (§ 67, 4, § 72, 5), which Olshausen regards as a blunder, caused by the following form.

4. The plural forms ending in נָ appear also not unfrequently (but oftenest in the older books) with the fuller ending נָה, most commonly with obvious stress on the word at the end of a period or clause, where the vowel of the second syllable is then retained, as יִלְבָּשׁוּנָה *they gather* Ps. 104, 28, יִרְגָּזוּנָה *they tremble* Ex. 15, 14, תִּשְׁמָעוּנָה *ye shall hear* Deut. 1, 17. But it is not confined to this position, see e. g. Ps. 11, 2 קָשָׁנוּנָה (comp. 4, 3, Gen. 18, 28, 29, 30—32, Is. 8, 12, 1 Sam. 9, 13). In the last example and perhaps in some others, euphonic reasons may have cooperated. But the preference for this form at the end of a clause or sentence is clearly seen in Is. 26, 11 יִרְוּנוּ יִתְוּנוּ וְיִבוֹשׁוּנָה *they see not; may they see and be ashamed.* This holds also for the corresponding forms of the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.² This original ending נָה is the common one in Aramaean and Arabic (Old Arab. *ūnā*); yet in vulgar Arabic it is likewise shortened. Of the Impf. with א appended, (following the Arabic orthography § 44 Rem 4) יִנְשֵׂא Jer.

¹ By this small number of examples we are hardly justified in taking them as remainders of an emphatic imperf. form (anal. to the *Modus energicus I* with the ending *ānnā* in Arabic).

² It is worthy of remark, that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn* where it stands in the books of Kings; see 1 K. 8, 38, 43, comp. 2 Chr. 6, 28, 33.—1 K. 12, 24, 2 K. 11, 5; comp. 2 Ch. 9, 4, 23, 4.

10, 5 is the only example (but this may stand by erroneous metathesis for *יִשְׁאֵר* caused by the preceding *יִשְׁרָאֵל*).

5. In like manner *יִשְׁרָאֵל* has a longer form with final *ל*, viz., *יִשְׁרָאֵלִי*, which is also the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (old Arab. *indā*); yet in Hebr. chiefly as a fuller form in great *pause*, and almost everywhere with the retention of the vowel in the penult as *יִשְׁרָאֵלִי* Ruth 2, 8, 21. See examples in 1 Sam. 1, 14, Ruth 3, 4, 18, Jer. 31, 22, Is. 45, 10.

6. On the restoration in *pause* of *ō* which had become *Sh^hwā* in the forms *יִשְׁרָאֵל* etc. v. above No. 3. In consonance with this also is the fact that the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in *pause* and, at the same time, lengthen it (as a tone vowel) into *ā* e. g. *יִשְׁרָאֵלִי*. This influence of the pausal tone extends itself even to the forms which have no affirmative, e. g. *יִשְׁרָאֵל* in *pause*; but the fuller forms in *יִ* and *יִ*—keep the tone on the last syllable (the vowels *ū* and *ī* in the closed *ultima* never allow the removal of the tone).

§ 48.

SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING OF THE IMPERFECT AND IMPERATIVE.

Jussive and Cohortative Forms.

1. Against the lack of specific forms to express the *relative Tenses* and the *Moods*, which is felt in the Hebrew and its kindred dialects, a small set-off is made by *changes* in the *form* of the Imperfect, to which changes a certain signification is either exclusively or principally attached.¹

2. We distinguish, accordingly, between the common form of the Imperfect and two others, viz., a *lengthened* form (with a *cohortative* force) and a *shortened* form (with a *jussive* force). The lengthened Imperfect, however, occurs only in the 1st person (with few exceptions), while its shortened form is mostly found only in the 2d and 3d persons, rarely also in the first (1 Sam. 14, 36). In Hebrew, however, for reasons of accentuation and vowel formation the Jussive could not always be orthographically distinguished from the common (*Indicative*) form of the Imperfect.

In classic Arabic the distinction is almost always clear. Besides the common Indicative *yāqtūlū*, it has—*a*) a Subjunctive, *yāqtūllū*;—*b*) a

¹ In the Perfect, the corresponding relations or modal senses are expressed only by the one common form, that stands also for the Indicative (§ 126, 5).

Jussive, *yäqtül*; and—c) a doubled so-called *Modus energicus* of the Impf. *yäqtülännä* and *yäqtülän* (in pause *yäqtülā*), which latter answers to the Heb. Cohortative.

3. The characteristic of the *cohortative* is a long *ä* הַ—, attached to the 1st person, as in אַקטל from אָקטל; comp. the הַ— directive of the noun § 69, 2, *a*. It is found in all the conjugations and in all classes of strong and weak verbs (except in the *passives*), and the ending הַ— has the tone wherever it is taken by the affirmatives ו and וּ—; hence it affects the final vowel in precisely the same manner as these do; e. g. in *Qäl* אַשְׁמְרֶה *I will observe*, in *Pi'el* נִתְקַחְהָ *let us break asunder* Ps. 2, 3; but the unchangeable vowel of the final syllable is retained before הַ—, as in *Hiph'il* אֶזְכֹּרֶה *I will praise*. Finally (as before *û* and *î*) the vowel is restored in pause, as tone vowel; thus the cohortative אַשְׁמְרֶה becomes in pause אֶשְׁמְרֶה (Ps. 59, 10).

Twice הַ— takes the place of הַ—, e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 15, and, with the 3d pers. Ps. 20, 4 (here in a syllable sharpened by *dag. forte conjunc.*). The הַ— is attached to the 3d person Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20 (and afterward required v. 16 in *Q^{er}i*), where, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3 it has no influence upon the signification. Probably Job 11, 17 also belongs here although הִנֵּפֶה may, with *Kimchi* be regarded as 2nd Masc. Quite anomalous is הִבְיֹאֲרָה Deut. 33, 16 (for הִבְיֹאֲרָה = תְּבֹאָה). It is not impossible that in some of the above named cases the הַ— may be a second (pleonastic) designation for the feminine.

The *Cohortative* expresses *effort* and the *direction of the will to an action*; and accordingly it especially denotes *excitement of one's self, determination, wish* (as *Optative*), in the 1st Pl. also an exhortation of others, etc. (see § 128).

4. The *Jussive* form of the Impf. essentially rests on quicker pronunciation, united with a tendency of the accent towards the beginning of the word (in order, as it were, to emphasize the command immediately in the first syllable), so that it very often causes a shortening at the end. Yet elsewhere the jussive must be satisfied with the shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable, without being able to withdraw from it the tone, and very frequently the nature of the form does not allow any change whatever, v. above No. 2. It is not impossible however that even in such a case the *Jussive* and *Indi-*

cative differed perceptibly in the tone of the living speech. So **רָקַטַל** as Ind. means *he will kill*, but as Jussive *let him kill*. Where the shortening is orthographically indicated, will be shown in every case under the conjugations. In the strong verb it is confined, as a distinct form, to Hiph'il, as in Juss. **רָקַטַל**, Ind. **רָקַטִיל**. It is found in Qāl and Hiph'il of verbs ע"ר, as Jussive **רָמַח** and **רָמַח**, Ind. **רָמַח** and **רָמַח**; and in all the conjugations of verbs ל"ה, where after the removal (*apocope*) of the ending ה—in Qāl and Hiph'il monosyllabic forms arise with or without a helping vowel under the 2d stem consonant (*Impf apoc.*), e. g. Qāl, Ind. **רָגַל**, Juss. **רָגַל**; Hiph. Ind. **רָגַל**, Juss. **רָגַל**; but also in *Pi'ēl* **רָצַח** from Indic. **רָצַח**. But in all cases the plural forms of the *Jussive* coincide with those of the Indicative, only that the ending ון cannot occur. Also the 2d pers. sing. fem. sounds the same in both, viz., **תַּמְרוֹתִי**, **תַּקְטִילִי**, etc., and so likewise all the singular and plural forms, when they have pronominal suffixes, e. g. **תַּמְרוֹתֵי** as Indicative in Jer. 38, 15, as Jussive in Jer. 41, 8

The force of this form is similar to that of the *Cohortative* only that in Jussive the command or wish extends, with few exceptions, only to the 2d or 3d person. On particular uses of the Jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the first person), see § 128, 2.

5. The *Imperative*, as it is allied in form and meaning to the Imperfect, is also lengthened (by ה—) and shortened, in a manner perfectly analogous (compare the Arabic *Imperativus energicus*, with the ending -ánuṣ or -an, in pause -ā). The lengthened *Imp.* occurs, e. g. in Qāl of the strong verb, as **שָׁמְרָה**, **שְׁמְרָה** (*shōm^c-rā'* like *qīṭ^cli*, § 46, Rem. 2) *keep thou*; **שָׁכַבְהָ**, **שְׁכַבְהָ** *lie thou down*; the shortened *Imp.* in verbs ל"ה, as in *Pi'ēl* **נָל** for **נָלָה**. In Hiph'il the *i* of the 2d syll. is reduced to *ē*, when the syll. is closed e. g. **הָקַטַל**; but the *i* is retained in open syllables e. g. **הָקַטִילִי** (both cases exactly as in jussive). The force of these forms is not always so strongly marked as in the *Imperfect*. The longer form, however, is often emphatic, as **קִיּוּם** *stand up*, **קִיּוּם** *up!* **תֵּן** *give*, **תֵּן** *give!*

§ 49.

THE PERFECT AND THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The use of the two tenses, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 126, 127; compare Note ¹, § 47), is by no means confined to the expression of the past and the future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the consecution of the Hebrew¹ tenses, is this; that in continued narrations of the past, only the first verb stands in the Perfect, the following ones being in the Imperfect; and on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb is in the Imperfect (Future), while the subsequent ones are in the Perfect. Thus in 2 K 20, 1: *In those days Hezekiah sickened* (Perf.) . . . *and Isaiah . . . came* (Impf. **וַיָּבֹא**) *to him, and said* (Impf. **וַיֹּאמֶר**) *to him, etc.* Just the reverse in Is. 7, 17: *And the Lord will bring* (Impf. **וַיָּבִיא**) *upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days, such as have not come since, etc.* 18 v. *And it will happen* (Perf. **וַיִּהְיֶה**) *on that day . . .* This progress in the succession of time is generally indicated by the so-called *consecutive Wāw*,² which in itself, it is true, is but a variety of the usual copulative *Wāw*, but partly (in the impf.) appears with an unusual vocalization. Moreover the tenses compounded with the *consecutive Wāw* undergo in part a variation of tone and hence at times also other variations.

2 The *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is—*a*) regularly prefixed with *Pā'thūch* and a *Dāghe'sh forte* in the next letter,

¹ The other Semitic tongues have no trace of this construction, except that the Phœnician (the most closely related to the Hebrew), and of course the trans-jordanic Heb. (or Moabite) inscription of Mēsha' has it (see § 2, 2).

² This name expresses best the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *Wāw consec* an action is always represented as a direct or at least temporal *sequence* of a preceding action. If whole books (Lev., Num., Josh., Judg., 1 and 2 Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with *imperf. consec*, others (Ex., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *Wāw copul*, it is to establish a close connection with the historical books preceding them (now or originally). Compare on the other hand the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. Merely external is the formerly used designation as *Wāw conversive*, as changing the respective tenses into their opposites (acc. to the former conception, the *fut.* into *pret.* and *vice-*

as **וַיַּקְטֹל** and *he killed*, but with *Qū'mēš* before the א of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22, 1), as **וַאֲקַטֵּל** and *I killed* (the preform. י with *Dāgh. f.* omitted occurs in such cases as **וַיַּדְבֵּר** and **וַיַּרְיֶה**, see § 20, 3, *b*);—*b*) it takes a shortened form of the Imperfect, where possible (comp. § 48, 4), e. g. in *Hiph'il* **וַיִּקְטֹל** (§ 53, Rem. 4), and tends to remove the tone from the ultima even more than the jussive. With this removal is necessarily connected a decided shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable which being closed is now toneless, as in **וַיָּקָם**, Jussive **וַיָּקָם**, with *Wāw consecutive* **וַיָּקָם** and *he arose* (§ 67, Rem. 2 and 7, § 68, 1, § 69, Rem. 3, § 71, § 72, Rem. 4 and 7, § 73, Rem. 2).¹ But in the 1st pers., especially in the singular, the shifting back of the tone and even the reduction of long vowels in the 2d syllable (*û* to *ō*, *i* to *ē*) is not usual, and the apocope in verbs **וַיָּרָא** occurs much seldomer, e. g. always **וַיָּרָא** (def. **וַיָּרָא**) and *I arose*; *Hiph.* **וַיָּרָא** and *I saw* (rather oftener than **וַיָּרָא**). But on the contrary we oftener find, specially in the later books, the *Cohortative* form in **וַיִּשְׁלַח**—used here, e. g. **וַיִּשְׁלַח** and *I sent* Gen. 32, 6, Judg. 6, 9, 10, Ps. 3, 6, Neh. 2, 13, 5, 7, 8, 13, 6, 11, 13, 7—11.—See more in § 129.

NB This **וַי** is in sense a strengthened *Wāw copulative* and resembles in its pronunciation the usual Arab. *copul.* (*wā*). The close connection of this *wā* with the following consonant caused in Hebrew the doubling of the latter, especially as *ā* could not stand in an open syllable; comp. **וַיָּבֹא** (for **וַיָּבֹא**), where the prepositions **ב**, **כ**, **ל** are connected with **וַי** in a similar way.

The encounter of numerous *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not lead to the supposition of a close relationship between the two moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (or the shifting of the tone) is occasioned by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, and is only accidentally similar to the form of the Jussive, where the shortening is based on the character of the form itself.²

3. The counterpart of *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is *Wāw consecutive of the Perfect*, by which the Perfects are

¹ Also the plural forms in **וַי**, occur more seldom after *Wāw consecutive*, but comp. **וַיִּרְיֶבֶן** Judg. 8, 1, 11, 18, Am. 6, 3, Ez. 44, 8, Deut. 4, 11, 5, 20. The 2d fem. sing. in **וַי**— never occurs after *Wāw consecutive*.

² The opinion of earlier grammarians, according to which **וַיִּקְטֹל** is an abbreviation and contraction from **וַיְהִי וַיִּקְטֹל** (= **וַיְהִי**) *it was (that) he killed*, is in every respect erroneous, and now obsolete.—Equally unfounded is the opinion of some that it is a contraction of **וַיְהִי וַיִּקְטֹל**.

placed as the future sequents of actions or events conceived of as incomplete (therefore in Imperf., Imperat. or even Partic.). In form it is the usual *Wāw copulative* and therefore also shares its various vocalization (ו, וי, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4, וי), e. g. וְהָיָה (after an Impf.) *and it happens=it will happen*; yet it has generally the effect of shifting the tone to the last syllable in those verbal forms which would otherwise have it on the penultima, e. g. הָלַכְתִּי *I went, consec. form* וְהָלַכְתִּי (coordinate with another Perf. consec., which is a consecutive to an Imperat.) *and I will go* Judg. 1, 3; וְהִבְדִּילָהּ, consec. וְהִבְדִּילָהּ *and it shall divide* Ex. 26, 33 (but this loss of the tone by *i* in the 2d syll. is exceptional, comp. under letter *b*). See more on the usage in § 126.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qā'mēs* of the 1st syl. is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now with the secondary tone (therefore necessarily provided with *Methē'gh*). On the other hand the *ō* of the 2nd syl. in verbs *med.* *ō*, upon losing the tone, becomes *ō* e. g. וְיָבֹלֶהּ Exod. 18, 23. This shifting forward of the tone does not always take place, and the exceptions are sometimes strange. It is omitted—*a*) always in the 1st pers. pl. וְיָשָׁבְנוּ Gen. 34, 16);—*b*) generally at least in Qal in verbs ל"א and ל"ה, e. g. וְיִשְׁרֹי Ex. 26, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc., but before a following *א* the vowel, long by contraction in the Perf. Qāl of these verbs, frequently loses its tone, for orthophonic reasons, e. g. וְיִבְאֶהָ אל Gen. 6, 18,—*c*) always when such a Perfect stands in pause, e. g. וְיִשְׁבְּתָהּ Deut. 8, 10, 11, 15, and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29, 3, *b*) as in וְיִשְׁבְּתָהּ Deut. 17, 14, וְיִצְאָהָ שָׁמָּה Deut. 23, 13, Amos 1, 4, 7, 10, 12 (yet also וְיִשְׁתָּחֶהָ Deut. 21, 11, 23, 14, 24, 19). Elsewhere the accent is shifted back even before the *Methē'gh*, e. g. Zeph. 1, 17.

§ 50.

OF THE PARTICIPLE OF QAL.

1. Qāl has two forms of the Participle, viz., an *active*, called also *Pō'el* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a *passive*, called *Pā'ul* (פְּעוּל).¹

The *Pā'ul* is doubtless a remnant of a lost passive form of Qāl, which still exists complete in Arabic. In the Aramaean the passives of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* are in like manner lost, except in the Participles.

2. The form of the Participle active of Qāl in the intransitive verbs *mid.* *E* and *mid.* *O*, coincides with the form

¹ The Jewish Grammarians call the Part. Act. also בְּיָנוּחַ (*middle word*); yet not in the sense of the Latin name, but as holding in sense (as present participle) the *middle* place between the past and the future; in this sense the בְּיָנוּחַ is opposed by them to the passive form פְּעוּל as part. *praeterit*.

of the 3d person sing. of the Perfect, as **רָשָׁן**, *sleeping* (from **ר.** **רָשַׁן**), **יָרֹר**, *fearing* (only orthographically different from the Perf. **יָרַר**); comp. the formation of the Part. in Nīph'āl (§ 51, 1). But the Participle of verbs *mid. A*, takes the form **קָטַל**, the *ô* of which has sprung from *â* and is therefore unchangeable (*qôtēl* from *qâtēl*, § 9, No. 10, 2). (The form **קָטַל**, which with two changeable *Qā'mēṣ* would correspond to the forms **רָשַׁר** and **יָרַר**, is in use only as a *verbal noun*, § 84, 1.)—The inflection of the Participle in *Pī'ēl*, *Pū'āl*, *Hīph'ēl*, *Hōph'āl*, *Hithpā'ēl* follows a different method, taking a prefixed *m*.

3. Participles form their feminine (*act.* **קָטְלָה** or **קִטְלָה**, *pass.* **קִטְלָהּ**) and their plural (*act. mas.* **קָטְלִים**, *fem.* **קִטְלֹת**; *pass. m.* **קִטְלוּם**, *f.* **קִטְלוֹת**) like other nouns (§§ 87, 94).

Rem. 1 From the above it follows: 1) the *a* of the form **רָשָׁן** is lengthened from *ā* and is consequently changeable (e. g. *fem.* **רָשְׁנָה**); 2) the *ô* of **קָטַל** on the contrary is inflected from unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adj. after the form *qātīl* corresponds to the form *qātēl* and the part *qātīl* to *qôtēl*. In both cases therefore the *ē* of the second syllable has been lengthened from *ī*, and is therefore changeable (e. g. **קָטַל** pl. **קָטְלִים**; **קָטַל** const. pl. **קָטְלִי**).—An uncommon form perhaps is **חִיטְלִי** *supporting* Ps. 16, 5, it is possible, however, that **חִיטְלִי** is intended with incorrect full writing of *—* (comp. **סָכִיב** 2 K. 8, 21), or perhaps it is the *impf. Hīph.* of **חָטַל**. Many reckon here also **יִחְסִי** Is. 29, 14, 38, 5; but this is rather 3 *sing. Impf. Hīph'ēl* of **חָסַל** (compare a quite similar construction in Is. 28, 16; the prop. n. **אֲחִיבֵל** 1 Ch. 27, 30, being a foreign word, need not be considered here).—The form **חִיטְלִי** Is. 41, 7 (for **חִיטְלִי**) is explained in § 29, 3, b.

2. The Participle in the passive form at times belongs to an intransitive verb and cannot properly take a passive meaning, but expresses a passive state. Thus **בָּטִיחַ** is *trusting* (not *trusted*) in Ps. 112, 7, **שָׁכֹן** *inhabiting* (not *inhabited*) Judg. 8, 11 (like the Lat. *deponent* forms *confisus*, *commoratus*) and even in the transitive verb **חָזַק** *holding* (not *held*) Cant. 8, 8.

B. DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51.

NĪPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a *n* prefixed to the stem. This is either vowelless with prefixed **ה** (in all verbs whose 1st stem letter has a firm vowel) or joined to the stem by a short vowel (orig. *ā* but in strong verbs attenuated to *i*), so that, by assimilation of the *n*, we have the *Impf. and Inf.* **הִנְקַטַל** (for **הִנְקָטַל**), the *Inf. absol.* **הִנְקַטַל**, and also

the *Impf.* יִקְטֹל (with the ה elided) for יִקְטֹל. But when the latter is vowelless the ך joins itself to the stem by means of a short vowel, as in the *Perf* נִקְטַל, *Part.* נִקְטֵל, and at times in the *Inf. absol.* נִקְטֹל. The inflection of Niph'al is perfectly analogous to that of Qāl. (The VIIth conj. of the Arab. *inḡatālū* corresponds to the *Niph'āl*.)

Niph'al may be known in the *Perf.* and *Part.* by the *Nūn* prefixed; in the *Imp. Inf.*, and *Impf.*, by the *Dāgh. f.* in the first stem-letter. The same marks are found in the irregular verbs, except that, where the first stem-letter is a guttural, the *Dāgh'esh* must be omitted (§ 63, 4), and consequently the preceding vowel made long (§ 22, 1).

2. The *significations of Niph'āl*. It is similar to the Greek *middle voice*, and hence—*a*) It is primarily *reflexive* of Qāl, e. g. נִשְׁמֵר to *watch one's self, to beware*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to *hide one's self*; often in verbs which express an emotion that re-acts on the mind, as נָחַם to *trouble one's self, to grieve*, נִאָּחַם to *bemoan one's self, to bewail*; comp. ὀδύρεσθαι, *lamentari, contristari*;—*b*) Then it frequently expresses *reciprocal* action, as from שָׁפַט to *judge*, Niph. נִשְׁפָּט to *go to law with me another*, רָצָץ to *counsel*, Niph. to *consult together*; comp. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (βουλεύω), μάχεσθαι (μάχομαι), *altercari, praeluari, luctari*, ἐρίζεσθαι (ἐρίζω);—*c*) It has also like Hithp'al (§ 54, 3, *c*) and the Greek *middle*, the *signification* of the *active*, with addition of *self*, Lat. *sibi*, *for one's self*, e. g. נִשְׁאַל to *ask for one's self* (1 Sam. 20, 6, 28, Neh. 3, 6), precisely like αὐτοῦμαί σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα to *suit on (one's self) a tunic*;—*d*) It is often also *passive* of Qāl, e. g. יָלַד to *bear*, Niph. to *be born*, קָבַר to *bury*, Niph. to *be buried*; likewise of Pī'el and Hiph'il, when Qāl is intransitive and not in use, e. g. כָּבַד to *be in honour*, Pī'el to *honour*, Niph. to *be honoured*, כָּתַר, in Pī'el to *conceal*, Hiph. to *make disappear, to destroy*, Niph. passive of both: and in this case its meaning may again coincide with Qāl (חָלָה Qāl and Niph. to *be ill*), and even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).

Examples of *denominatives* are נִזְכָּר to *be born a male* (from זָכָר a male) Ex. 34, 19, נִלְבָּב cordatum fieri (from לֵב heart) Job 11, 22

NB. The older Hebrew grammarians have represented Niph'al as strictly the *passive* of Qāl. This representation is decidedly incorrect; for Niph'al has not the characteristics of the other passives. There

are still found in Qāl traces of an early passive form (§ 50, 1), and the Arabic has a distinct conjugation, corresponding with Nīph'al (*in-qātālā*), which has its own passive; nay, in Hebrew itself, there is probably a trace of the passive of Nīph'al in the form נִקְטַל Is. 50, 3, Lam. 4, 14. According to the *usage* of the language, the *passive* signification is certainly predominant; but it was first derived from the reflexive.—The הָ prefix has the force of a reflexive pronoun, like הָ in Hīthpāl,¹ the הָ probably serving to make the characteristic נ utterable (comp. Arab. *'in-qātālā*).

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* קָטַל connects itself, in form, with the Perf., to which it bears the same relation as קָטַל to קָטַל; it also occurs in connection with the Perfect, as in נִשְׁאַל *rogando* 1 Sam. 20, 6, נִבְסַק *desiderando* Gen. 31, 30. An example of the other form, connecting with the Impf., is הָרָן Jer. 32, 4; once אָרַשׁ Ezek. 14, 3. The *δ* in the final syllable (which is originally *ā*) is also exhibited in this Infinitive form in Pī'ēl and Pū'al, and it resembles, in this respect, several Arabic Infinitives, in which there is a corresponding *ā*. Moreover, the form הָקָטַל is not infrequently used for the *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Num. 15, 31, Deut. 4, 26, 1 K. 20, 39.

2. In *Pause*, a *Pāthāch* often takes the place of *Šērē* in the final syllable of the Impf. e. g. יִקְטַל *and he was weaned* Gen. 21, 8, as also in other cases, comp. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final *w*): 17, 23 (with *p*); Jonah 1, 5 (with *w*), (§ 29, 4 at the end). In the 2d and 3d pers. plural feminine, the *Pāthāch* is common, e. g. הִזְכֵּרְנָה *they shall be remembered* Is. 65, 17; *Šērē* is found only in הִזְכֵּרְנָה Ruth 1, 13 (from עָנָה for הִזְכֵּרְנָה with *Dāghēsh* omitted; comp. הִזְכֵּרְנָה Is. 60, 4.).

3. When the Impf., Inf., or Imp. is immediately followed by a word of one syllable, the tone is commonly shifted back upon the penultima, and consequently the final syllable, losing the tone, takes *S'ghōl* instead of *Šērē*; e. g. יִפְּטַל בָּהּ *he stumbles at it* Ez. 33, 12; יִשְׁמַע לוֹ *and he heard him* Gen. 25, 21; also *Pāthāch* אָרַץ הָעוֹלָם Job 18, 4, but comp. וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים *and God heard* 2 Sam. 21, 14. While in some isolated cases e. g. Ezra 8, 23, the shifting back of the tone is omitted, in spite of an accented syllable following, it has however become general with certain forms, even when the following word begins with an unaccented syllable; especially after *ו* cons. e. g. וַיִּלָּחֶם *and he fought* Num. 21, 1 etc. For the *imperative* הִקְבֹּצִי there is found (with the rejection of initial *h*): הִקְבֹּצִי Is. 43, 9 (in *pause* הִקְבֹּצִי Joel, 4, 11; comp. הִקְבֹּצִי Jer. 50, 5).

¹ Also in other languages, specially in the Slavonian, the change of the reflexive into the passive is observed. It is still clear in Sanscrit and in Greek how the middle goes before the passive voice; the *r* at the end of the Latin passive is the reflexive pronoun=*se*; in the ancient Slavic and Bohemian, *amat-se* stands for *amatur*, in Dacoroman *io me laudu* (I am praised). See *Pott's Etymologische Forschungen*, Th. 1, S. 133 ff., Th. 2, S. 92; *Boyp's Vergleichende Grammatik*, § 476 ff.

4. For the 1st pers. sing. of the Impf. אֶקְשַׁל the form אֶקְשַׁל is equally frequent, as אֶדְרַשׁ *I will let myself be sought* Ez. 14, 3; אֶשְׁבַּע *I swear* Gen. 21, 24; in the *Cohortative* always with *i*, e. g. אֶקְשֶׁה *I will avenge me* Is. 1, 24. Comp. § 69, Rem. 5.

§ 52.

PĪ'Ē'L AND PU'Ā'L.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation is the *doubling of the middle stem-letter*. In the *active* (Pī'ēl), the *Perf.* would naturally have קָשַׁל from the simple stem קָשַׁל (comp. § 43, Rem. 1, and Arab. Conj. II *qā'ttālā*); the *ā* of the first syllable is however with one exception (v. Rem. 1) always changed to *i* in the *Perf.* In the 2nd syllable *ā* has usually been retained (therefore the conjugation should properly be called *Pi'al*); often here however occurs an attenuation to *i* which the tone regularly lengthens to *ē* (comp. Aram. קָשַׁל, Biblical Aram. קָשַׁל). Thus arise for the 2d sing. masc. perf. forms like אָבַד, קָרַשׁ, לָמַד, קָרַח, קָבַד etc.¹—Before affirmatives however *ā* is always retained, thus קָשַׁלְתָּ, קָשַׁלְתָּם, קָשַׁלְתִּי etc. The *Infinitive absol.* has קָשַׁל (inflected from *qattāl*). The *Inf. const.* and *Impf.* have קָשַׁל with *ā* in the first syllable, and so the *Impf.* makes יִקְשַׁל and the *Part.* מִקְשַׁל, the preformatives here having a vocal *Sh'wā*, which seems to be the relic of a short vowel.—The *passive* (Pū'āl קָשַׁל) has an obscure vowel of the third class (*ū* or rarely *ō*) after the first stem-letter, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) after the second. On the use of obscure vowels to express intransitives, comp. § 43. Also in Arabic passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the 1st syllable. In regard to inflection these two conjugations are analogous to that of Qāl.

The *q*, which occurs also in the succeeding conjugations, as the characteristic of the *Part.*, seems to be connected with *מי* *who?* (fem. *מִי* comp. § 37) in the sense of *some one*.

Pī'ēl and *Pū'āl* are throughout distinguished by the *Dāghē'sh* in the middle stem-letter. It is omitted only in the following cases:—

a) Always when this letter is a guttural (§ 64, 3);—b) Sometimes, though rarely, when this letter has *Sh'wā* (§ 20, 3, b), as שֶׁלְּחָה *she stretches*

¹ On three cases which take —^v instead of — before final — or — see below Rem. 1.

forth (for שָׁלַח) Ez. 17, 7; בָּקְשׁוּהוּ for בָּקַשׁ they sought him 2 Ch. 15, 15; also at times the omission is indicated (§ 10, 2 Rem.) by a *Châf'êph*, under the *littera dagessanda*, e. g. לָקְחָהּ for לָקְחָהּ she was taken Gen. 2, (23, — though influence of preceding —) comp. 9, 14. In the Impf. and Part. the *Sh'wâ* under the preformatives may always serve as a mark of these conjugations.

2. *The primary idea of Pî'êl is urgency, especially that which is self impelled* (a busy doing) hence.—a) It denotes *intensity and repetition* (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative nouns*, which are likewise formed by doubling the middle stem-letter, § 84, 6—9);¹ e. g. צָחַק to laugh, Pî'êl to sport, to jest (to laugh repeatedly), שָׁאַל to ask, Pî'êl to beg; hence it denotes that the action has to do with *many*, as קָבַר to bury (one) Gen. 23, 4, Pî'êl to bury (many) 1 K. 11, 15. (So in Syriac and Arabic frequently). This signification of Pî'êl is found with various shades of secondary meaning, as פָּתַח to open, Pî'êl to loose, כָּסַר to count, Pî'êl to relate.—The eager performance of an action makes the agent *influence* others also in the same direction. Hence—b) Pî'êl has a *causative* signification (like Hîph'il), e. g. לָמַד to learn, Pî'êl to teach. It often takes the modifications expressed by *to permit, to declare or to hold as, to help*, as חָיָה to let live, צָדַק to declare innocent, יָלַד to help in child-bearing.—c) *Denominatives* are frequently found in this conjugation, which in general mean *to make a thing* (viz. that which the noun expresses), or *to be in any way occupied with it*; as קָנַן to make a nest (from קֵן nest), עָפַר to throw dust, to dust (from עָפָר dust). It also expresses the *taking away or injuring* the thing expressed by the noun (as in English *to behead, to skin, to bone*), e. g. שָׁרַשׁ (from שֹׁרֶשׁ a root) to root out, extirpate, זָנַב (from זָנַב tail) properly to injure the tail,

¹ Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has an *intensive* force, are found in the German words, *reichen, reckon* (E. reach, rack); *streichen* (*stringo*, Anglo-Saxon *strecan*), *strecken* (E. stretch, streak); comp. *Strich, Strecke*; *wacker, from wachen*. others in which it has the *causative* signification, are *stechen, stecken* (E. stitch, stick); *wachen, wecken* (E. watch, wake); τέλλω *to bring to an end*, from the stem τέλω *to end*, γεννᾶω *to beget*, from γένω *to come into being*. The above examples in German show also that *ch*, when doubled, takes the form of *kk, ck*, in accordance with the laws relating to the *Dāghē'sh* in Hebrew (§ 13, 3).

hence *to rout the rear* of an army, רָדַף *to remove the ashes*, עָצַם *to break the bones*. So also in verbs the origin of which may not now be traceable to a noun; e. g. סָקַל *to stone*, and also *to remove the stones* (i. e. from a field);¹ comp. Eng. *to stone* in both senses.

The significations of the *passive* (Pū'āl) will occur readily from the above, e. g. גָּנַב *to steal*, Pī'ēl *to steal*, Pū'āl *to be stolen*.

In Pī'ēl, the proper and literal signification of a word is often retained, when Qāl has adopted a figurative one, the former being the stronger and more palpable sense, e. g. רָפָא in Pī'ēl *to stitch up*, in Qāl *to heal*; קָרָא, Pī'ēl *to cut or hew out*, Qāl *to form or make*; גָּלָה, Pī'ēl *to uncover*, Qāl *to reveal*.

In intransitive verbs, also, Pī'ēl occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic diction, as דָּחַח *to be broken in pieces* Jer. 51, 56, סָדַח *to tremble* Deut. 51, 13, Prov. 28, 14, פָּתַח *to be open* Is. 48, 8, 60, 11, רָיַח *to be drunken* Is. 34, 5, 7.

Rem. 1. The Perf. Pī'ēl has (—) in the final syllable quite as often as (—), e. g. אָבַר *to destroy*, שָׁבַר *to break in pieces*, לָמַד *to teach*. This occurs especially before *Mäqqēph* (Eccles. 9, 15, 12, 9), and in the middle of a period in continuous discourse; but at the end of a period (in *pause*), Šērē is the more common vowel. Comp. גָּדַל Is. 49, 21 with נָדַל Josh. 4, 14, Est. 3, 1. Some verbs have *Sēghōl*, namely דִּבֵּר *to speak*, כָּסַר *to atone*, and כָּבַשׁ *to wash clothes*, but דִּבֵּר in *pause*.

A single instance of (—) in the *first* syllable (after the manner of the Arab. and Aram.) is found in Gen 41, 51 נָשַׁח *to cause to forget*, a change occasioned by the play upon the name מִנְשַׁח. Compare, the quadrilateral פָּרַשׁוּ which is analogous in form to Pī'ēl (§ 56).

2. The *Impf.*, *Inf.*, and *Imp.*, when followed by *Mäqqēph*, generally take *Sēghōl* in the final syllable, e. g. יִרְבֹּק־שִׁלִּי *he seeks for himself* Is. 40, 20, קִדְּשִׁי-לִי *sanctify to me* Ex. 13, 2. So too in Hithpā'ēl.—In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* besides אֶפְתָּל, there occurs also in a few cases the form with (—) under the א, as אֶזְרֶה Lev. 26, 33; and even with (—), as אֶסְדֶּר Zech. 7, 14 (according to § 23, 3, Rem. 2). With *Wāw cons.* we have also וְאֶפְתָּר *for וְאֶפְתָּר* Judg. 6, 9. Instead of תִּפְתָּלְךָ are found forms like תִּפְתָּלְךָ, as in Is. 3, 16, 13, 18 (before a sibilant in *pause*).

3. The *Inf. absol.* in Pī has the special form תִּפְתָּל, as יִסֵּר *castigando* Ps. 118, 18; but much more frequently the form of the *Inf.*

¹ In Arabic, *denominatives* of Conj. II. often express injury done to a member, the removal of vermin and noxious things. This force is not wholly foreign, also, to the simplest Conj. I. Comp. Hebrew קָלַל *שָׁבַר* (from שָׁבַר) *to buy or sell grain*, Lat. *causari, prædari*, etc.

constr. קָטַל is used instead, as in Jer. 12, 17, 32, 33. For the latter the form קָטַל also occurs exceptionally, namely in Lev. 14, 43 קָטַל, and (for the sake of assonance) even for *Inf. absol.* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 קָטַל קָטַל.

4. In *Pū'āl*, instead of *Qibbā'ā*, *Qā'mēš-chāṭā'ph* is found less frequently, e. g. דָּיֶד נָח Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7; Ps. 72, 20, 80, 11. It is merely an orthographic variation when *Shū'rēq* takes the place of *Qibbā'ā*, as יִיֶדֶר in Judg. 18, 29.

5. As the *Inf. absol.* of Pu. there is found נָבַח in Gen. 40, 15.—The *Inf. constr.* does not occur in a regular verb in *Pū'āl*.

6. The *Part. Pū'āl* sometimes occurs without the prefixed ה¹; and is then distinguished from the 3. pers. Perf. (like the *Part. Niph.*) only by the *Qā'mēš* in the final syllable, e. g. לָקַח taken 2 K. 2, 10, comp. יִיֶדֶר for יִיֶדֶר Judg. 18, 8; also Ec. 9, 12, Ez. 26, 17, Prov. 25, 19, Is. 18, 2; the last two examples on account of the presence of an initial ב.

§ 53.

HĪPH'ĪL AND HÖPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of the *active* (Hīph'īl) is ה, in the Perf. ח (the *ā* being attenuated into *i* as in *Pi'ēl*) and forming with the 1st stem consonant a closed syllable. The 2d syllable had in the Perf. originally likewise *ā*; comp. Arab. conj. IV. 'aqtālā and in Hebrew the return of *Pā'thāch* in the 2d and 1st person הַקְטִילָה etc. The *ā* having been attenuated into *i*, the latter when having the tone, should, according to rule have been lengthened into *ē* (as in Aram. אַקְטַל, in Biblical Aram. הַקְטִיל). Instead of this however the strong verb has received *i*. Thus in the *Inf. constr.* הַקְטִיל with which are connected the *Impf.* and the *Part.* הַקְטִיל, מַקְטִיל,² contracted from הַקְטִיל, מְהַקְטִיל. In the *passive* (Höph'āl) the ה is sounded with an obscure vowel, and the second syllable has *ā* instead of *i*, as הַקְטַל or הַקְטַל, *Impf.* הַקְטַל (syncopated from הַקְטַל)

¹ This omission of the ה seems to occur also at times in *Part. Pi'el*, as in שָׁבַח for שָׁבַח praising Ecc. 4, 2, מָאָן for מָאָן refusing Ex. 7, 27, perh. also חָלְלִים in Ps. 67, 7 may be for מְחַלְלִים dancing or dancers.—Tr.

² Here the corresponding Arab. forms (*yagtil* and *maqtil*) indicate an original *i* in the second syllable. In Hebrew this *i* is lengthened into *ē* (after the general rule) at least in the *Jussive* and the *Imperf. consec.* (see below 3 Rem. 4) as well as in the *Imperative* of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. (see 3, Rem. 3).

or יקטל, Inf. absol. הקטל, Participle מַקְטֵל and מִקְטֵל; and in its other forms it follows the general analogy. Upon the origin of the preformative ה compare § 55, No. 6.

The marks of this conjugation are, therefore, in the Perf., Imp. and Inf., the prefixed ה; in the Impf. and Part., the vowel under the preformatives, which in Hiph'il is *Päthäch*, in Hoph'al, *Qibbû'ê* (—) or *Qā'mêš-chäfûph* (—).

2. *Significations of Hiph'il.*—It is properly *causative of Qäl*, and in this sense is more frequently employed than Pi'el (§ 52, 2, b), e. g. יָצָא *to go forth*, Hiph. *to bring out, to lead forth*; קָדַשׁ *to be holy*, Hiph. *to sanctify*. To the category of the *causative* belongs also the *declarative* signification, e. g. הִצִּידִק *to declare just*; הִרְשִׁיעַ *to declare guilty* (render criminal). When Qäl is transitive, Hiph. takes two accusatives (see § 139, 1). Frequently Pi'el and Hiph'il are both in use in the same signification, as אָבַד *to perish*, Pi. and Hiph. *to destroy*; but generally only one of them is found, or they have some difference of signification, as כָּבַד *to be heavy*, Pi. *to honour*, Hiph. *to make heavy*. Intransitive verbs merely become transitive, e. g. נָטָה *to bow* (intrans.), Hiph. *to bow, to bend*.

Rem. 1. The Semitic conception of the causative and transitive signification of Hiph'il embraces also other forms of thought which can only be translated by periphrase. Thus a) the Hiph. is used to express some assumption of a corporal or spiritual condition, e. g. אָרַל, הָלַל, Hiph. *to emit a lustre*, הָשֵׁךְ, Hiph. *to create gloom*, צָלָה, Hiph. *to be prosperous*, שָׁשַׁל, Hiph. *to be needy*, שָׁמַן, Hiph. *to become fat* (properly *to produce fat*);¹ אָמַץ and הִזְקַם, Hiph. *to become strong* (properly *to develope strength*); so too הִשְׁטַף, Hiph. *to become feeble*; הִאָּדַם, *to be red* (prop. *to show redness*), הִלְבִּין *to be white*, הִחֲרִישׁ *to be silent*, but properly *to keep silence* (*silentium facere*. Plin.); b) the Hiph. expresses entrance into and continuance in a given state or condition, e. g. אָמַן *to be firm*, Hiph. *to trust in*, הִלָּה *to become sick*, רָבַשׁ *to become ashamed*, הִרְחִיץ *to keep quiet*; c) the Hiph. expresses a qualified action,

¹ The verb עָשָׂה *to make* is employed in the expression of the same ideas, e. g. *to make fat (fatness)*, i. e. to produce fat upon the body Job 15, 27; *to make fruits, to make branches*, i. e. to produce, to put forth Job 14, 9, Hos. 8, 7. Compare in Latin, *corpus facere* Justin. 11, 8, *robur facere* Hirtius, Bell. Afr. 85; *sobolem, divitias, facere* (Plin.) and in Italian *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

as *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* to deal well, *לְהַשְׁחִית* to do wickedly, properly to make good, or bad one's way (sc. *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ*, *לְהַשְׁחִית* which are also often expressed); *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* to make sinful, *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* to act craftily.

2. Causatives also are certain *denominatives*, in Hiph. expressing the idea of *producing* or *putting forth* that of which the original noun is the name, e. g. *לְהַשְׁרִישׁ* to put forth roots, *לְהַקְרִין* to put forth horns. It also expresses the active use of a member, as *לְהַאזִין* to listen (properly to make ears), *לְהַלְשִׁין* to chatter, to slander (after the same analogy, properly to make tongue, to use the tongue freely).

3. The signification of *Höphäl* is *passive*—a) chiefly of *Hiphil*, as in *לְהַשְׁלִיךְ* to cast out, *לְהַשְׁלֵךְ* or *לְהַשְׁלֹךְ* to be cast out;—b) at times also of *Qāl*, as in *לְהַקֵּם* to avenge, *לְהַקֵּם* to be avenged.

Rem. 1. The *î* of 3d sing. masc. Perf. Hiph. remains unchanged also in the 3d fem. (in the tone-syllable). But that it has arisen from a short vowel and is therefore changeable is shown from the Imperf. and Imper., where *ê* (through the influence of a guttural also *ä*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *î* is retained, only in rare cases does it become *Shewâ* (v. Rem. 4 and 5).

2. The Inf. absol. has generally *Šērê*, usually without *Yôdh*, as *לְהַקֵּם* Judg. 17, 3, rarely (and incorrectly) with *Yôdh*, as *לְהַקְדִּים* Amos 9, 8. After the manner of the Aram., we have *â* instead of the *î* in *לְהַקְדִּים* to rise early Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, in which the form with *Šērê* stands for the Inf. constr., are found in Deut. 32, 8. Is. 57, 20. For the usual Inf. constr. *לְהַקְדִּים* we find a few times *לְהַקְדִּים*, as *לְהַקְדִּים* to destroy Deut. 7, 24, 28, 48, Josh. 11, 14, Jer. 50, 34; so also *לְהַקְדִּים* for *לְהַקְדִּים* from *קָדַם* Lev. 14, 43. Upon elision of *ה* v. Rem. 7.

3. The Imperative retains the *î* (—) according to Rem. 1 in the open syllable and therefore before suffixes (v. § 61, 2) and before —ה—paragogic e. g. *לְהַקְדִּים*. On the other hand in the 2nd masc. sing. the original *î* (comp. Arab. *‘aqtîl*) is lengthened into *ê*, e. g. *לְהַשְׁכֵּחַ* to become fat and before *Mäqqêph* it becomes *Sêghôl*, e. g. *לְהַשְׁכֵּחַ* Job 22, 21.—In a few instances the form *לְהַקְדִּים* is anomalously substituted for *לְהַקְדִּים*: Ps. 94, 1 (77, 2?) Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 8; in other places the Massora has preferred the incorrect fully written form *לְהַקְדִּים*, e. g. 2 K. 8, 6.—In Lament. 5, 1 for *לְהַקְדִּים* the *Qêrî* requires *לְהַקְדִּים*.

4. In the Impf. of Hiph. the apocopated form with *Šērê* is the usual one for the *Jussive* in the 2. m. and the 3. m. singular, as *לְהַקְדִּים* make not great Obad. 12, *לְהַקְדִּים* let him cut off Ps. 12, 4, also with *ו* consec., as *לְהַקְדִּים* and he divided Gen. 1, 4 (yet the 1. per. sing. is usually *î*, as *לְהַקְדִּים* Am. 2, 9). Before *Mäqqêph* the *Šērê* becomes *Sêghôl*, as *לְהַקְדִּים* and he held him Judg. 19, 4. In the plural the forms *לְהַקְדִּים*,

תִּקְטִיל stand also in the Jussive and with *cons.*, e. g. וַיִּדְרְכּוּ and *they pursued* Judg. 18, 22; but the *i* (after the Aramæan) sometimes becomes *Sh'wâ*, as וַיִּחַלְשׁוּ 1 K. 20, 23, וַיִּדְרְכּוּ and *they bent* Jer. 9, 2, וַיִּדְרְכּוּ and *they pursued* 1 Sam. 14, 22, 31, 2. This shortening is found also in the imperf. and in 2d and 3d masc. sing. before suffixes (1 Sam. 17, 25. Ps. 65, 10. Job 9, 20). It is however doubtful whether we really find in these isolated examples a trace of the groundform (*yaqtil*) and not rather a misconception from defective writing (וַיִּדְרְכּוּ etc.) which often occurs elsewhere as a pure orthographical license (even in the 3d sing. Is. 44, 28 רָשָׁם).

5. The Part. מְסַחֵר (Is. 53, 3) might be traced to the Grdf. *maglil* unless with *Delitzsch* one regards the word as a substantive (comp. also מִצָּחַ Ps. 135, 7, where, however, *Ṣērê* could be explained from the shifting of the tone).^{*} In the following plurals the vowel has become *Sh'wâ*: מְחַלְמִים *dreamers* Jer. 29, 8, מְעֻזִּים *helpers* 2 Ch. 28, 23 and in מְחַצְרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24.—The *fem.* is usually like מְסַחֵר, e. g. מְשַׁחַר Lev. 14, 21, מְזַחֵר Num. 5, 15.

6. In the Perf. are sometimes found such forms as הִכַּלְמֵנוּ *we have reproached* 1 Sam. 25, 7, comp. Job 16, 7, also אֶנְאָלְחִי *I have soiled* (with א for ה, as in Aramæan) Is. 63, 3; comp. אֶשְׁחִיר, Rem. 2.

7. In the Impf. and Part. the characteristic ה regularly gives place to the preformatives, as מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל, but not to prepositions in the Inf., לְהַקְטִיל, because their connection with the stem is less close than that of the preformatives. In both cases, however, there are some few exceptions, as יִישָׁעַ he *will save* Ps. 116, 6 (in pause), יִיְהוּדָה *he will praise* for יוּדָה (only in verbs פ"י) Neh. 11, 17, on the contrary לְשַׁמֵּעַ for לְהַשְׁמִיעַ *to sing* Ps. 26, 7, לְהַאֲדִיב for לְהַאֲדִיב *to cause to faint* 1 Sam. 2, 33, לְשַׁמֵּר for לְהַשְׁמִיד *to destroy* Is. 23, 11, לְשַׁבֵּר Am. 8, 4, מְעִיר for מְהַעִיר Ps. 78, 20, לְמַרֵּחַ for לְהַמְרִיחַ Ps. 78, 17.¹

8. The *tone*, in Hiph'il, does not fall on the affirmatives ה, הִ— and ו—, not even in the Perf. with *Wāw consec.* except in Ex. 26, 33, Lev. 15, 29; (to avoid a hiatus because ה or ו follows in an unaccented syllable) but the plur. ending ון takes the tone, as in הִקְרִיבוּן Deut. 1, 17.

9. In the passive (*Höph'al*) Perf., Impf. and Part. ה (—) is found in the first syllable as well as ח (—) הִקְטֵל, but not so often in the regular verb, e. g. הִשָּׁעַב *he is laid* Ez. 32, 32 (but הִשָּׁעַבָה in 32, 19), הִשָּׁלַךְ, Part. מְשָׁלָךְ 2 Sam. 20, 21 (but הִשָּׁלַכָה in Is. 14, 19). Verbs פ"ן have ה constantly, as הִשָּׁדַד, הִשָּׁדַד (according to § 9, 9, 2).

¹ So also לְהַחֲמִיץ for לְהַחֲמִיץ Ex. 13, 21, לְהַחֲמִיץ for לְהַחֲמִיץ Num. 5, 22, לְהַחֲמִיץ for לְהַחֲמִיץ Dan. 11, 35; but part. *Hoph.* מְהַחֲמִיץ in Ez. 46, 22 for מְהַחֲמִיץ.—Tr.

10. The Inf. absol. has (—) in the final syllable (in *Hoph.* as in *Hiph.*); e. g. *הָרַחֵל fasciando* Ez. 16, 4, *הָרַד nuntiando* Josh. 9, 24. The Inf. constr. is not found in any regular or strong verb.

11. About the Imperative of *Hōph'al*, see above on p. 117, note 2.

§ 54.

HĪTHPĀ'ĒL.

1. This conjugation connects itself with *Pi'el*, inasmuch as it prefixes to the form *קָטַל* the syllable *הָה* (West. Aram. *הָה*, but Biblical Aram. *הָה*; Syr. *הָה*¹), which, like *הָה* in *Niph'al* (§ 51, 2, Rem.), has undoubtedly the force of a reflexive pronoun.

2. The *ה* of the syllable *הָה* in this conj., as also in *Hithpō'el* and *Hithpāl'el* (§ 55), suffers the following changes:—

- a) When one of the sibilants (*ס, ק, ש*) is the first radical of the verb, it changes places with the *ה* (§ 19, 5), as *הַשְׁמַר to take heed*, for *הַחֲשֹׁמֶר*; *הַחֲבֹל to be burdened*, for *הַחֲבֹל*. (A solitary exception is found in *הַחֲשֹׁשׁ to avoid cacophony* which would result from the succession of three T sounds Jer. 49, 3). With *צ*, moreover, the transposed *ה* is changed into *ט*, as being more akin to the *צ* (see § 19, 1), as *הַצְטִיחַ to justify one's self*, for *הַצְחִיחַ*.
- b) Before *ד, נ* and *ת*, the *ה* is assimilated (§ 19, 2), e. g. in *הִדְכָּא to be crushed* (but *מִדְחַקִּים* in Judg. 19, 22). *הִטְהַר to cleanse one's self*, *יִטְמָא he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. *הִתְחַבֵּר to behave uprightly*; sometimes also before *נ* and *כ*, as *הִנְבֵּא to prophesy* Jer. 23, 13, else *הִתְנַבֵּא*; *הִתְנַחֵם to make one's self ready*, *הִתְנַחֵם* for *הִתְנַחֵם* Prov. 26, 26. Also before *ש* Ec. 7, 16, before *ר* Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis should likewise take place when *ה* and *ז* meet, and the *ה* should be changed into *ד*. Instead of this the *ה* has been assimilated with the *ז* in the only instance of this kind. *הִזְדַּח Is. 1, 16*.

3. The significations of *Hithpā'el*.—a) Most frequently it is reflexive, but chiefly of *Pi'el*, as *הִתְקַדַּשׁ to sanctify one's self*, *הִתְנַקֵּם to avenge one's self*, *הִתְחַבֵּר to gird one's self*. Then

See also in the Hebrew *אֶתְחַבֵּר* 2 Ch. 20, 35, cf. Ps. 76, 6.

further it means, *to make one's self* that which is expressed by the first conjugation; hence, *to conduct one's self* as such, *to show one's self*, *to imagine one's self*, *to affect to be such*; properly *to make one's self* so and so, *to act so and so*; e. g. **התגדל** *to make one's self great, to act proudly*; **התחכם** *to show one's self cunning, crafty*, also (Ec. 7, 16) *to fancy one's self wise*; **התעשר** *to make (i. e. to feign) one's self rich*. Its signification sometimes coincides with that of Qāl, and both forms are in use with the same meaning, e. g. **אבל** *to mourn*, found in Qāl only in poetry, in Hithp. in prosa, and it can then even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).—*b*) It expresses *reciprocal action* (like Niph. § 51, 2, *b*), as **התראו** *to look upon one another* Gen. 42, 1.—*c*) More frequently it expresses what one does more directly *to or for himself* (comp. Niph. § 51, 2, *c*). It has then an active signification, and governs an accusative, e. g. **הרפשט** *exuit sibi (vestem)*, **התפחה** *solvit sibi (vincula)*. So without the accusative **התהלך** *to walk about for one's self (ambulare)*.—*d*) Only seldom it is *passive*, e. g. **השתכח** *to be forgotten* Ec. 8, 10. Comp. Niph'al, § 51, 2, *d*.

Rem. 1. The passive *Hithpāl* is found only in the few following examples: **הטמא** *to be made unclean* Deut. 24, 4, **הכבס** *to be washed* Lev. 13, 55, 56, **הרשעה** (for **התרחשעה**, see § 20, 3, *b*) *it is glutted with fat* Is. 34, 6. Comp. also **התקדר**; see Rem. 4.

2. *Denominatives* with the reflexive signification are **התירח** *to embrace Judaism* (i. e. *to make one's self a Jew*), from **ירחיה** *Jew*; **התציד** *to provision one's self for a journey*, from **צידה**.

3. The Perf. has often, as in Pī'el, *Pāthāch* (or *Qā'mēš* in verbs ל"א) in the final syllable, as **התחזק** *to strengthen one's self* 2 Ch. 13, 7, 15, 8, **התקדש** *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. Final *Pāthāch* occurs also in the Impf. and Imp., as **התחכם** *he deems himself wise* Ec. 7, 16. In pause these forms always take *Qā'mēš*, as **התאגד** *he has girded himself* Ps. 93, 1, **התאבל** Ez. 7, 27, **התעבד** Job 38, 30, **התהלך** Job 18, 8; **התקדש** *sanctify thyself* Josh. 8, 5. But in the Part. always *Sērē*, e. g. **מתקדם** Ps. 8, 3, Is. 45, 15.—As in Pī'el **התקבלה** (§ 52, Rem. 2), so in Hithp. **תתקבלה** Zech. 6, 7.

4. To this Reflexive **התקטל** (apparently from Pī'el) are commonly reckoned also some reflexive forms of the verb **תקד** (*to muster*), which do not double the middle radical and have under the first a long *ā* (*Qā'mēš*), namely **התקדרי** Judg. 20, 15, Impf. **התקדרי** Judg. 21, 9, together with the passive form **התקדרי** Num. 1, 47, 2, 33, 26, 62, 1 K. 20, 27. But these forms appear rather to be a reflexive of *Qāl*, with the

sense to *present oneself at the muster, to be mustered*, after the manner of the Aram. *Ithpē'el* (West. Aram. אִתְּפַעֵל, Syr. اِثْطَعِلْ) and of the Ethiopic *tagat'ela*, also Arab. *'igtat'ala* (which has *always* the *t* transposed behind the first radical (see above in No. 2, p. 138).—Such a reflexive of *Qal* (also with the *t* transposed) is to be recognised in הלחחם (i. e. הלחחם after the analogy of the O. Test. Hebrew) in the Moabite inscription of king Mēsha' (§ 2, 2), in the sense of the O. Test. *Niphal* נלחח to *fight or wage war* (see lines 11, 15, 19 and 32 of the Inscription, the two former lines showing נלחחם in the *Impf.* with the *Wāw* consecutive; on line 19 *infin.* with *suff.* בִּהִלְחַחְמָה בִּי *by his fighting with me*).

§ 55.

RARER CONJUGATIONS.

Of the unusual conjugations (§ 39, 4) some are connected, in form, with *Pi'el*, and are made by the doubling or repetition of one or more stem-letters, or by the lengthening of a vowel, i. e. by changes *within* the stem itself; others are analogous to *Hiph'il*, and are formed by the addition of prefix letters or syllables. To the former class besides a *passive*, distinguished by the vowels, belongs also a *reflexive* form with the prefix הִתְ, after the analogy of *Hithpā'el*.

Those which are analogous to *Pi'el*, and which follow it in their inflection, are—

1. *Pō'el*; as קוּשַׁל, pass. *Pō'āl* קוּשַׁל, reflex. *Hithpō'el* הִתְקוּשַׁל (corresp. to Conj. III. and VI. in the Ar. *qātālā*, pass. *qātīlā*, reflex. *tāqātālā*) *Impf.* יְקוּשַׁל, *Part.* מְקוּשַׁל, *Impf. pass.* יִקְוּשַׁל, etc. Accordingly in Heb. the *ō* of the first syllable is everywhere inflected from the *ā* whilst the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a* sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations occur but very seldom. Examples are:—*Part.* מְשַׁטִּי *my opponent at law* Job 9, 15, יוֹדְעָתִי *I have appointed* 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless we ought to read יוֹדְעָתִי), שָׂרַשׁ *to take root*, pass. שָׁרַשׁ, denom. from שָׂרַשׁ *root*; of *Hithpō'el* Jer. 25, 18, 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (*part.* מִתְנַאֵץ for מְתַנַּחֵץ). In verbs עָנַע (§ 67) it is more frequent, e. g. רוּיֵל, סוּבֵב, רוּיֵן.

The *signification* of *Pō'el* is, like that of *Pi'el*, often causative of *Qāl*. Sometimes both *Pō*. and *Pi*. are in use in the same signification, as רוּצֵץ and רָצַץ *to oppress*; sometimes each has its peculiar shade of meaning, as סָבֵב *to turn about, to change*, סוּבֵב *to go about, to sur-*

round; הָלַל to exult, הִלֵּל to make foolish (from הָלַל to be brilliant, but also to be vainglorious, foolish); הִנֵּן to make pleasant, הִינֵן to commiserate; שָׁרַשׁ to root out, שָׁרַשׁ to take root.

With קֹטֵל may be connected the formation of quadrilaterals that insert a liquid at the end of the first syllable, as קֹטֵל (§ 30, 3, § 56).

2. *Pī'le'l, Pī'la'l, Pū'lāl, Hithpā'le'l*; as *שָׁקַף* and *שָׁקַף* (*ī* atten. from original *ā*, so final *ē=ī=ā*), pass *שָׁקַף*, reflex *שָׁקַף*, like the Arabic Conj. IX. *'igtāllā*, and XI. *'igtāllā*, used especially of permanent states or of colours, as *שָׁקַף* to be at rest, *שָׁקַף* to be green; pass. *שָׁקַף* to be withered; but of all these verbs there is no example in Qāl. It is more frequent in verbs "ע", where it takes the place of Pi. and Hithp. (§ 72, 7).—See also § 75, Rem. 18.

3. *Pe'āl'āl*; as קָטַלְטַל with repetition of the last two stem-letters, used especially of slight motions in quick succession, e. g. סָהַרְהַר *to go about with quick motion*, hence (of the heart) *to palpitate* Ps. 38, 11, from סָהַר *to go about; pass.* הִמְזַמְזַר *to ferment with violence, to make a rumbling sound* Lam. 1, 20, 2, 11, Job 16, 6. Nouns of this form are *diminutives* (§ 84, 23). Nearly related to this is—

4. *Pilpēl*, formed from verbs ע"ע and פ"פ, by doubling both of the essential stem-letters; as גלגל *to roll*, from גל=גלל, *reflex*. הציגל *to roll one's self*; כבכל, from כב (כזול).¹ This also is used of motion quickly repeated, which all languages are prone to express by repetition² of the same sound, צצצ *to chirp*, צלצל *to tinkle*, גרגר *to gurgle*, צפצף *to flit or flutter* (from צפ *to fly*).

With *Hiph'il* are connected the following—

5. *Tiph'el*: as **תקל**, with **ת** prefixed, as **תקל**⁸ *to teach to walk*,

¹ Hence the passive *Polpal* פִּלְפַּל 1 K. 20, 27; so too from שָׁנַע we get *Polp'el* שָׁנַעַע to caress Ps. 94, 19. *Polpal* שָׁנַעַע to be fondled Is. 66, 12, and from יָסַח prob. comes in *Polp.* יָסַחַח Ps. 45, 3.—Tr.

² Compare Lat. *tinnio*, *tintinnus* (=our ding-dong) and in German *Tick-tack* (=our tick-tack), *Wirrwarr*, *Klingklang* (=our clink-clank) The repetition of the same letter in verbs צ"ץ produces also the same effect; as in פפץ to *luck*, פפץ to *beat*, פפץ to *trip along* The same thing is expressed also by diminutive forms, comp. in Lat. the termination *-illo*, as in *cantillo*, in Germ. *-eln*, *ern*, in *flimmern*, *trullern*, *troffeln* (comp. our *drip*, *dribble*). Hence we may discern the relation, mentioned under No. 3, between these forms and the *diminutives*. Comp. *F. A. Pott*, *Doppelung*, Lemgo, 1862, 8vo.

³ Both רָגַל and תְּרָגֵם are probably kindred forms of the stem רָגַל = רָגַל = רָגַל = רָגַל = רָגַל = Aram. רָגַל: all traceable to the monosyllabic or ultimate root רָג = Ar. رَج = Sans. rag = G. regen = E. wrig = W. rhiglo, and all meaning to stir or move, and used especially of the feet, tongue, etc., and hence to walk, talk, translate, etc. Hence come תְּרָגִים (Targūm) interpretation or version, and תְּרָגֻמָן (interpreter) = E. dragoman = Fr. trucheman.—Tr.

to lead (*denom* from רגל *a foot*), in a ל"ה stem, וְהָלַךְ, *Impf.* וְהָלַךְ to *vie with* Jer. 12, 5, 22, 15 (from הָלַךְ to *be hot, eager*) The Aram. has a similar form, תַּרְגַּם to *interpret*, whence also the Heb. has the *Part. pass* מְתַרְגֵּם Ezra 4, 7.

6. *Shāph'el*, as שָׁפַט, frequent in Syr., as Aram. שָׁפַט, Syr. שָׁפַט, to *flame*, from לָחַב In Hebrew it is found only in the noun שֹׁלֵה־בַח *flame*, § 84, No 34, but this conjugation may underlie the Hiph'il, with ח for ש, see *Davies' Heb. Lex.* p. 608 Compare § 39, 4, Rem

* * * *

Forms of which single examples occur — 7. קָטַט, *pass.* קָטַט, as מִסְכָּס *scaled off, having the form of scales* Ex 18, 14, from חָסַק = חָשַׁק to *peel, to shell* — 8. חָזַק, as וְזָרַח a *violent rain*, from זָרַח. — 9. נִתְקַשַּׁל (frequent in the Rabbinic), a form compounded of Niph. and Hithp, found in the examples נִתְסַרְסוּ for נִתְסַרְסוּ they *let themselves be warned* Ez. 23, 48, נִתְכַּסַּר for נִתְכַּסַּר to *be expiated* Deut. 21, 8.

We may mention also, as worthy of notice, — 10. the form חֲצוּצָרִים to *sound the trumpet*, commonly derived from the stem חָצַר But it is probably a *denom* from חֲצוּצָרָה a *trumpet*, an *onomatopoeic* (or *mimetic*) form like the old Latin *taratantara* for the sound of the *tuba*, Cinnius ap Servium ad *Æn.* 9, 503.

§ 56.

QUADRILITERALS.

Of the formation of quadriliterals we have already spoken (§ 30, 3) The few verbs of this kind (of nouns there are more) are formed after the analogy of Pī'el, once after Hiph'il. The following are all the examples that occur:—

Perf פָּרַשׁ he *spread out* Job 26, 9 (with Pāthāch in the first syllable, as in Aram)¹ *Impf.* יִפְרֹסְהוּ he *will devour it* Ps. 80, 14, רָפָא cf פָּרַשׁ. *Pass* יִרְשַׁע to *become green again* Job 33, 25. *Part.* מְרַפֵּא 1 Ch 15, 27 Like Hiph'il is מְשַׁמָּאל (contracted מְשַׁמָּאל) to *turn to the left* (denominative from שָׁמַל) Gen 13, 9, Is. 80, 21.

¹ But Delitzsch more properly regards this as the *inf absol* of a Pī'el form of פָּרַשׁ with an euphonic change of the first ש into פ and the second into ר Besides this, there are also many evidences in favor of the reading מְרַפֵּא and this has therefore been accepted by Baer in his text of Job.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

Paradigm C.

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal Pronoun which follows a verb active may be expressed—*a*) by a distinct word, אֶת the accusative-sign with the *suffix-pronoun* (§ 117, 2), as קָטַל אֹתוֹ (*he has killed him*); or—*b*) by the mere *suffix*, as קָטַלְהוּ or קָטַלְהוּ (*he has killed him*). The second method is the usual one (§ 33), and it is only of it we now treat.² Neither of these forms is employed when the accusative of the Pronoun is reflexive, in which case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Nīph'al and Hīthpā'el (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself* not קָדַשׁ, which would only signify *he sanctified him*.

Two points are here concerned, viz., the form of the suffix, and the changes in the verbal form in consequence of appending it. The former is exhibited in § 58 and the latter in § 59—61.

§ 58.

THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES OF THE VERB.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal Pronoun*; and they are the following:—

¹ We treat of this subject here in connection with the strong or regular verb, in order to show in it the general analogy. As to the weak or irregular verbs, the mode of shortening their forms before the suffixes will be noticed under each class.

² On the cases where the former must be employed, see § 121, 4, Rem.

Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>com.</i> אני; אני (in pause אני); אני <i>me.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> אנכי; אנכי <i>us.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ הָ, הָ, } (^{e}khā), \text{ in} \\ \text{pause הָ, also הָ} \\ f. \text{ הֶ; הֶ, הֶ; } ra- \\ \text{rely הֶ} \end{array} \right\} \text{thee.}$	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ כֶּם, כֶּם} \\ f. \text{ כֶּן, כֶּן} \end{array} \right\} \text{you.}$
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ הוּהָ, הוּ; הוּהָ, (הוּ),} \\ \text{הוּ; הוּהָ} \\ f. \text{ הִי, הִי; הִי; הִי} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{him.} \\ \text{her.} \end{array}$	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ הֵם, } ^1 \text{ם; ם; (contr.} \\ \text{from הֵם), ם; } \\ \text{ם; (contr. from} \\ \text{הֵם), ם; poet.} \\ \text{מִי, מִי, מִי} \\ f. \text{ הֵנּוּ, } ^1 \text{נּוּ; נּוּ, נּוּ, נּוּ} \end{array} \right\} \text{them.}$

2. That these suffixes are *shortened forms of the personal Pronoun* is for the most part quite clear; and only some of them require explanation.

The suffixes אני, אני, הוּ and הִי never have the tone, but the syllable preceding them always takes it.

In the suffix of the 2d person (הָ, הֶ, כֶּם, כֶּן) the basis appears to be a lost form of the pronoun אַתָּה with כֶּ instead of ת (אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּם), which was employed here perhaps in order to distinguish the suffixes from the affirmatives of the Perfect (§ 44, 1).

In the 3d person *masc.*, out of הוּהָ, by rejecting the feeble *h*, there arose *ū-u*, and thence often by contraction *ō* (§ 23, 4) usually written הִי, much more seldom הוּ. In the *fem.*, the suffixes from הִיָּהּ ought, according to analogy, to sound הִי, הִי, הִי; but instead of הִי, we have, for the sake of euphony, simply הִי, where the ה is regularly a consonant,

¹ הֵם occurs but once as *verbal* suffix (Deut 32, 26); הִי not at all. Yet they are given in the list as *ground-forms*, which frequently occur with nouns and prepositions.

² Traces of this lost form appear still in the affirmatives of the Ethiopic verb, as *gatalka* (thou hast killed), and also in the Samaritan (see *Gesenii Carmina Samaritana*, *Anecdota Orientalia*, p. 43; *Petermann*, *Brevis linguae Samarit. grammatica* etc. Berol. 1873 p. 21). Comp. what was said on קָטַלְתָּי in § 44, 1. The *t* and *k* are not infrequently interchanged in languages generally (see § 33, 3, Note 1).

2. By comparing these suffixes of verbs with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91), we find that—*a*) there is here a greater variety of forms than there (because the forms and relations of the verb are themselves more various);—*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer, as נִי, נִי־, נִי־ (me), יִי־ (my). The reason is, that the object of the verb is less closely connected with it than the possessive pronoun is with the noun; on which account, also, the former may even be expressed by a separate word (§ 117, 2).

4. The suffix gains still more strength, when instead of the union-vowels there is inserted between it and the verb a union-syllable, נ־, which, when the syllable has the tone, becomes נֹן (commonly called *Nûn epenthetic* or *Nûn demonstrative*), which, however, occurs only in the Imperfect and chiefly in *pause*, e. g. יְבַרְכֶהּ he will bless her (Ps. 72, 15), יְכַבְּרֶנִי he will honour me (Ps. 50, 23). This *Nûn* is, however, for the most part incorporated with the suffixes, and hence we get a new series of forms, viz.—

1st pers. נִי־נֹן, נִי־נֹן, for נִי־נֹן, נִי־נֹן;

2d pers. נִי־נֹן, once נִי־נֹן (Jer. 22, 24) and *Pause* נִי־נֹן (Prov. 2, 11);

3d pers. נִי־נֹן for נִי־נֹן, also נֹן (Num. 23, 13); fem. נִי־נֹן for נִי־נֹן;

1st pers. plur. נִי־נֹן for נִי־נֹן.

In the other persons this *Nûn* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* written distinctly are rare and only poetic (Ex. 15, 2, Deut. 32, 10, Jer. 5, 22, 22, 24), and do not occur at all in 3 fem. sing. and 1 plur. The contracted forms (with the *Nûn* assimilated) are rather frequent also in prose, especially in *pause*, (very seldom נִי־ as first pers. pl. Hosea 12, 5; comp. יְכַבְּרֶנִי Gen. 44, 16, 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for נִי־נֹן).

This *Nûn* is of a demonstrative nature, and gives more emphasis to the word, and is therefore chiefly found in *pause*. But it occurs also in the union of the suffixes with certain particles (§ 100, 5).

It is frequent in West. Aram.; in Samaritan it is appended also to the Perfect, and in similar cases even a ׀ is inserted (*Petermann, gramm. Samar.* p. 12 ff.). In the Syriac we find *i* and *ai* inserted in the same way. The Arabic too has a corresponding emphatic form of the Imperfect with the pronominal suffixes, as *yaktulan-ka* or *yagtullanna-ka*, which is however used also without suffixes. Comp. § 48, 2.

§ 59

THE PERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The personal endings (*afformatives*) of the Perfect have in part a different form, when connected with the suffixes; viz.—

- a) In the 3 *sing. fem.* הָ—, הָ—, the original feminine-ending, for הָ—;
- b) 2 *sing. mas.* הָ, also הָ, to which the union-vowel is attached, but the only clear instance of this is with הָ—¹;
- c) 2 *sing. fem.* הָ, likewise an older form for הָ (comp. אָחִי, קָטְלָתִי, § 32, Rem. 4; § 44, Rem. 4). This form is to be distinguished from the 1st pers. sing. only by the context.
- d) 2 *plur. mas.* הָ for הָ, which is explained by the Arabic *'antum, qatallum*, West. Aram. אָחִין, קָטְלָחִין for Heb. אָחִים, קָטְלָחִים (§ 32, Rem. 5). Examples are found only in Num. 20, 5, 21, 5, Zech. 7, 5. The *fem* קָטְלָחִי with suffixes does not occur, but probably it took the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit, first, the forms of the Perfect in *Hiph'il* as they appear in connection with suffixes, because here no further change takes place in the stem itself, except as to the tone (see No. 2):

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 <i>m.</i> הָקְטִיל	3 <i>c.</i> הָקְטִילוּ
3 <i>f.</i> הָקְטִילָה	
2 <i>m.</i> הָקְטִילָה, הָקְטִילָה	2 <i>m.</i> הָקְטִילוּ
2 <i>f.</i> הָקְטִילָה, הָקְטִילָה	
1 <i>c.</i> הָקְטִילָה	1 <i>c.</i> הָקְטִילוּ

The beginner is recommended to practise first the manner of connecting the suffixes with this *Hiph'il*-form, and then to take up that with the Perf. of Qāl (see No. 2).

2. The tone inclines towards the appended suffix, so that it does not readily remain on the stem itself. And this

¹ The short *a* here also belongs properly to the form of the verb itself. See Note ¹, under § 58, 3, *b*.

occasions, particularly in the Perfect of *Qāl*, certain vowel changes, *a*) the *Qā'mēš* of the 1st syllable no longer standing before the tone, becomes vocal *Shēwā*; *b*) the original *Pūthāch* of the 2d syllable, which had disappeared in the third person sing. and plur. appears anew lengthened into *Qā'mēš*; likewise original *ī* becomes *ē* e. g. אֶהְיֶה 1 Sam. 18, 22; in consequence of which we have the following forms in that tense:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 m. קָטַל	3 c. קָטְלוּ
3 f. קָטְלוּ	
2 m. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, Rem. 4)	2 m. קָטַלְתֶּם
2 f. קָטַלְתִּי (קָטַלְתִּי, Rem. 4)	
1 c. קָטַלְתִּי	1 c. קָטַלְתֶּם

The connection of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in Paradigm C. There it will be seen, too, how the *Šerē* in the Perfect *Pī'el* changes sometimes into *Sēghól*, and sometimes into vocal *Shēwā*.

Rem. 1. The *suffixes* for the 2d pers. pl., כָּם and כֵּן, are (together with דָּם and יָן) rather more weighty (i. e. more strongly accented) forms than the others, and hence are called *grave suffixes*, and always have the tone. Compare their connection with *nouns* in § 91. With a verb in the Perfect we find only כָּם occurring (Ps. 118, 26). The form קָטַל which is generally represented as a form of combination before כָּם and כֵּן in the 3d sing. masc. (also by Kimchi and in Parad. C. in this grammar) is only formed from analogy and, according to *Abraham de Balmis* it is without any example in the Old Testament.

2. In the 3 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּ is very often contracted into קָטְלִי, according to § 23, 4, and so likewise in the 2 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּ into קָטְלִי.

3. The 3 *sing. fem.* קָטַלְתִּי (= קָטַלְתָּ) has the twofold peculiarity—*a*) that the ending *ath* constantly draws the tone to itself,¹ and then takes the suffixes that make a syllable of themselves (נִי, דִּי, רִי, תִּי, מִי) without a union-vowel, contrary to the general rule (§ 58, 3, *a*);—*b*) with the other suffixes the union-vowel is indeed adopted, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they appear with shortened vowels (אֶהְיֶה, אֶהְיֶה e. g. אֶהְיֶה אִתְּךָ *she loves thee* Ruth 4, 15, in many MSS. (אֶהְיֶה), שָׂרַחְתָּם *it burned them* Is. 47, 14, גָּנְבָתָם *she has stolen them* Gen. 31, 32. For אֶהְיֶה etc., we find in *pause* אֶהְיֶה Ps. 69, 10, אֶהְיֶה Cant. 8, 5, and also without *pause*, for the sake of correspondence

¹ אֶהְיֶה in Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. כָּם and כֵּן would probably have the tone even here (Rem. 1), but no examples occur in O. T.

in sound, הִבְלִיחָהּ (*she has born thee*) in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The forms קָטַלְתָּהּ and קָטַלְתָּהּ are *contr.* from קָטַלְתָּהּ (in *pause* קָטַלְתָּהּ Is. 59, 16) and קָטַלְתָּהּ, after the analogy of נָהַ—, for נָהַ— (§ 58, 4).

4. In the 2 *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have therefore no union-vowel, e. g. זָנַחְתָּנִי פָרַצְתָּנִי *thou hast rejected us, hast scattered us* Ps. 60, 3; only with 1 *p. sing.* we have קָטַלְתָּנִי (from קָטַלְתָּ and נִי—) e. g. הִקְרַחְתָּנִי *thou searchest me* Ps. 139, 1, but also in *pause* עָזַבְתָּנִי *thou hast forsaken me* Ps. 22, 2.—In the 2 *sing. fem.* רָחַ is written also defectively, as in רָחַמְתָּנִי *thou (fem.) hast deceived me* 1 Sam. 19, 17, יָלַדְתָּנִי Jer. 15, 10, Cant. 5, 9, Ex. 2, 10, a few times the suff. is attached to the shorter form (רָחַ—), as in הִשְׁבַּחְתָּנִי *thou (fem.) adjurest us* Cant. 5, 9, Josh. 2, 17, comp. Jer. 2, 27; and with שְׁעָרַי *thou (fem.) hast let us down* Josh. 2, 18.

5. In verbs *middle E*, the *E* remains before the suffixes, e. g. בָּשַׁם *he puts them on* Lev. 16, 4, אָהַבְתָּ *he loves thee* Deut. 15, 16, אָהַבְתָּהּ *she loved him* 1 Sam. 18, 28. From a verb *middle O*, we have יָהַלְתִּי *I have subdued him* Ps. 13, 5, with a shortened *o* in a syllable that has lost the tone (§ 44, Rem. 3).

§ 60.

IMPERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In the forms of the Imperfect *Qāl*, which end with the last stem-letter, the vowel *ō* of the final syllable is shortened generally to *e*, *simple Shewâ vocal* (—), at times to *o*, *Châtē'ph-q'âmēš* (—) Jer. 31, 33; but to *ö*, *Qāmēš-chā'û'ph* (—), before ח—, כם—, כן—. Instead of הַקְטַלְתָּהּ the form הַקְטַלְתִּי² is used as 2nd and 3rd person, Cant. 1, 6, Jer. 2, 19, Job 19, 15. The forms with *Nûn demonstrative* (§ 58, 4) are very apt to stand at the end of the clause or sentence.

Rem. 1. Verbs with *Impf. A* (to which belong specially all that have a *guttural* for the 2d or the 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65) retain the full *A* in the *Impf.* (and also the *Imp.* § 61, 2), and the *Päthäch*, when it comes to stand in an open syllable, is lengthened into *Qāmēš*, e. g. וַיִּקְרַעְתִּי *and it put me on* Job 29, 14, וַיִּבְדְּדוּהוּ *let them demand it back* Job 8, 5, וַיִּשְׁלָחוּם *and he sent them* Josh. 8, 3, וַיִּקְרָאוּהוּ *they call upon him* Ps. 145, 18.

2. Occasionally, as exceptions, *suffixes* with the union-vowel *a*,

¹ Comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6, Is. 34, 17, Jer. 49, 24, Ruth 3, 6; in *pause* Ez. 14 15, everywhere, according to *Kimchi* without *Mappiq* in the closing ח. The form הַקְטַלְתָּהּ is found 1 Sam. 18, 28 in *pause*.

² This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix in Jer. 49, 11, Ez. 37, 7.

occur also in the Imperfect, as in יִלְכָּשׁוּ Ex. 29, 30; comp. 2, 17, Gen. 19, 19, 29, 32; even יִרְדּוּ (*ô* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3: Comp. Ps. 35, 8, etc.

3. The *suffixes* are at times appended also to the plural forms in ךְּ, e. g. יַדְּכָאֵנִי *ye crush me* Job 19, 2; elsewhere always without a union-vowel, as in יִצְאֵנִי *they shall find me* Prov. 1, 28, Is. 60, 7, 10, Jer. 5, 22.

4. In *Pi*, the *Šērê* of the final syllable, like the *Chōlēm* in *Qāl*, becomes *Shēwā*; but before the suffixes הֶ—, בֶּ—, יֶ— it is only shortened into *Sēghôl*, e. g. יִקְצֹץ *he will gather thee* Deut. 30, 4 (with final guttural יִשְׁלַח Gen. 32, 27), more rarely into *Chîrêg*, as אֶמְצֶנֶךָ *I will strengthen you* Job 16, 5; comp. Ex. 31, 13, Is. 25, 1.

5. In *Hiph*, the long *i* remains, as in תִּלְבֹּשׁנִי *thou clothest me* Job 10, 11; after ר consecutive frequently written defectively e. g. יִלְבֹּשֶׁנִי Gen. 3, 21; and only rarely we meet with forms like תִּשְׁרֹחֵנִי *thou enrichest it* Ps. 65, 10, 1 Sam. 17, 25. Comp. § 53, Rem. 4.

§ 61.

INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND PARTICIPLE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The *Infinitive* of a *verb active* can be construed with an accusative, and then it takes the *verbal suffix* (i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronouns), as קָטַלְנִי *to kill me*; but as a *noun* it can take also the *nominal suffix* (i. e. the *genitive* of the personal pronoun) as קָטַלִּי *my killing* (see § 133, 1, 2). In either case it usually assumes in *Qāl* the form קָטַל, with the *ô* drawn backward. The syllable which is created thus is a slightly closed one, e. g. בָּרָחוּ by his writing Jer. 45, 1 (not בָּרָחוּ *kôth-bô* § 21, 2, a); only before הֶ—, כֶּ— there is a complete closing e. g. בָּאֲסָפָה Exod. 23, 16, Lev. 23, 39, if the throwing back of the vowel is not omitted altogether (v. Rem. 2). Comp. the *segholate nouns* of the form קָטַל, with which קָטַל is closely related, § 84, Nos. 10, 11, and § 93, Parad. I.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* of the form שָׁכַב becomes with suffixes שָׁכַבְתָּ Gen. 19, 33, instead of שָׁכַבְתָּ, *â* attenuated to *î*.

2. Before הֶ—, בֶּ—, יֶ—, forms are found which depart from the analogy of *segholate nouns*, e. g. אָכַלְתָּ *your eating* Gen. 3, 5 אָמַדְתָּ *thy standing* Obad. 11; but this analogy is followed in קָצַרְתָּ *your harvesting* Lev. 19, 9 (restoring orig. *û*), and מָאֲסַתָּ *your contemning* Is. 30, 12. In the *infinitive* of the *Piel* the *ê* of the Suff. הֶ—, בֶּ—, יֶ— is changed into *Sēghôl* e. g. יִקְצֹץ Ex. 4, 10, or attenuated into *î* e. g. יִשְׁרָטָה Is. 1, 15 (v. § 60, 4).

2. The leading form of the *Imperative* in *Qāl* (קָטַל) takes the *suffixes* in the same form as the *Infinitive*. In קָטַלְנִי (pronounced qəṭʕilēnī) the *Sh'wā* is very slightly heard, hence we have e. g. רָדְחֵנִי rōḏḥ'phēnī, without Dāghēsh in the נ (§ 21, 2, a). The forms קָטַלְנִי, קָטַלְנָה, which are not presented in the Paradigm, suffer no change. For the *fem.* קָטַלְנָה the masculine form קָטַל is used, as in the Imperfect.—In the verbs that form the *Imperative* with *A* (to which belong especially those that have a *guttural* in the 2d or 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65), as in שְׁלַח, the *A* remains before the suffixes but is lengthened into *Qā'mēš*, because it comes to stand in an open syllable (just as in the *Impf.* *A*, § 60, Rem. 1), e. g. שְׁלַחְנִי send thou me Is. 6, 8, בְּהַנֵּנִי prove thou me Ps. 26, 2. קְרָאֵנִי call thou me Ps. 50, 15, שְׁמַעְנִי Gen. 23, 8. בִּצְעֵם Amos 9, 1 is abnormal (for בִּצְעֵם) with toneless *ām* as in the *perf.* after 3d sing. *fem.* § 59, Rem. 3. In the *Imp.* of *Hiph'il*, not the form הִקְטַל, but הִקְטִיל is used (*i* on account of the open syllable); e. g. הִקְרִיבֵהּ offer it Mal. 1, 8.

3. The *Participles* shorten their vowels in the same way as *nouns* of the like form do, e. g. רֹדֵף, קָטַל etc. On the contrary before the *Sh'wā mobile* יֹצֵר etc., or by sharpening אֹיֵב Exod. 23, 4, אֹסֵף 2 K. 22, 20; from מַקְטֵל is formed מַקְטִיל, מַקְטֵלָה etc. (by sharpening *ē* into *ī*, Is. 52, 12).

On the difference between קָטַל (my killing one) and קָטַלְנִי (killing me) see § 135, 2.

II. THE WEAK VERB.¹

A. VERBS WITH GUTTURALS.

§ 62.

Paradigms D. E. F.

Verbs which have a *guttural* for one of the three stem-letters deviate from the strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These deviations do not change the stem consonants and therefore can only in part be taken for actual

¹ See the general view of the classes of verbs, in § 41.

weakness, as in the omission of the doubling (by *Dāghēsh forte*, § 63, 4 and § 64, 3), on the other hand, a few original elements have been preserved in guttural stems whilst they have degenerated in the regular strong verb. For instance in forms like יָחַד (§ 63, 2), the original *ā* of the preformative is kept (§ 47, 2), which is weakened into *i* in the so-called strong verb, as in יָקַח. Of course the א and ה come into account here only when they retain their power as consonants, and are not substitutes for vowels as the א in a part of the verbs א"פ, § 68, as well as in some א"ע § 73, Rem. 4 and in all א"ל § 74. In all these cases the א is originally a full consonant, while ה in verbs ה"ל was never anything else but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The real consonant ה at the end of the word is known by the *Mappiq*—but the ה shares only partially in these anomalies (§ 22, 5). For more convenient representation, we distinguish the three cases in which the guttural stands first, second, or third in the stem. The three Paradigms, D, E and F, where only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular, exhibit the inflections, which are more fully explained in the following sections (63–65).

§ 63.

VERBS PĒ (פ) GUTTURAL.

E. g. עָמַד to stand. Paradigm D.

The deviations here from the regular verb may be reduced to the following particulars:—

1. When the first stem-letter, at the beginning of the word, would regularly have a *simple Shewa* (קָטָן, קָטָן), it takes here always a *composite Shewa* (*Chāṭēph* § 10, 2, § 22, 3); e. g. *Inf.* עָמַד to stand, אָכַל to eat, *Perf.* עָמַדְתָּ, עָמַדְתָּ from חָשַׁב to be inclined.

2. When a preformative is placed before a guttural, they either form together a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative appears again as *Chāṭēph* under the guttural. In both cases a double formation may again be distinguished

according as the original *ā* remains or is attenuated into *ī*. Examples *a*) for closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative: *יחַמַּד*, *יחַמַּל*, *יחַשַּׁב* etc. (and thus mostly with initial ה in *Impf. Qal*, sometimes with forms repeating *ā* as *Châteph* under the guttural e. g. *יחַשַּׁב* etc.); the same in the *impf. Hiph'il* *יחַסִּיר* etc. Very rarely the original *ā* is found in a closed syllable under the *preform.* נ of the *Perf.* *Niph'al*: *נִחַבְּאָה* Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2, Jos. 2, 16; on the other hand *ā* occurs very frequently under the preformative followed by *Châteph Pāthāch* e. g. *נִעְשָׂה* etc. likewise in the *Particip.* *נִעְרָץ* Ps. 89, 8 etc. *b*) slightly closed, with *Châteph* after the original vowel: *יחַלַּם*, *יַעֲמֹד*, *יַהֲרֹם* (and so almost always with פ and ה in *Impf. Qāl* and *Hiph'il*; *יַעֲמֹד*, *יַעֲמֹד* in *Höph'al*). — The *ī* attenuated from *ā* is almost always changed before gutturals into *S'ghôl* (comp. however Rem. 5); this *S'ghôl* appears partly *c*) in closed syllables e. g. *יחַסֵּר*, *יחַבֵּשׁ*, *יחַפֵּץ*, *יחַשֵּׁם* and so almost always in the *Impf. Qāl* with *ā* in the 2d syllable (comp. however Rem. 2); in *Niph.* e. g. *יחַפֵּץ* etc., in *Hiph.* *יחַסִּיר* etc., and partly *d*) slightly closed, followed by *Châteph S'ghôl* e. g. *יחַשֵּׁה*, *יחַסֵּה* in *Impf. Qāl* (however never with ע); *יחַעֲמִיד* *Hiph.* *יחַעֲמִיד* *Niph'al*.

Rem. In connection with the above examples the following remarks may be made: 1) The forms with the closed syllable (the so-called "hard combination" *a*) and *e*)) occur frequently in the verb by the side of forms with slightly closed syllables (the so-called "soft combinations" *b*) and *d*)). 2) In the 1. *sing. Impf. Qāl* the preformative Aleph receives continually —, whether in the slightly or firmly closed syllables. 3) The removal of the tone towards the end causes frequently a change of the *Pāthāch* of the preformative into *S'ghôl* and *vice versa*, e. g. *נִעְשָׂה*, but 3. *sing. fem.* *נִעְשָׂהָ*, *יִאָסֶה*, but *יִאָסֶהָ*, *יִחַבֵּר*, but *יִחַבֵּרָהָ* etc., and thus almost always with the change of the *Châteph S'ghôl* group into the lighter *Châteph Pāthāch* group, whenever the tone is removed one place farther back (comp. § 27. Rem. 5). 4) In all these examples cited above *S'ghôl* may also be considered as a modulation of the original short *Pāthāch*. In this case all the formations of the *verba primæ gutturalis* (Pē guttural verbs) would be based on a restoration of the original vowel of the preformatives. Compare however the same change from *ī* to *ē* in the Imper. (Rem. 1).

3. When in forms like *יַעֲמִיד*, *יַעֲמִיד*, the vowel of the final syllable is changed into *simple Sh'wā* vocal, on account of the

accession of one of the affirmatives (ה, —, ה), then the composite *Sh'wā* of the guttural changes to the corresponding short vowel, as גַּעְמַד plur. גַּעְמָדִי (sound *yā-ām'-dhū'*), נִצְוָה *she is forsaken*. But here also there exists a harder form besides, as יָחַבְלוּ *they take a pledge* (also יִחַבְלוּ), יָחֻזְקוּ as well as יִחַזְקוּ *they are strong*. Compare in general § 22, 4, § 28, 3.

4. In the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* of *Niph.*, where the first stem-letter would regularly be doubled (יִקְטֹל; יִקְטֹל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative is lengthened into *Sē'rē*, as יִעֲמַד for יִעְמַד (§ 22, 1).

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. In verbs מִ"נ the *Inf. constr.* and *Imp.* take (—) under the first letter (according to § 22, 4, Rem. 2); hence אָזַר *gird thou* Job 38, 3, אָהַב *love thou* Hos. 3, 1, אָכַל *to eat*, with a prefix אָחַז 1 K. 6, 6; e. g. אָחַז Num. 26, 10.

Also in the other forms of the *Imp.*, the guttural often exerts its influence upon the vowel, which it changes to *S'ghôl*, as חִשְׁפִּי *strip thyself* Is. 47, 2, צִרְכָה (for צִרְךָ, w. ח cohort.) *set thyself* Job 33, 5; especially when the second radical also is a guttural, as אָחַז Ps. 31, 24. *Päthäch* occurs in יִחַבְלוּ *pledge him* Prov. 20, 16, and perhaps Ps. 9, 14 (חֲקִנִּי).

2 The *Imperfect A*, as the Paradigm shows, has regularly under the first two letters —; by those verbs which are at the same time מִ"נ; and with the hard combination — as יָחַל *he ceases*, יָחֵם *he is wise*. This is true likewise of some verbs *Pe Guttural*, which are also verbs מִ"נ, as יִרְוֶה *he sees*, יִרְוֶה *he divides*, but some are like יִנְשֵׂא, יִנְשֵׂא, יִנְשֵׂא. The pointing — is found even in verbs *Impf. O*, but less frequently, as יִאֲסֹף *he collects*, יִחַשֵׁף *he lays bare*. The form יִחַשֵׁף and *she loves* Ez. 23, 5, stands quite by itself.—In these forms the pointing — is frequently shortened to — (according to § 27, Rem. 5), as יִאֲסֹר *he binds*, plur. with suffix יִאֲסֹרֶיךָ, also יִחַשֵׁף. The form יִרְוֶה, Ps. 7, 6, which according to *Kimchi* is a mixed form derived from the *Qāl* (יִרְוֶה) and *Pi*. (יִרְוֶה), can be considered only as a further change from יִרְוֶה (comp. § 64, Rem. 3 יִרְוֶה); יִחַשֵׁף Ex. 9, 23 is similar.

II. On Hiph'ûl and Hôphâl.

3. The above-named (Rem. 2) shortening of — to — occurs here also in the *Perf. Hiph.* after *Wāw consec.*; i. e. after the throwing

forward of the tone, as *תָּעַבְרָתָּ* *thou didst set*, but with the *Wāw* *and thou shalt set* Num. 3, 6, 8, 13, 27, 19; *תָּעַבְרָתִי*, but *תָּעַבְרָתִי* Jer. 15, 14, Ez. 20, 37.

4. In the *Perf.* of *Hiph.*, *עָבַרְתָּ* is sometimes changed into *עָבַרְתָּ*, and *עָבַרְתָּ* into *עָבַרְתָּ* in *Hoph.*, by lengthening the short vowel, under the influence of the *Methēg*, e. g. *תָּעַבְרָתָּ* *thou leddest over* Josh. 7, 7, *הוֹעֵלָה* *he brings up* Hab. 1, 15; *הוֹעֵלָה* Judg. 6, 28, Nah. 2, 8. On an other case of this kind (*עָבַרְתָּ*) see § 64. 2. Something similar occurs with nouns of the so-called Segholate forms after *qōṭl* comp. § 93.

III. In General.

5. In the verbs *הָיָה* *to be* and *חָיָה* *to live* the guttural is almost wholly without influence in combination with the preformative; thus the *Impf. Qāl* *יִהְיֶה* and *יִחְיֶה* *Niph.* *יִהְיֶה*; only in *Perf. Hiph.* *הָיָה* (2. plur. *יִהְיֶה* Jos. 2, 13). Where initial *ה* and *ח* should have vocal *Shēwā* this is always replaced by *Chateph Sēghōl* e. g. *חָיָה*, *חָיָה*, *חָיָה*, *חָיָה* (except in 2. sing. fem. of the *Impf. Qāl*: *חָיָה* Gen. 24, 60 *חָיָה* Ez. 16, 6 and in *Inf.* *חָיָה* Jos. 5, 8); after the prefixes *י*, *ב*, *כ*, *ל*, however, the *Chat. Sēghōl* becomes *Shēwā* and the prefix takes *ī*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Shēwā*; therefore in *Perf. Qāl* *יָהִי*, *Imper.* *יָהִי*, *Inf.* *יָהִי*, *יָהִי* etc. The only exception is the 2. masc. of the *Imper.* after *Wāw*: *יָהִי* Gen. 12, 2, *יָהִי* Gen. 20, 7.

6. On verbs *נָפַח* in which the *נ* loses its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, see § 68.

§ 64.

VERBS 'ĀYĪN (ע) GUTTURAL.

E. g. *שָׁחַט* *to slaughter*. Paradigm B.

The deviations from the strong verb are less important in this class,¹ and are mainly as follows:—

1. Where a *simple Shēwā* is required, the guttural takes, nearly without exception, a *composite Shēwā*, viz. the *Chāṭēph-Ṭāḥ* (—); e. g. *Perf.* *שָׁחַט*, *Impf.* *יִשְׁחַט*, *Imp. Niph.* *יִשְׁחַט*. In the *Imp. Qāl* before the affirmatives *י* and *ו* the original *Pāṭhāch* occurs in the 1st syllable and is followed by *Chāṭēph-*

¹ *Hōph'āl*, which is not exhibited in the Paradigm, is inflected like *Qāl*: *Hiph'āl* is regular.

Pāthāch, the syllable being only slightly closed; but in אָהַבּ the preference of the א for *Sēghol* has caused the change from *ā* to *ē* and in שָׁהַר Job 6, 22 the *ī* remains before a hard guttural.

So in the *Inf. Qāl* w. *suf.* as in Is 9, 6 סָעָדָה to support it (but צָעָדָה thy marching Judg. 5, 4) and in the fem. form (§ 45, 2, b) אָהַבָהּ to love, רָאָהּ to languish.—

2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *A* sound has generally less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel (§ 22, 2), so not only is the *Chō'lēm* in *Inf. Qāl* שָׁחַט, שָׁחַט retained, but also, for the most part, the *Sēré* in *Impf. Niph.* and *Pi.* יָלָחַם he fights, יָנַחַם he comforts, and even the more feeble *Sēghō'l* (after *Wāw* consecutive) יָרָחַם. But in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl*, the last syllable generally takes (—), through the influence of the guttural even in transitive verbs, e. g. יָבַחַר, בָּחַר; יָזַעַק, זָעַק; יָשַׁחַט, שָׁחַט (seldom like יָנַחַם, נָחַח), with *suff.* in the *Imp.* שָׁאַלְנִי, בָּחַנִי in the *Impf.* יִנְאַלְוֶה; with the *ō* in *Imper. Qāl* is found only נַעַל 2 Sam. 13, 17; אָחַז Ex. 4, 4, 2 Sam. 2, 21 fem. אָחַזי Ruth. 3, 15 (so according to *Kinchi* in the *Wurzelwörterb.* with the unusual echo of the expelled *ō* as *Chātēph-Qā'mēš*; on the other hand in pl. regularly אָחַזוּ); סָעַד Judges 19, 8 (according to *Kimchi* סָעַד 19, 5 can only be read *sēād* with the abnormal lengthening for סָעַד); finally, here also belongs זָעַמָה instead of זָעַמָה Num. 23, 7 v. § 63, 4. Just as rare are the *Imp. med. gut.* with *ō* as יָנַחַם, נָחַח comp. Is. 27, 4, Ez. 16, 33 and also in the *Perf. Pi.*, *Pāthāch* occurs more frequently than in the strong verb, as יָנַח to comfort.

3. In *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, the *Dāghē'sh fortē* is inadmissible in the middle stem-letter; but, in the greater number of examples, particularly before ה, ח, and ע, the preceding vowel remains short, the guttural having *Dāghē'sh fortē implicitum* (see § 22, 1); e. g. *Pi.* שָׂחַק, *Inf.* שָׂחַק to sport, *Pu.* רָחַץ to be washed, *Hithp. Imper.* הִטְהַרְרוּ cleanse yourselves. The complete omission of the doubling and therefore the lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs continually only with ר. e. g. בָּרַךְ to bless, *Impf.* יְבָרַךְ, *Pū'āl* בָּרַךְ; before א it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאָר, גָּאָל, מָאָן, זָאָר and in the *Hithpā'ēl*

of **בָּאֵשׁ**, **רָאָה** and **שָׂאָה**; on the other hand א is virtually doubled in the *Perfects* **נָאָה** (once in *Impf.* Jer. 29, 23) to *commit adultery*, **נָאָץ** to *despise* (twice besides in the participle Is. 60, 14, Jer. 23, 17) **נָאָר** to *abhor* Lam. 2, 7 (also **נָאָרָה** Ps. 89, 40) and **שָׂאָל** Ps. 109, 10; furthermore in the *infinitive* **יֵאָשׁ** Eccl. 2, 20 according to the best reading; in the *Pi'ül* **יֵאָשׁ** Job 33, 21 the א should be written with *Dāghē'sh fortè*, according to the correct Massora.

Rem. 1. In the verb **שָׂאָל** to *ask, beg* some forms of the *Perfect Qāl* seem to have been based upon a secondary form *Med. E.* (acc. to *Kimchi*, see also Davies' Heb. Lex.), comp. **שָׂאָלָה** Gen. 32, 18, Judg. 4, 20, **שָׂאָלִי** Ps. 137, 3, **שָׂאָלָהֶם** 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29, **שָׂאָלִירָהוּ** Judg. 13, 6, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph.* **הִשָּׂאָלִירָהוּ** 1 Sam. 1, 28). Compare however similar cases (attenuation of an original *ā*) § 69, Rem. 4 and especially § 44, Rem. 2. In the three first cases the *ī* (attenuated from *ā*) would be lengthened into *ē* (before the tone); in the three following cases *ī* would be changed into *ē*.

2. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.*, the tone is sometimes drawn back upon the penultima, and the *Sērē* of the final syllable shortened to *Sēghôl*, viz — a) Before a word of one syllable (according to § 29, 3. b) as **לְשֶׁרָה שָׁם** in order to serve there Deut. 17, 12; even with virtual doubling of the gutt. Gen. 39, 14, Job 8, 18.—b) After *Wāw consecutive*, as **וַיְבָרֶךְ** and he blessed Gen. 1, 22, **וַיִּדְרֹשׁ** and he drove out Ex. 10, 11.

3. The following are rare anomalies: in the *Impf. Qāl* **יִצְחָק** Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere **יִצְחָק** etc., in *pause* **יִצְחָק**, comp. § 63, Rem. 2); **יָאָחַר** Gen. 32, 5 (for **יָאָחַרְתָּ**), in the *Perf.* of *Pi.*: **אָחַרוּ** they delay Jud. 5, 28, for **אָחֲרוּ**; and the similar form **יָחַמְתִּי** she conceived me Ps. 51, 7, for **יָחַמְתִּי**; finally in the *Imper. Hiph.* **הִיָּחֵם** Job 13, 21 and **הִמְעִיר** Ps. 69, 24, in both cases not without the influence of the closing consonant, and at the same time with the preference of *Päthäch* in *pause* (as a clearer and sharper sound).

4. A few examples where the א, as a middle guttural, loses entirely its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, will be found in § 73, Rem. 4.

§ 65.

VERBS LĀMĒDH (ל) GUTTURAL.

E. g. **שִׁלַּח** to send. *Paradigm F.*

1. According to § 22, 2, a and b, when the last syllable has a vowel which is heterogeneous to the guttural (i. e. not an A sound) we distinguish two cases, viz., either the regular

vowel of the final syllable *remains*, and the guttural takes *Päthäch furtive*, or the full vowel *Päthäch* takes its place. The particulars are as follows:—

- a) The strong unchangeable vowels ו, י, ר (§ 25, 1), are always retained; hence *Inf. absol.* *Qäl* שָׁלוֹחַ, *Part. pass.* שָׁלוּחַ; *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *Impf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *Part.* מִשְׁלִיחַ. So also the *ō*, though less firm, is retained in the *Inf. constr.* שֶׁלַח, (comp. however in close connection with the substantive שֶׁלַח Is. 58, 9 and גִּירֵעַ Num. 20, 3).
- b) Instead of the *ō* in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qäl* we have *ä*, either through the influence of the guttural (comp. the remainder of the *o* sound in אֶפְשָׁרָה Is. 27, 4) or because the *Päthäch* was the original vowel, thus: שֶׁלַח, שָׁלַח. With *suff.* שֶׁלְּחָנִי, שֶׁלְּחָנִי, see § 60, Rem. 1.
- c) Where *Se're* is the regular vowel of the last syllable, the forms with *ē* and *ä* are both employed, but usage generally makes a distinction. Thus—

In the *Part. Qäl* and *Pi.* the only predominant form is שֶׁלַח, and the full *Päthäch* appears only in the *constr. state* שֶׁלַח, שֶׁלַח.

In the *Impf.* and *Inf. Niph.*, and in the *Perf. Inf.* and *Impf. Pi.*, the shorter form with (—) usually stands at the beginning and in the middle of a sentence, the one with (— —) at the end, and in *pause*; e. g. יִגְרַע it is diminished Num. 27, 4, comp. יִגְרַע 36, 3; יִבְצֵעַ he cleaves Hab. 3, 9, comp. יִבְצֵעַ Ez. 13, 11, בִּלְעַ to swallow Hab. 1, 13, Num. 4, 20 with בִּלְעַ Lam. 2, 8. It may further be observed, that the *Inf. absol.* retains *Se're*, but the *Inf. constr.* loses it, e. g. שֶׁלַח Deut. 22, 7, 1 K. 11, 22, else שֶׁלַח to send. Outside of the *pause* there is found יִבְצֵעַ Hab. 1, 16 and even יִבְצֵעַ 2 K. 16, 4; furthermore in the *Imper. Pi.* שֶׁלַח Ps. 86, 4 (with *D^echê*): on the other hand in *pause* הִשְׁלַח Ez. 21, 11 as *Imper. Niph.* An example of *ä* in *Imper. Pi'el* through the influence of a closing ר is בְּהַרֵּב Job 36, 2.

In *Hiph.* the shortened forms of the *Imp.* and *Impf.* admit only (—), e. g. הִצְלַח prosper thou, יָבִצַּח and he caused to trust, יִצְּצַח and he caused to sprout. The *Inf. absol.* takes (— —), as הִנְבִּיחַ to make high; but as *Inf. constr.* also הִנְבִּיחַ occurs in Job 6, 26.

2. The guttural here has *simple Sh^wä* whenever the third radical regularly takes it (because it is *Sh^wä quiescent*, which generally remains even under gutturals, § 22, 4), as שֶׁלַח, שֶׁלַח. But in the 2 *fem. Perf.* a helping-*Päthäch* takes its place, as שֶׁלַח (§ 28, 4), yet comp. שֶׁלַח 1 K. 14, 3.

The softer combination with (—) for (—) occurs only in some examples of the 1. *plur. Perf.* when the tone is thrown forward, as יָדַעְנוּ *we know thee* Hos. 8, 2, comp. Gen. 26, 29, Ps. 44, 18, 2 Sam. 21, 13; and also before the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, וְ, as אֶשְׁלָחָה *I will send thee* 1 Sam. 16, 1, אֶשְׁלָחָה Gen. 31, 27, אֶשְׁמְרָה Jer. 16, 2.

On the weak verbs א"ל, see especially in § 74.

B. CONTRACTED VERBS.

§ 66.

VERBS ע"ו.

E. g. שָׁגַג *to approach. Paradigm H.*

The weakness of initial נ consists principally in its submitting to *Aphaeresis* in the *Inf. constr.* and *Imperf.* in a part of these verbs (comp. 19, 3, a). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (v. above) cannot really be considered as weakness, as the stem still retains three consonants (by the doubling of the 2d cons.). More particularly we remark:—

1. The *Aphaeresis* of the *Nûn a*) in the *inf. constr.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) with such verbs as have *a* in the 2d syllable of the *Imperf.*, thus: נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* יִגָּשׁ, *Inf.* really יָגַשׁ, but always enlarged with ת to the Segholate form יִגָּשֶׁת; with *Suff.* גָּשְׁתִּי Gen. 33, 3 (attenuated from יִגָּשְׁתִּי); with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַע *to touch*, *Imperf.* יִנָּע, *Inf.* יִנְעָה (also נָגַע); נָטַע *to plant*, *Inf.* יִנְטָע (also נָטַע). The feminine ending in this case serves as a means of artificially reestablishing the semblance of a triliterality. (On the verb נָתַן *to give* v. especially Rem. 3). On the other hand, *Aphaeresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָפַל *to fall*, *Imperf.* יִפֹּל, *Inf.* נָפַל, with *Suff.* נָפַלְתִּי also נָפַלְתִּי (which originated from נָפַלְתִּי).—b) In the *Imperf.* Here the dropping of the *Nûn* takes place everywhere in verbs with *a* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* יָגַשׁ (frequently with *paragog. āh* נָגַשְׁה before *Māqqēph* also יָגַשׁ Gen. 19, 9), נָשִׂי etc., however also with *ō* יָנִי Ruth 2, 14, and יָנִי 2 Chron. 29, 31; in both cases outside of the *pause*. With *Nûn* preserved is found only נָהַג 2 Kings 4, 24 (*Imperf.* יִנְהֹג *without the assimilation*).

lation of the *Nûn*; comp. also of verbs ל"ה which are at the same time נ"ח: נָחָה: Ez. 32, 18, נָחָה Gen. 32, 34). Here also *Aphaeresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָצַר, נָחַץ etc.

2. Whenever *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable after a preformative, it assimilates itself to the following stem-letter (§ 19, 2, *a*); viz., *a*) in the *Impf.* *Qāl*, e. g. יִפֹּל for יִנָּפֵל *he will fall*, יִנָּשׁ for יִנָּשֵׁשׁ, יִתֵּן for יִתְּנֶה *he will give* (the *Impf.* *O*, as in the strong verb, being usual, the *Impf.* *E* only in this example);¹—*b*) in the *Perf.* *Niph.*, e. g. נָשׂ for נִשָּׂא;—*c*) in the whole of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.* (which here has always *Qibbūʿ*, according to § 9, 9, 2), e. g. הִנָּשׂ, הִנָּשָׁה, for הִנָּשֵׂה, הִנָּשָׁה.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. *Perf.*, *Inf. absol.*, *Part.* *Qāl*, all *Pi ʿēl*, *Pū ʿāl*, etc. Only the irregular conjugations are given in the Paradigm H.

The characteristic of these verbs in all forms which begin with a formative letter, is the *Dāghēsh fortē* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, appear also in some verbs נ"י (§ 71) and even in verbs נ"ע (§ 67, 5). The *Inf.* נָשׂוּ and the *Imp.* נָשׂוּ, also נָשׂוּ (Gen. 19, 9) and נָשׂוּ, coincide with those of verbs נ"י (§ 69)—On נָשׂוּ, נָשׂוּ, נָשׂוּ (from לָקַח to take), see below in Rem. 2.—נָשׂוּ is *Impf. Niph.* of נָשׂוּ, and so in all weak verbs נ"י (§ 72, 4).—Also אָסַף (Ps. 139, 8) is not from נָסַף, but contracted from אָסַף from אָסַף to ascend (see § 19, 2, Rem.).

Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn*, before a firm consonant, e. g. *Impf.* יִנָּצַר *he keeps* Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere יָצַר), of יָצַר the pausal form is always יִנָּצַר (outside of the *pause* יָצַר Prov. 20, 28); in the same way the *Nûn* is retained with the *pause* in Ps. 61, 8, 140, 2, 5, Prov. 2, 11. In *Niph.* this never occurs and very seldom in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, as הִנָּחִיץ *to melt* Ez. 22, 20, הִנָּחִיץ *they are cut off* Judg. 20, 31. It regularly occurs, however, in all verbs which have a guttural for their second stem-letter, as יִנָּחֵל *he will possess*. In these verbs the *Nûn* only rarely falls away, as יִנָּחֵל for יִנָּחֵל *he will descend*; *Niph.* נָחַם for נָחַם *he has comforted himself*.

2. Like the *Nûn* of these verbs (§ 19, 2), the ל of the verb לָקַח (*to take*) is also treated. Hence *Impf. Qāl* יִקַּח, *Imp.* קָח in *pause* and be-

¹ The *Impf.* *A* (יִנָּשׂ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in יִנָּשׂ.

fore *suff.* לָקַח, *paragog.* לָקַחְתָּ; לָקַחְתָּ etc. (comp. however also לָקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ez. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16. לָקַחְתָּ 1 K. 17, 11); *Inf. constr.* לָקַחְתָּ (w. *suff.* לָקַחְתָּ), *Hoph. Impf.* לָקַחְתָּ, but *Niph'āl* is always לָקַחְתָּ.

3. The above mentioned verb לָקַח to give furnishes the only example of an *Imperf.* with *ē* (לָקַחְתָּ for לָקַחְתָּ); corresponding to which also we have the *Imper.* לָקַח or לָקַחְתָּ (very frequently) before *Maqqēph* לָקַחְתָּ, *fem.* לָקַחְתָּ etc. This much used verb has this farther peculiarity that the third radical (the final *Nûn*) is assimilated, as לָקַחְתָּ for לָקַחְתָּ, לָקַחְתָּ for לָקַחְתָּ (very frequently לָקַחְתָּ as a kind of orthographical compensation for the assimilated נ); *Niph'āl Perf.* לָקַחְתָּ Lev. 26, 25.—Also in the *Inf. constr.* *Qāl* the groundform לָקַח has not been enlarged into לָקַחְתָּ (comp. גָּשַׁח from גָּשַׁח) but contracted into לָקַח, and this was afterward lengthened into לָקַח when the *Dāghē'sh fortè* was dropped v. § 20, 3, a; therefore with the suffixes לָקַחְתָּ, לָקַחְתָּ etc. (before *Māqqēph* with the prefix לָ=לָקַחְתָּ e. g. Exod. 5, 21, but also elsewhere in close connection e. g. Gen. 15, 7; also the strong formation of the *Infin. constr.* in לָקַחְתָּ Num. 20, 21 and לָקַחְתָּ Gen. 38, 9.) In other stems, the נ as third radical is retained, לָקַחְתָּ, לָקַחְתָּ. Upon the entirely anomalous *Aphaeresis* of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in לָקַחְתָּ for לָקַחְתָּ 2 Sam. 22, 41 comp. § 19, 3, a.

§ 67.

VERBS 'ĀY'IN DOUBLED (ע"צ).

E. g. סָבַב to surround. *Paradigm G.*

1. The principal irregularity of these verbs consists in the utterance of the second and third radicals often as one doubled letter, as סָבַב (contracted from the original form *sābhābhū*) for סָבַבְתָּ (Rem. 10 below), even when a full vowel should regularly stand between them, as סָבַב for סָבַב, סָבַב (from the orig. *sābhābhā*, contr. *sābbā*) for סָבַבְתָּ. Those forms are not contracted which contain unchangeable vowels, or a *Dāghē'sh fortè*, as סָבַב, סָבַב, סָבַב.

2. The monosyllabic stem thus obtained takes, throughout, the vowel which the full form would have had in its *second* syllable, because that serves to characterise the form (§ 43, Rem. 1), e. g. *Perf.* סָבַב for סָבַב; סָבַב for סָבַבְתָּ (both from the original *sābhābhāth*), *Inf.* סָבַב for סָבַב; *Hiph.* סָבַב for סָבַבְתָּ (comp. No. 6).

3. The *Dāghē'sh fortè*, which, after this contraction, properly belongs throughout to the final stem-letter, is ex-

cluded from it (§ 20, 3, *a*), except when formative additions are made at the end, as סָבַר, סָבַרְתָּ, *Impf.* יִסְבֹּר, but not סָב, סָבָה.

4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), a vowel is inserted before it, in order to render audible the Dāghē'sh of the final stem-letter¹ (§ 20, 3, *c*, Rem.), which vowel in the Perf. is י, in the Imp. and Impf. —, e. g. סָבַרְתָּ, סָבַרְתִּי, *Impf.* תִּסְבֹּרְתָּ (for *sabb-ta, sabb-nu, t'sobb-na*).

5. The preformatives of *Impf. Qāl*, *Perf. of Niph.*, *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which in consequence of the contraction stand in a simple syllable (יִסְבֹּב instead of יִסְבֹּבָה), take, instead of the short vowel of the regular form, the corresponding long one (according to § 27, 2, *a*), e. g. *Impf. Hiph.* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּבָה, *Imper.* הִסְבֵּב for הִסְבֵּבָה etc. Where the preformatives now have *i*, either the original *ā* (which was attenuated into *i*) is restored and lengthened e. g. יִסְבֹּב in *Impf. Qāl* from original יִסְבֹּבָה, or the *i* itself is lengthened into *ē* e. g. הִסְבֵּב *Perf. Hiph.* for הִסְבֵּבָה (see further details in No. 6). This lengthened vowel can be retained however only before the tone (except the *û* of the Hophal lengthened from *ū* הִסְבֵּב for הִסְבֵּבָה); by the removal of the tone, the vowel, according to § 27, 2, becomes necessarily *Shēwā* (under א and ה composite *Shēwā*) e. g. הִסְבֵּב but הִסְבֵּינָה; הִסְבֵּב but הִסְבֵּינָה; *Hiph. Perf.* הִסְבֵּינָה etc.

NB. There is still another mode (the common one in *Aramaic*) of constructing these forms, which supplies a Dāghēsh in the first radical in place of doubling the third (comp. § 19, 2, Rem.); e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּבָה, *Impf. Hiph.* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּבָה, *Hoph.* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּבָה. These forms do not usually take Dāghēsh in the final letter on receiving an accession, as יִסְבֹּבָה they bow themselves (from יִסְבֹּב, יִסְבֹּבָה and they smote (from יִסְבֹּב, יִסְבֹּבָה), perhaps because the doubling makes the stem trilateral;

¹ No satisfactory explanation for these separating vowels has been given as yet. As in none of these forms it could be said that the original vowel had returned, there remains simply the supposition that a really new vowel has been inserted as an expedient for pronunciation. Rödiger refers to the analogy of the verbs ל"ה in forms like יִלְלֵיךָ, יִלְלֵינָה, but this is not satisfactory because there the tone vowel has not arisen anew but existed already. But Rödiger was right in reminding us of the analogy of the vulgar Arabic which for the written Arabic *madadta, madadti, madadtu* uses the forms *maddēt, maddēti, maddit* and even *maddāt*. The latter form also indicates that the *ô* in the *Perf.* of ע"ב verbs has also been derived from an original *ā*.

but see also יִסְכְּבוּ Judg. 18, 23, יִשְׁמְחוּ Job. 4, 20. To the same category apparently belongs the stronger form הִצְלִיחוּ *they will tinkle* (from צִלַּל Jer. 19, 3. On the other hand רָמִינוּ (for רָמִינוּ *we perished*) Jer. 44, 18 follows the analogy of verbs ע"י (comp. קָמִנוּ from קָיָם). On *Niph.* see Rem. 5.

6. The restoration of original vowels mentioned in No. 5 occurs *a*) in the Preformatives of the *Imperf.* Qāl. יִסְכַּב from יִסְכְּב (comp. § 47, 2; 63, 2 and for verbs ע"י § 72); *b*) in the *Perf.* *Niph.* יִסְכַּב from יִסְכְּב (§ 51, 1) as well as in *Imperf.* יִסְכַּב from יִסְכְּב (comp. on *ā* in the final syllable of strong imperfections Niphal § 51, Rem. 2); *c*) in the *Hoph.* הִסְכַּב from הִסְכְּב, *Imperf.* יִסְכַּב from יִסְכְּב etc.—On the contrary the attenuated vowel *i* underlies the intransitive *Imperf.* Qāl with *ā* in the second syllable e. g. יִמַּר for יִמָּר (see Rem. 3). The lengthening of the original *ā* (יִמָּר) would lead to mistaking it for the 3d sing. perf.; also in the preformative of the *Hiph'il* הִסְכַּב from הִסְכְּב (groundform הִסְכְּב § 53, 1). In the same way we have the underlying *i* in the 2d syllable, which, attenuated from original *ā*, is in strong verbs abnormally lengthened into *i* (§ 53, 1). The *ē*, lengthened from *i* is of course only tonelong, therefore הִסְכֹּה outside of the tone before *Dāghc'sh fortè*.* (On the return of the original *ā* in the 2d syllable comp. Rem. 6.)

7. The *tone* has this peculiarity, that usually it is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (הִיא, הִי, הִי, § 40, 2), but remains *before* them on the stem-syllable, e. g. 3d sing. fem. *Imperf.* הִתְהַיְתָה, *pause* הִתְהַיְתָה; with ר and gutturals מִתְהַיְתָה (for מִתְהַיְתָה) Ps. 44, 26; with ר *consec.* however יִתְהַיְתָה Is. 6, 12. In the 3d pl. *perf.* the accent varies; besides הִלְכוּ, הִלְכוּ is found also הִלְכוּ, הִלְכוּ (Hab. 3, 6) etc., but in *pause* הִלְכוּ, הִלְכוּ etc. and, vice versa in *perf. consec.* וִלְכוּ etc. (comp. however וִלְכוּ Jer. 44, 12 before the tone syllable). The tone remains likewise on the stem syllable in *Imperf.* Qāl in יִסְכְּבִי, יִסְכְּבִי *Hiph.* יִסְכְּבִי, יִסְכְּבִי (*Perf. Hiph.* הִסְכְּבִי, הִסְכְּבִי) etc. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is removed to these vowels e. g. הִסְכְּבוּ, הִסְכְּבוּ etc. (excepting before the always accented ending תָּם and תֵּן in the Perfect). This removal

of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels \bar{e} and \bar{o} into \dot{e} and \dot{u} (\bar{o} v. Rem. 2), therefore חֲסִינָה from חֶסֶב, חֲסִינָה from חֶסֶב (on the dropping of the vowel of the preformative v. above No. 5).¹

8. In numerous verbs of this class, instead of *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.* there is found with the same sense the less usual conjugation *Pō'ēl* (§ 55, 1), with its passive (*Pō'āl*) and reflexive (*Hithpō'ēl*), e. g. עוֹלֵל *to treat ill, pass.* עוֹלֵל, *reflex.* הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל); in some is found also *Pilpe'l* (§ 55, 4), as גָּלַגַּל *to roll*, הִתְגָּלַגַּל *to roll one's self* (from גָּלַל), *Pilp.* שָׁעֵשַׁע *to caress*, with its *pass.* (Pōlpāl) שָׁעֵשַׁע *to be caressed*, and *reflex.* (Hithpālpāl) הִשְׁתַּשְׁעֵשַׁע *to delight oneself* Ps. 119, 16 (from שָׁעַע) These forms do not suffer contraction any more than *Pi.*, *Pu* and *Hithpā ēl*.

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. In the Perf. are found some examples with *Chōlēm*, orig. *u* (comp. רָבַל, § 43, 1), as רָבִיזָה *they are high* (from רָבַם) Job 24, 24, רָבִיזָה (from רָבַב) Gen 49, 23, probably also יָרִיזָה Is 1, 6 from יָרַר.

2 The *Chōlēm* of the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (חֲסִי, חֲסִי) is a changeable vowel and written defectively, with a few exceptions, which are found especially in the later orthography, e. g. לָבִיזָה for לָבִיזָה *to plunder* Est. 3, 13, 8, 11. It is shortened into *Qāmēṣ-ḥatûph* or *Qibbûṣ*, whenever it loses the tone, as *Inf.* רִנָּה (*rōn*) *to rejoice* Job 38, 7, with *suff. Imp.* 2d sing. fem. רִנִּי, רִנִּי (comp. Rem. 12), *Impf.* with *Wāw consec.* וְרִנִּי Judg 9, 18, with *suff.* וְרִנִּי *he lays them waste* Prov. 11, 3 in Qāl. In רִנִּי Gen. 43, 29, Is. 30, 19 (for רִנִּי) this \bar{o} is put back under the preformative. In קָבַלְהִי Num. 22, 11, 17 and אָרַחְהִי 22, 6 23, 7 the suffix of the — *paragogic* takes place without any other change of the form, one would expect קָבַלְהִי. Still more striking is קָבַלְהִי *curse him* Num 23, 13 (for קָבַלְהִי or קָבַלְהִי). We have also קָבַל for קָבַל Num. 23, 25 and שָׁל as *inf. abs.* instead of שָׁלֵל in Ruth 2, 16.

3. Examples with final *Pāthāch* in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (קָשַׁל, קָשַׁל), are the following *Inf.* שָׁךְ *to stoop* Jer. 5, 26, *Imp.* גָּל *roll thou* Ps. 119, 22, *Impf.* בָּמַר *he is bitter* Is. 24, 9, יָרַךְ *he is soft* Is 7, 4; יִרְחַלְהִי

¹ The terminations for gender and number in the *Participles* take the tone, as these are not a part of the verbal inflection, as קָשַׁלְהִי, קָשַׁלְהִי.

she was despised Gen. 16, 4 (but also with the accent on the preceding syllable, e. g. יִרְעַע Gen. 21, 11). In regard to these intransitive imperfections comp. No. 6 above. Of imperfections with original *u* in the 2d syllable there are also found examples of lengthening the *u* into *û* (instead of *ô*) e. g. יִרְרַע Prov. 29, 6; יִשְׁעַר Ps. 91, 6; יִרְיַע (from יִרְצַע) Is. 42, 4 (even defectively יִרְרַע Eccl. 12, 6). An analogy with the verbs ע"י is also seen in the infinitive לְבַר (for בַר) Eccl. 9, 1; בְּרַחֵן Prov. 8, 27 (comp. בְּרַחֵקוֹ 8, 29) for בְּרַחֵקוֹ. Examples of the *Aramaicising Impf.* are יִסַּב (though יִסַּב is also in use), יִשְׁם *he is astonished* 1 K. 9, 8, יִרְמֹם *they are silent* Job 29, 21; with *ä* e. g. יִרְשֹׁם, etc.

4. In the Participle occurs the Aramaean form שֹׂאס (for עֹסֵס) Jer. 30, 16 in K^{thibh} (the Q^{ri} regards it as a *Part.* from עֹסֵס).

II. On Niph'äl.

5. Besides the usual form of the Perf. (נָסַב) with *Päthäch* and of the *Part.* (m. נָסַב, f. נִסְבָּה) with *Qāmeš* in 2d syllable, there is still another with *Šērē*, and another with *Chölēm* (analogous to נָסַב, נָסַב, § 43, 1), extending through the whole conjugation; e. g. Perf. נָסַב (also נִסְבָּה) *it is a light thing* Is. 49, 6; נָסַב (for נִסְבָּה) Ez. 26, 2; *Part.* נִסְבָּה *wasted away* Nah. 2, 11; with *Chölēm*, נִגְלָה *they are rolled together* Is. 34, 4, comp. 63, 19, 64, 2, Am. 3, 11, Nah. 1, 12; in *Impf.* יִמְזַל *he is circumcised* Gen. 17, 12; יִרְמַס *thou shalt be laid waste* Jer. 48, 2. *Inf.* forms with the *Päthäch* do not even exist, but those with *Šērē* and *Chölēm*, as *Inf.* הִמְסַס *to melt* Ps. 68, 3, *Inf. absol.* הִבְזַס *to be plundered* Is. 24, 3; in the *Imp.* only הִקְרַס *cleanse yourselves* Is. 52, 11 and הִרְמַס *raise yourselves up* Num. 17, 10, הִמְזַס Jer. 4, 4 follows the analogy of ע"י verbs (as the *imperf.* יִרְמַס Gen. 34, 24).—Peculiar forms of Niph'äl (with a sharpening of the 1st syllable) occur in נִחַל *it was profaned* Ez. 25, 3 (from נִחַל) נִחַר (from נִחַר) Ps. 69, 4, 102, 4 (also נִחַר Jer. 6, 29), נִחַח *fractus est* (from נִחַח) Mal. 2, 5.—In Micah 2, 4 the Perf. נִשְׁכַּח, *û* instead of *ô* as the separating vowel appears to be abnormal.

III. On Hiph'ël and Hoph'äl.

6. Besides *Šērē* the final syllable has also *Päthäch*, especially with *ך* and the gutturals, as הִמְרַר *he made bitter*; הִשְׁמַר *to depress*; *Inf.* הִבְרַר *to cleanse* Jer. 4, 11. But also without a guttural, as הִדְרַס *he pounded small* 2 K. 23, 15; plur. הִדְרַסוּ 1 Sam. 5, 10; *Part.* הִדְרַס *shadowing* Ez. 31, 3. The *ê* of the 2d syllable may become *ë* outside the tone e. g. הִדְרַס Gen. 31, 7. Instead of *Châfêph Päthäch* there appears before ה also *Päthäch* (with the virtual doubling of the ה) in forms like הִדְרַסוּ Is. 9, 3.

7. In the *imperf.* the retraction of the tone and the consequent shortening of *ê* into *ë* occurs not only in the *jussive* and with *Wāw consecutive* (e. g. הִדְרַס Gen. 29, 10; with final guttural הִדְרַס 1 K. 6, 11) but also elsewhere e. g. הִקְרַס *he protects* Ps. 91, 4. Quite peculiar is הִרְרַס Judges 9, 53 with *î* for *ë*.

8. *Aramaicising forms of Hiph. and Hoph.*: יִשְׁכַּח Ex. 13, 18, וַיִּשְׁכַּח and they smote Deut. 1, 44, אָחַל I will profane Ez. 39, 7, in *Perf.* הִזְזִינָהּ they despised her Lam. 1, 8.—In *Hoph.* הִמָּחִי they perish Job 24, 24, יָבִיחַ it is smitten Is. 24, 12 (plur. יָבִיחוּ Jer. 46, 5), יִחָקֵחַ in pause (Job 19, 23) for יִחָקֵחַ, also יָבִיחוּ Job 4, 20.

IV. In General.

9. Verbs ע"ע are very nearly related to verbs ע"י (§ 72), as the great similarity in their inflection throughout has already shown. In form the verbs ע"ע are generally the shorter (comp. וָסַב and וָסַבּ, וָסַבּ and וָסַבּ) In some cases they have precisely the same form, e. g. in the *Impf. consec.* of *Qāl* and *Hiph.*, in *Hoph.*, and in the rare conjugations. On account of this relation, they have sometimes borrowed forms from each other, e. g. רָרַן for רָרַן he rejoices Prov. 29, 6.

10. Along with the contracted forms there are found especially in certain conjugations and tenses, others which are wholly regular; e. g. *Perf.* *Qāl* סָבַב 1 Sam. 7, 16, סָבַב Josh. 6, 15, סָבַבּ Ps. 18, 6, שָׁתַּחוּ and שָׁחוּ they bow down, כָּבַדּ to plunder Ez. 29, 19, plur. כָּבְדוּ Josh. 8, 27, Deut. 2, 35 (also כָּבְדוּ in 3, 7); *Inf.* סָבַב and סָבַב; *Infinit.* after ל: לְהַנְבִּיחַ Jer. 47, 4, לְנֹזַח Gen. 31, 19 (also לְנֹזַח 38, 13); with suffix לְהַנְבִּיחֶם Is. 80, 18 and of the same form חָנַן with the vowel shifted back and at the same time inflected לְחַנֵּן Ps. 102, 14, *Imper.* שָׁדַד Jer. 49, 28; *Imperf.* יָדַד Nahum. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13, Gen. 31, 40) from נָדַד: the strong-form was after the assimilation of the *Nûn* quite necessary. On the other hand יָשַׁד Jer. 5, 6 for יָשַׁד is anomalous, the contracted consonants have been afterwards disassembled by the insertion of a vocal *Shewa*. Compare also יָחַן he is gracious Amos 5, 15, else יָחַן, in *Niph.* יָחַב Job 11, 12. *Hiph.* הִרְנִין, *Impf.* הִרְנִין he will rejoice (which in *Hiph.* is never contracted); *Part.* מְשֻׁמָּם astonished Ez. 3, 15. That the full form has a certain emphasis is seen from its frequent use in pause, as in סָבַבּ in Ps. 118, 11) (compare לְחַמֵּם Is. 47, 14 (perh. for לְחַמֵּם) for their warming.)

11. We have seen above (No. 5 Rem.), that in the *Impf.* of forms resembling the Aramaic form, the *Dāghēsh* of the third radical, together with the preceding vowel, is omitted before affirmatives, which however take the tone, as יָדַד. The same omission occurs also in other forms at times, as in *Perf.* *Qāl* חָמַדּ for חָמַדּ Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18); *Imperf.* חָמַדּ 1 Sam. 14, 36 (חָ—paragog. without influence on the form, comp. Rem. 2); sometimes even the strong vowel becomes *Shewa*: חָמַדּ Gen. 11, 7 for חָמַדּ we will confound (Cohortative from חָמַדּ); חָמַדּ Gen. 11, 6 they will devise; *Perf.* *Niph.* חָמַדּ for חָמַדּ Ez. 41, 7, חָמַדּ Gen. 17, 11 (from חָמַדּ=חָמַדּ to circumcise); comp. Is. 19, 3, Jer. 8, 14. Without *Dāghēsh*, but with the accented full vowel: חָמַדּ for חָמַדּ Judg. 16, 10, חָמַדּ Prov. 7, 13, חָמַדּ 1 Sam. 14, 36, comp. חָמַדּ Is. 57, 5 for חָמַדּ.

12. Though the tone is here less attracted to the endings (comp. No. 7 above, p. 163), yet this exceptionally happens at times—*a*) in the *Perf.*, specially if it stands in the sense of a present tense (§ 126, 3), as in רַבִּים (*they are many*) Ps. 3, 2, 104, 24, Jer. 5, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 10 (with הַיּוֹם *to-day*), רַבִּים (*they are soft*) Ps. 55, 22, קָצִים (*they are swift*) Jer. 4, 13, Hab. 1, 8, זָבִים (*they are pure*) Job 15, 15, 25, 5;—*b*) in the *Imperf.* (demanding in excited tone), as in רָצִי (*rejoice aloud!*) Is. 54, 1, Zeph. 3, 14, Zech. 2, 14, רָצִי Is. 44, 23, 49, 13, Jer. 31, 7 (but רָצִי *wail!* Lam. 2, 19), חָגֵי celebrate (thy festivals) Nah. 2, 1, Jer. 7, 29,—*c*) in forms with pronominal suffix (this accords with the general law about the tone, § 29, 1, 2), as in סָבִינִי, סָבִינִי Ps. 118, 11, and here the vowels before the *Dāghē'sh* suffer the changes pointed out in § 27, 1, viz., *Chōlēm* in the *Impf.* becomes *Qibbūš*, more seldom *Qāmēš-chāṭūph* (so too רָצִי above under letter *b*), *Šē'rē* in *Hiph.* becomes *Chîrēq* (after the analogy of חֲסִבִּיחָה, חֲסִבִּיחָה), the preformatives then, in place of the full vowel, take *Sh'wā*, e. g. יִסְבֵּנִי Ps. 49, 6, יִסְבֵּחָה Job 40, 22, יִחַנֵּנִי Ps. 67, 2; *Hiph.* יִחַנֵּנִי Ez. 47, 2.

C. WEAKEST VERBS (VERBA QUIESCENTIA).

§ 68.

VERBS א"ע.

E. g. אָכַל to eat. *Paradigm I.*

So far as the א is treated as a consonant and a guttural, these verbs have all the properties of verbs *Pè Guttural*, exhibited in § 63. But here we regard them only in so far as the א *quiesces*, i. e. loses its consonant sound, and is blended with the foregoing originally short vowel, into a long one, which chiefly happens in the *Impf.* *Qāl* of only a few very common verbs and forms, much modified by constant use. The following are the particulars:—

1. In the *Impf. Qāl* of five verbs (viz. אָבַד to perish, אָבָה to be willing, אָכַל to eat, אָמַר to say, אָפָה to bake) the א always quiesces in a long *ô* (*Chōlēm*), as יִאָבַד. In some others, the other form in which it retains its power as a consonant is also in use, as יִאָחַז and יִחַז he takes hold; יִסָּבֵה (v. Rem. 2), also יִאָסֵב. (So now in the vulgar Arabic of Palestine *yākul* (he eats) becomes *yōkul*.) The *ô* in this case is but a corruption of the vowel *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), which is itself derived

by contraction from ——. The last syllable of these verbs receives an *ē* (or *ā*) instead of the stronger vowel *ō* (orig. *ū*) e. g. יָאָחַז Job 17, 9, mostly *ē* with distinctive accents and before the accented affirmative וְ; but with conjunctive accents, which mark continuous discourse, it takes *ā* (*Pāthāch*), e. g. תֵּאָבֵד לָעַד Ps. 9, 19, on the contrary תֵּאָבֵד (compare a similar exchange of *ē* and *ā* in § 65, 1, c) in Ps. 1, 6. When the tone moves back, the last stem-syllable has sometimes *Pāthāch*, as יָאָבֵד יוֹם *perish the day* Job 3, 3, וַיֹּאכַל *and he ate*, and sometimes *Sēghōl*, as in וַיֹּאמֶר (Mil'él) with a conjunctive accent; but וַיֹּאמֶר (Milrā') with a distinctive and in pause (only in Job mostly וַיֹּאמֶר Mil'él). Of אָחַז the weak imperf. is always יֹאחַז and יִיאַחַז (however וַיֹּאחַז Judges 20, 6; comp. וַאֲכַל Gen. 3, 12 in pause).—אָבָה and אָפָה are at the same time verbs ל"ה; hence Impf. יֹאבָה (§ 75, 1).

It is but very seldom that *Sērē* stands before א in Impf. Qāl, as תֵּאָחַז *it shall come* (Mic. 4, 8) contracted from תֵּאָחֶזֶה (from תָּחַז, אָחַז (in 1st sing. only for אָחַז) *I love* (Prov. 8, 17) as well as אָחֶזֶה (from אָחַז, אָחַז); but always in the Inf. with ל, as לֵאמֹר *for to say* (i. e. *saying*) for לֵאמֹר.

2. In the 1st pers. sing. Impf. the second (the radical) א (to avoid the repetition of this feeble letter) is regularly dropped (§ 23, 3), as אֶמַּר for אֶאמַּר *I will say*, וַאֲמַר *and I said*. In the other cases, where the א is generally conceived of as quiescent with *ō* or *ē*, it is retained merely orthographically and for the sake of etymology. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following examples:

Continually in the contracted forms of אָסַף, thus תֹּאסֶף *thou takest away* Ps. 104, 29, וַיִּסַּף *and he gathered* 2 Sam. 6, 1. Compare also in the 1st pers. Micah 4, 6 and אֶסְפֶּה 1 Sam. 15, 6 (with *š* according to § 60, Rem. 4); further more חִמְדִּי 2 Sam. 19, 14, וַחֲמִדִּי 2 Sam. 20, 9, וַיִּחַדֵּם Deut. 33, 21 (for וַיִּחַדֵּם), according to another reading וַיִּחַדֵּם or וַיִּחַדֵּם, etc.; וַיִּחַדֵּם *thou goest away* (from אָחַז) Jer. 2, 36, v. Rem. 1.

The Parad. I shows the weak forms in which א is treated as a quiescent (viz., Impf. Qāl), and merely indicates the more regular ones.

Rem. 1. In forms of the derived conjugations the א but very seldom quiesces, as in Perf. Niph. נִאָּחַז Josh. 22, 9, Hiph. וַיִּאָּחַז *and he took away* Num. 11, 25, וַיִּאָּחַז (for וַיִּאָּחַז) *and he set an ambush* 1 Sam. 15, 5,

אָזיך *I hearken* Job 32, 11, אוכיל (*ô* from *â*) *I cause to eat* Hos. 11, 4, אֶבְרֶחָה (*ô* from *â*) *I will destroy* Jer. 46, 8, מוֹיֵן *giving ear* Prov. 17, 4; Imp. הִרְאֵי *bring ye* (from אָרָה) Is. 21, 14.

2. In *Pi.* the א is sometimes dropped by contraction (like מוּחַ in רִחַקְטִיל, רִחַקְטִיל, e. g. מִלֶּחֶם (as in Aram., and Samar.) for תַּעֲלֶמֶת *teaching* Job 35, 11, יִרְחֹל for יִרְאֹחַל *he shall pitch tent* Is. 13, 20, תִּחַרְכֶּנִּי *thou girdest me* 2 Sam. 22, 40 for תִּחַרְכֶּנִּי (Ps. 18, 40).

§ 69.

VERBS פ"י. FIRST CLASS, OR VERBS ORIGINALLY פ"י.

E. g. רָשַׁב *to dwell*. Paradigm K.

Verbs פ"י fall principally into *two classes*, which are different from each other in their origin and inflection. The *first* embraces those verbs which have properly a ר for their first stem-letter. In Arabic and Ethiopic they are written with ר (e. g. رَلَدَ, Arab. and Ethiop. *wälädä*), but in Hebrew (and Aramæan) by a change of sound which shows itself also, with few exceptions in the noun, they take י instead of it, wherever the first stem-letter begins the form, whereas after preformative the ר either appears again, or is likewise changed into י, or finally is completely elided. The *second* class embraces those which are properly פ"י, and which have *Yôdh* also in Arabic (the so-called *Verba cum Jod originario* § 70). A few of these verbs פ"י, of both classes form, in some respects, a *third* class which is inflected like verbs פ"י (§ 71).

In the verb רָצַר the forms are distinguished according to the signification, viz.,—1) רָצַר (1st class, for רָצַר) *to be in a strait*, Impf. יִרְצַר, יִרְצַר;—2) רָצַר (2d class) *to form*, Impf. יִרְצַר, יִרְצַר.

The peculiar inflection of the *first class*, which is analogous to the Arabic פ"י, consists in the following particulars:

1. In the *Impf.*, *Imp.* and *Inf. constr.* of *Qäl* there is a twofold inflection according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The entire rejection (elision) takes place regularly in eight verbs (v. Rem.) after the following analogy:

Impf. יִשֹּׁב, with tone-long \bar{e} in both syllables. The vowel of the preformative had i (attenuated from \bar{a}); after the elision of *Wāw*, this i standing in an open syllable had to be changed into a tone-long \bar{e} (the fully written form, as יִשֹּׁב is extremely rare and incorrect). In the second syllable, five of these forms have an original i which in the tone-syllable becomes likewise \bar{e} ; three verbs however (under the influence of a guttural), take \bar{a} : יָדַע, יָקַע, יָחַד.

The tone-long \bar{e} of the 2d syllable may naturally become *S'ghōl* or *Sh'wā*, e. g. יִשְׁבֵּי, יִשְׁבֹּי etc.; in the same way the \bar{a} become *Sh'wā* in cases like יִדְעֵי etc., but in *pause* it is retained and lengthened into *Qā'mēs* (יִדְעִי) and before suffixes (יִדְעִים). As the last example shows the tone-long \bar{e} of the 1st syllable is retained, not only before the tone (יִשֹּׁב etc.) but also with the secondary tone.

Imp. שָׁב, shortened from יִשֹּׁב by omission of the feeble γ ; and—

Inf. שָׁבָה, shortened in like manner, but taking the feminine-ending ת , which again lengthens and strengthens the form; comp. § 66, 1.

The greater part of these verbs are inflected with *stronger* forms, have the *Impf. A*, and retain the *Yōdh* at the beginning, viz. in—

Imp. יִרְשֶׁ and *Inf.* יִרְשֶׁה, as a *consonant*, but in

Impf. יִרְשֶׁ, as a *quiescent*, resolved into the vowel i (§ 24, 2).

In the 2d syllable the *Impf.* regularly has \bar{a} .

That the latter mode of inflection belongs to verbs actually פִּי (which has often been overlooked and falsely denied), is shown, partly by the numerous verbs which take these forms in *Qāl*, and at the same time have γ in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.*, partly by the Arabic, where the verbs פִּי have likewise a double inflection, comp. *wāldā*, *Impf.* *jālidu* (with the elision of the *Wāw*) and *wā'gildā*, *jā'gahu* (with the retention of the *Wāw* v. Rem. 3).

Even in the same verb are found both the weaker and the stronger forms, the latter with the *Yōdh*, the former without it, as יָצַק 2 K. 4, 41, and יָצַק *pour thou* Ez. 24, 3, (comp. *Inf.* יָצַקוּ Exod. 38, 27); יָשַׁב 1 K. 21, 15, יָשַׁב *Deut.* 2, 24, also יָשַׁב *possess thou*, lengthened יָשַׁב *Deut.*

38, 23; *Impf.* יִקְדֹּר *he will kindle* Deut. 32, 22, and יִקְדֹּר Is. 10, 16; יִתְּקֵר *it became dear* 1 Sam. 18, 30 and יִתְּקֵר Ps. 49, 9 (comp. יִתְּקֵר Ps. 72, 14).

NB. To the first mode of inflection belong, e. g. יָלַד *to bear* (offspring), יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשָׁב *to sit*, יָרַד *to descend*, יָדַע *to know* (*Impf.* יָדַע with *Päthäch* in the last syllable so also, יָחַד, יָחַץ); to the second belong יָעָה *to weary*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשָׁן *to sleep*.

2. The original *Wāw* appears always a consonant, wherever it must be doubled, as in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf. Niph.* הִישָׁב, הִישָׁב (just like הִקְטַל, הִקְטַל); and also in the *Hithp.* of some verbs, e. g. הִתְנַדַּע from נָדַע, הִתְנַחֵךְ from נָחַךְ, and in some noun-forms, e. g. יָלָד *offspring* from יָלַד *to bear*. The ו at the end of the syllable becomes ū (ו) as in all *Hōph'āl*, e. g. הִוָּשַׁב for הִוָּשַׁב; and in combination with a preceding *a*, as a diphthongal ô (ו) in *Perf.* and *Part.* of *Niph'āl*, and in all *Hiph'ūl*, e. g. הִוָּשַׁב for הִוָּשַׁב, הִוָּשַׁב for הִוָּשַׁב.—The *Fōdh* stands as a consonant in the *Perf.* and *Part.* (יָלַד etc., יָשָׁב, יָשָׁב) even when ו precedes, as יָשָׁב (yet we have יוֹשְׁבָה according to § 24, 1, *a*), in all *Pi.* and *Pu.*, as יָחַל *to wait for*, יָלַד *to be born*, also in the *Impf.* and *Part.*, as יָחַל מִיָּדָע *known* (from יָדַע), also at times in *Hithp.*, as יָחַל, יָחַל, יָחַל (as well as הִתְנַדַּע with *Wāw* as above).

NB. In those forms in which *Yōdh* does not appear, these verbs may be distinguished, in the *Impf.* of *Qāl* by the *Šērê* under the preformatives, in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.* by the *Wāw* (ו, ו) before the second radical. (The defective orthography, as in יָחַל, is not frequent.) Forms like יָשָׁב, יָשָׁב are common to these and verbs ע"י. *Hoph'āl* has the same form as in verbs ע"י and ע"י.

Rem. 1. The *Inf. Qāl* of the weaker form (שָׁבַח Gdf. שָׁבַח) takes *suff.* like שָׁבַח; and it very seldom has the masculine form like יָדַע *to know* Job 32, 6, 10, or the feminine ending יָדָה, like יָדָה Ex. 2, 4. יָדָה Is. 37, 3, יָדָה *to descend* Gen. 46, 3. Instead of יָדָה stands יָדָה under the influence of the guttural יָדָה, with *Suff.* יָדָה etc. (on the other hand יָדָה : יָדָה from יָדָה). From יָדָה is found, Ps. 30, 4, in *Qeri* quite notably the strong form מִיָּדָה (for מִיָּדָה).—*Qāl* *to bear* in 1 Sam. 4, 19 is contracted to יָלַד (§ 19, 2).—Examples of the regular or strong form are יָרָא *to fear* Josh. 22, 25, with prep. לִיָּסֵר Is. 51, 16; with *suff.*, מִיָּסֵר Job 38, 4, מִיָּסֵר Ezra 3, 12. The strong form seldom has the feminine ending, as in יָלָה *to be able*, יָלָה *to dry up* Gen. 8, 7 (also יָלָה Is. 27, 11).

2. The *Impf. Qāl* often has the lengthening חֹ, as שֵׁכָה *sit thou*, יֵרָד *descend thou*. From יָתַב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, there is found in Hebrew *only* the *Imper.* which is יָתַב *give*, lengthened יֵתַב, mostly with the signification *L. age, go on!* (before א e. g. Gen. 29, 21 יֵתַב, to avoid a hiatus); fem. יָתַב Ruth 3, 15, probably *Mil'ra* after the analogy of the plur. יָתַב (but Job 6, 22, before the tone syllable יָתַב; comp. however Deut. 32, 3).

3. The *Impf.* with י elided takes *ā* in 2d syll., besides cases in No. 1, also in יָרַד Jer. 13, 17 and in the pausal form יָרַד Job 27, 21 (from יָרַד v. Rem. 8). The *ā* returns regularly before the *aff.* יָרַד (יָרַד etc.). Forms with *ē* in 2d syll. are shortened to *ē* by the drawing back of the tone (before a tone syllable and after י consec.); e. g. יָשַׁב Gen. 44, 33; יָשַׁב but in pause יָשַׁב and יָרַד (but 1. p. s. יָרַד). The *Impf.* יָרַד, when lengthened, can also lose its radical י, even when the preformative is י, whose vowel (a long *i*) has then *Mèthegh* (see § 18, 2, b), as in יָשַׁב Is. 40, 30, יָנַח Is. 65, 23.—From יָכַל (*to be able*) we get exceptionally יָכַל as the *Impf. Qāl*; comp. the Arab. form *yaurū'u* (*yôru'u*) from *warua*, and *yaŋalu* (*yôgalu*) from *waŋila*; or even the vulgar Arab. *yūŋalu* from *waŋala*. Others regard יָכַל as *Impf. Hoph.* (of יָכַל) *he is enabled=he can*, which may have got into use instead of the *Impf. Qāl*.

4. The section 44, Rem. 2 (comp. § 64, Rem. 1) refers to the attenuation of the *ā* into *i* in the *Perf.* (in a toneless closed syllable) which is found in some forms of יָכַל (Num 11, 12, Ps. 2, 7 etc. always after a preceding י) as well as of יָרַשׁ, e. g. יָרַשׁ etc. Deut. 4, 1, 8, 1, 19, 1, 26, 1 (however only after י for יָ). In both cases one can explain the attenuation by the tendency to the assimilation of the vowel, at least if we pronounce י as *i* (§ 47, 2). From the restoration of the *i* are explained also in the simplest manner the forms יָרַשׁ Ez. 36, 12 and יָרַשׁ Ps. 69, 36.

5. As an exception, the *Impf. Niph.* sometimes has י instead of the *i*; e. g. יָנַח and *he waited* Gen. 8, 12; comp. Ex. 19, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 8 *Kethibh*.—The first pers. sing. has always the form אָנַח not אֵנַח; comp. § 51, Rem. 4.

6. In *P'el*, the radical *Yôdh* is sometimes dropped after י preformative, which takes its pointing (like א in § 68, Rem. 2); e. g. יָנַח for יָנַח and *he grieved* Lam. 3, 33, יָנַח for יָנַח and *they cast*, also in verse 53. And so also from a verb פָּ of the second class, יָנַח for יָנַח and *he dried it up* Nah. 1, 4; comp. יָנַח 2 Chr. 32, 30 *Q'el*.

7. In the *Imper. Hiph.*, instead of the usual form פָּ, *i* is also found in the 2d syllable: פָּ Is. 43, 8; פָּ Ps. 94, 1 (before ח, perhaps a mere misspelling for פָּ); פָּ Prov. 19, 25. With a closing guttural the 2d syllable has generally *ā*, e. g. פָּ, comp. also פָּ Prov. 25, 17. On the other hand *i* appears again everywhere in open syllables, thus פָּ and so always before suffixes (§ 61, 2).—The *Impf. Hiph.*, like *Impf. Qāl*, takes *S'ghôl* when the tone

is drawn back, as הוֹסֵף *let him add* Prov. 1, 5, הוֹסֵף *and he added* (רוֹסֵף Prov 30, 6 is anomalous), in *pause* however also הוֹסֵף as *Jussive*, Job 40, 12 (usually, *Jussive* in *pause* הוֹסֵף etc., the latter form also outside of the *pause* after *Wāw consecutive* Gen 47, 11, 2 Sam 8, 4). With final guttural הוֹסֵף (*Jussive*) and הוֹסֵף etc. On forms like הוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53, Rem 7.—In *Hoph* are some cases of ה for ו, as הוֹדֵעַ for הוֹדֵעַ Lev. 4, 23, 38, and הוֹדֵעַ for הוֹדֵעַ Prov. 11, 25. However comp *Delitzsch*

8. The verb הוֹלֵךְ *to go* is connected in part with verbs פ"י of the first class, for it forms (as if from הוֹלֵךְ) *Impf* הוֹלֵךְ, with *Wāw cons.* הוֹלֵךְ, in *pause* הוֹלֵךְ (§ 29, 4. Rem.), *Inf. constr.* הוֹלֵךְ, w. suf. לִכְרוֹךְ, לִכְרוֹךְ, לִכְרוֹךְ, *Imp* הוֹלֵךְ, w. ה cohort. לִכְרוֹךְ, and also הוֹלֵךְ Num 23, 13, and so *Hiph.* הוֹלֵךְ. Rarely and almost exclusively in later books and in poetry, we find also the regular inflections from הוֹלֵךְ, as *Impf* הוֹלֵךְ, *Inf.* הוֹלֵךְ (Num. 22, 14, 16, Eccl 6, 8, 9), *Imp. pl.* הוֹלְכוּ (Jer 51, 50), on the contrary *Perf Qāl* is always הוֹלֵךְ, *Part.* הוֹלֵךְ, *Inf. abs.* הוֹלֵךְ, *Niph.* הוֹלֵךְ, *P'ēl* הוֹלֵךְ, *Hithp.* הוֹלְכִי, so that in this verb a פ"י nowhere distinctly appears as first radical. An obsolete stem הוֹלֵךְ may however be assumed, although in a word so much used as הוֹלֵךְ, the feeble letter ה may itself be treated like פ"י, and so the inflection resemble פ"י. Comp also the feeble הוֹלֵךְ, e. g. הוֹלֵךְ from הוֹלֵךְ (§ 68 2), and הוֹלֵךְ from הוֹלֵךְ, *Impf Hiph.* הוֹלֵךְ, אֲכִידָה from אֲכִידָה like אֲכִידָה 2 K 6, 19 from הוֹלֵךְ.

§ 70.

VERBS פ"י SECOND CLASS, OR VERBS PROPERLY פ"י.

E. g. הוֹלֵךְ *to be good. Paradigm L.*

The most essential points of difference between verbs properly פ"י and verbs פ"י are the following:—

1. Qāl has only the stronger of the two forms described in § 69, 1, viz. that in which the radical פ"י remains, *Inf* הוֹלֵךְ, with the *Impf.* א, as הוֹלֵךְ, הוֹלֵךְ, also written הוֹלֵךְ etc.; and so always with accented ā in the 2d syllable, even after *Wāw consec.* הוֹלֵךְ the *Pā'thāch* of which becomes *Sēghōl* when the tone shifts back, as הוֹלֵךְ *and he awoke* Gen. 9, 24, הוֹלֵךְ (from הוֹלֵךְ) *and he formed* Gen. 2, 7.

2. In *Hiph il* the פ"י is regularly retained in writing, and is pronounced as a diphthongal e (*Šere*), e. g. הוֹלֵךְ (from הוֹלֵךְ), *Impf.* הוֹלֵךְ, הוֹלֵךְ; uncontracted with the diphthong ai, as in הוֹלֵךְ *they make straight* Prov. 4, 25; הוֹלֵךְ (*Imper.*), Ps 5, 9 in Q'rī, comp Gen. 8, 17 in Q'rī.

NB. The following are the only verbs of this kind: **נָשָׁב** *to be good*, **נָשָׁךְ** *to suck*, **נָשָׁץ** *to awake*, **נָצַר** *to form*, **נָלַל** (only in Hiph. **נִלְלִיל**) *to bewail*, **נָשָׁר** *to be straight*, **נָבֵשׁ** (Arab. *yābīṣā*) *to be dry* (yet like the **נָבֵשׁ**, Hiph. **נִבְשִׁי**) and the Hiph. **נִדְמִין** (denom. of **דָּמָן**) *to go to the right*.

Rem. Of the *Impf. Hiph.* there is an anomalous form with preformatives put before the already contracted form: **יִנְטִיב** Job. 24, 21; **יִנְטִיב** *he wails*, **יִנְטִיב** *I wail*, **יִנְטִיב** *ye wail*, Is. 15, 2, 65, 14, Jer. 48, 31, Hos. 7, 14; also **יִנְטִיב** Job 24, 21; and once even in *Impf. Qāl* **יִנְטִיב** in **יִנְטִיב** Ps. 138, 6, from **יִנְטִיב**. *Kimchi* and others explain the above forms from an exchange of sound between *Yōdh* and *Hē*, assuming as a base the non-syncopated form **יִנְטִיב** (comp. Is. 52, 5) etc. But then also **יִנְטִיב** should be explained, with *Kimchi* as *Hiphil*. It might be more correct to suppose that originally the regular forms (**יִנְטִיב**, **יִנְטִיב**) were intended, but were separated in the later pronunciation in order to reestablish artificially the preformative which had been blended with the 1st stem consonant. Other anomalies also are: *Perf. Hiph.* **יִנְטִיב** Ez. 36, 11 (with separating vowel for **יִנְטִיב**) after the analogy of **יִנְטִיב** (*Impf. Qāl* for **יִנְטִיב**) Nah. 3, 8; **יִנְטִיב** *Impf. Hiph.*, after the analogy of **יִנְטִיב**, Exod. 2, 9. In the same way **יִנְטִיב** from **יִנְטִיב** is always used instead of the *Hiph.* **יִנְטִיב** (from **יִנְטִיב**). On **יִנְטִיב** Nah. 1, 4, see § 69, Rem. 6.

§ 71.

VERBS **נָ**. THIRD CLASS, OR CONTRACTED VERBS **נָ**.

This class embraces those verbs **נָ**, of the first and second class, whose **נָ** does not quiesce in long *i* or *e*, but is assimilated like **נָ**. Some verbs are exclusively of this class, e g. **נָצַע** *to spread under*, Hiph. **נָצַע**, Hoph. **נָצַע**; **נָצַח** *to burn up*, *Imp.* **נָצַח**, *Niph.* **נָצַח**, Hiph. **נָצַח**; others have two forms, the one *sharp* with the **נָ** assimilated, the other weaker with the **נָ** quiescent, as **נָצַק** *to pour*, *Impf.* **נָצַק** and **נָצַק** (1 K. 22, 35); **נָצַר** *to form*, *Impf.* **נָצַר** and **נָצַר** (Is. 44, 12, Jer. 1, 5); **נָשָׁר** *to be straight*, *Impf.* **נָשָׁר** and **נָשָׁר** (for **נָשָׁר** acc. to § 47, Rem. 3) comp. **נָשָׁר** Hos. 10, 10 (1 Sam. 6, 12).—It is worthy of notice that the verbs which are thus inflected have an **נָ** sound as the second radical, with the exception of **נָקַץ** (1 K. 3, 15) and **נָקַח** (Gen. 40, 20, Ez. 16, 5) *Inf. Hoph.* from **נָקַח**.

NB. Verbs of this class (which seldom occur) are inflected like verbs **נָ**, for which they may easily be mistaken by the learner. When, therefore, a form has not a root **נָ** in the lexicon, he should look for one of this class under *Yōdh*.

The first two classes are exhibited in their distinctive forms in Paradigms K and L, § 69. The third follows exactly verbs ע"י, and is besides very rare.

§ 72.

VERBS ע"י.

F. g. ע"י to rise up. Paradigm M.

1. In these verbs (with a few exceptions, Rem. 10 below) the middle stem-letter ע always gives up its consonant sound and *quiesces*; not merely in the usual cases (according to § 24, 1) when a Sh^ewā precedes or follows, as בושׁ bōsh for בושׁ b^ewōsh, but also when it is both preceded and followed by a full vowel, as קום Part. Pass. for קום; קום Inf. absol. for קום. Hence the stem or root appears always as a monosyllable.

2. The vowel in which the ע quiesces is essentially the vowel of the second syllable, which, in the verb, almost universally characterises the form (§ 43, Rem. 1, § 67, 2). However we must here remark *a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in an accented closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph.*, v. No. 3) e. g. 3d pers. Perf. קם from קם, fem. קמה, Pl. קמי, but in the closed penult קמה etc.;¹ *b*) that in the present forms the lengthening of the original short vowel is sometimes performed anomalously, e. g. Impf. Qāl יקם from יקם (the normal lengthening of *ū* appears again in the *jussive* יקם, Impf. constr. יקם); Imper. קם (from original קם lengthened normally in 2. fem. pl. into

¹ In the Aramæan, and also in Heb. Grammars before Kimchi, the long *ā* is found, as קמי etc., but in our editions of the Bible, it is so only in *pause*, e. g. קמי Mic. 7, 8, קמי 2 K. 7, 3, 4. If we explained (with *Olsk. et al.*) the *ā* of the Perf. Qāl קם as a combination of two *āā* which have remained after the elision of the *ʾ* in קם, then we ought to suppose that the language (or the Massôrā) was mistaken later in respect to the origin of this *ā*; for an *ā* contracted from *āā* could hardly be shortened, as it is in קמי etc. Nor could *ō* in קמי etc. (v. Rem. 1) be kept in a closed penult, if it had arisen by contraction from *bāüschti* and not rather by lengthening from *büschti*.

קָמַה because long *û* could not be retained in a closed penult. Comp. with this No. 4.

The intransitive verbs *middle E* take in *Perf.* (and *Part.*) *Qāl* the form of מָת (from מָוֹת) *he is dead*; the verbs *middle O* take the form of אָזַר (from אָזַר) *it shone*, בִּיֵּשׁ (from בָּיֵשׁ) *he was ashamed*. Comp. Rem. 1, below.

3. The preformatives in the *Impf. Qāl* and *Perf. Niph.*, and throughout *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which before the monosyllabic stem form a simple syllable, take instead of the short vowel of the regular form the corresponding long one. In *Qāl* and *Niph.* the original *û* is the vowel which is lengthened and not *î*, attenuated from *ä* (§ 67, 6), e. g. יָקִים for יִקְוֹם, יִקְוֹם for יִקְוֹם, יִקְוֹם for יִקְוֹם.

This vowel is changeable, and becomes *Sh'wâ* when the tone is thrown forward, e. g. before *suff.* יִמְיָדֵהוּ *he will kill him*, and in the full plural form of the *Impf.* יִמְיָדֵהוּ *they will die*.

The *î* in *Hoph.* forms an exception; for it has become a quite firm and unchangeable vowel, as if it had been transposed, and so יִקְוֹם had become יִקְוֹם, hence יִקְוֹם.

4. The above (No. 2) mentioned cases of unusual vowel lengthening are: *Impf. Qāl* יָקִים (also Arab. *jāqûmu*); on the other hand *Jussive* יָקִם with retraction of tone יָקִם (*jāqôm*), יָקִם (in *pause* יָקִם); *Imper.* קִים (in the 2d fem. pl. קָמַה, v. No. 2 above, *û* is normally lengthened); *Infin. constr.* קִים. In *Hiph.* the lengthening of the original *î* into *î* (יִקְוֹם *Impf.* יִקְוֹם, *Jussive* יָקִם with retraction of tone יָקִם) corresponds entirely with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53, 1). The following forms require a particular explanation: the *Part. Qāl* קָם may be traced to the groundform with *â* uninflected (Arab. *qâtîl*, § 9, 10, 2, § 50, 2); after the rejection of the *î* there was *qâim*¹ and this became קָם,—the *î* being absorbed by the predominating *â*. The immutability of the *â* (pl. קָמִים, *constr.* קָמִי etc.) favors this explanation.—In the *Impf. Qāl* again there are found, besides the forms with original *û* (now *û*), forms with original *ä*. This *ä* became *â* after the elision of *î* and was again inflected into *ô*; so especially

¹ Arab. *qâim* (really *qâ'im* in which the two vowels are united by the insertion of *â*, comp. Aram. קָאִם) rarely contracted, as *sâs* for *sâis*, *hâr* for *hâir*. Others think that קָם is for קָם, like the verbal adjective קָפֵל, comp. § 84, 1.

יָבוֹא (יָבֹא) etc. from the *Perf.* בָּא (*he has come*). In the *Impf.* רָבוֹשׁ from בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*, the \bar{e} of the preformative has been lengthened from \bar{i} (attenuation of original \bar{a}) and thus $y\bar{i}$ -bāsch became $y\bar{i}$ -bāsch and finally $y\bar{e}$ -bōsch. The *Niph.* נָקָם (נִקְּם) *Impf.* יִקְּם (יִקְּם) have arisen in the same way ($y\bar{i}q$ -q[aw]ām = $yiqqām$) by the obscuration of \bar{a} which was lengthened from \bar{a} .

5. In the *Perf. Niph.* and *Hiph.* (in order to keep the long vowel of the stem), an \bar{i} is regularly inserted before the affirmatives (1st and 2nd person) that begin with a consonant, and ׀ is inserted in *Impf. Qāl* before the affirmative נָה (comp. § 67, 4). As in verbs ע"ע, these separating vowels are an artificial opening of the preceding syllable in order that the latter may retain its long vowel; however there is also frequently found in the *Perf. Hiph.* before \bar{i} the reduction of \bar{i} into \bar{e} (as a normal lengthening of the original \bar{i}) especially after the *Wāw. consec.* as well as before the affirmatives תם and תן or before suffixes. For in all these cases the accent is removed from the \bar{i} to the following syllable, and this removal of tone produces, at the same time, a great weakening of the \bar{i} ; thus הָקִים, הָקִימוֹת, (or הָקִי) but הָקִימוֹת etc. (however comp. הָקִימוֹת Micah 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *Perf. Niph.*, the \bar{o} before the separating vowel is always modified into \bar{u} (הָקִימוֹתִי). In the *Impf. Qāl* the separating ׀ is always accented (הָקִימוֹתִי).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with tone-long \bar{o} and \bar{e} instead of \bar{u} and \bar{i} are found in *Impf. Qāl*, הָשִׁיבָה Ez. 16, 55 (also הָשִׁיבָה in the same verse), in *Hiph.* as הָשִׁיבָה Ex. 20, 25, but also הָשִׁיבָה in Job 31, 21, הָשִׁיבָה Job 20, 10. Wholly abnormal is הָשִׁיבָה Jer. 44, 25 probably a transposition of ים (for הָשִׁיבָה) or an incorrect vowel writing (for הָשִׁיבָה or הָשִׁיבָה).

6. The *tone*, as in verbs ע"ע, is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives הָ, י, ׀, e. g. הָקִימוֹת (however after *Wāw. consec.* also הָקִימוֹת), הָקִימוֹת (however also הָקִימוֹת, הָקִימוֹת, הָקִימוֹת); on the other hand before suffixes and with *Nūn paragoric* הָקִימוֹת 2 Chr. 28, 15; הָקִימוֹת Deut. 33, 11. For the accent on the \bar{i} and ׀, see No. 5. In those forms which do not take either of these endings, the accentuation is quite regular, e. g. הָקִימוֹת; so always in *Hoph.*, e. g. הָקִימוֹת.

7. The conjugations *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, are very seldom found in the *weak* verbs ע"ר (comp. Rem. 10). The only instance of *Pi.* with the ך as a doubled consonant is עִיר *to surround* from עיר. In a few others י has taken the place of ך, as in קים *Inf.* קים Esth. 9, 31, 32 from קים; וְחִיבָתָם Dan. 1, 10 from חִיב *to be guilty*, which forms belong to the la'er Hebrew, and were borrowed from the Aramaean. On the contrary, the elsewhere rarer conjugation *Pīlēl* (§ 55, 2), with its passive and reflexive, is the common form employed in the sense of *Pī ēl*, and as its substitute; e. g. קומם from קומם or (after the elision of ך) from *qāmēm* with obscuring of *ā* to *ō* (comp. § 67, 8) *to set up* (from קים), רומם *to raise, pass.* רומם (from רום), *reflex.* הִתְעוֹרֵר *to rouse one's self* (from עור). More rare is the conjugation *Pilpēl* (see § 55, 4), e. g. כִּלְכֵּל *to sustain, to nourish; pass.* כִּלְכֵּל (from כיל).

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O*, which in the strong verb also have their *Perf.* and *Part.* the same (§ 50, 2), the following are examples; *viz.* *Perf.* מָת (for מָתָה) *he is dead, fem.* מָתָה 2. *masc.* מָתָה 1 *sing.* מָתָה, even in *Pause* Gen. 19, 19, 1 *pl.* מָתָה 3 *pl.* מָתָה; בּוֹשׁ (for בּוֹשׁ) *he is ashamed, plur.* בּוֹשִׁים; אִיר *it has shined, Plur.* אִירִי. *Part.* מָתָה *dead; ashamed ones* Ez. 32, 30. See the Paradigm M.

Isolated anomalies are also in the *Perf.* וְשָׁבַח (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁבַחָה) Ez. 46, 17 (v. § 44, Rem. 4); וְצָקָן Is. 26, 16 (*Nūn. parag.* with *Perf.* only Deut. 8, 3, 16).—In בָּנִי 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for בָּנִי from בָּנִי) the ך has been dropped contrary to custom. In בָּנִי Jer. 27, 18 (instead of בָּנִי) the Massora seems to point towards the *Imperf.* בָּנִי, which might be expected there; as *Yōdh* precedes we may suppose that it is simply a mistake in writing. In the *Perf.* and *Part.*, the usual form קָם is only very seldom written with ך (after the Arab. mode, § 8, 1), as in קָם *he rises* Hos. 10, 14, לָאֵס *being secret* Judg. 4, 21, שְׂאֵסִים *despisers* Ez. 28, 24, 26, fem. 18, 57. The *Part.* in verbs med. *ō* takes at times also the form of קָם for קָם 2 K. 16, 7; even with a transitive sense, as כֹּסֵם *covering* Is. 25, 7, בָּסִים for בָּסִים Zech. 10, 5.

2. Verbs whose imperfects have *ū* take also *ū* in the *Imper.* and *Inf. constr.*, thus קָם *Imper.* and *Inf.* קָם; however for יִרְדָּשׁ *he thrashes* (*Impf.* יִרְדָּשׁ) the *Imper.* has יִרְדָּשׁ (*fem.*) Micah 4, 13; for יִבְזֵז *he staggers* the *Inf.* is בּוֹזֵז; comp. לִיחַ (also לִיחַ) and לֹעַ Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere לֹעַ) with

the *Impf.* בָּיָנִי and יָנִי. The *Inf. absol.* has always י in the final syllable (like בָּנִי), as יָקִימוּ קִיּוֹם *surgendo surgent* Jer. 44, 29 — Those verbs which have י in the *Inf. constr.* mostly retain it in the *Impf.*, as יָבוֹא *he will come* = בּוֹא, יָבוֹשׁ = בּוֹשׁ etc.

3 In the *Imp.* with affirmatives (קִיּוֹמִי, קִיּוֹמֵי) the tone is on the stem syllable, with a few exceptions, as עָוִירִי in Judg 5, 12, an intended variation with עָוִירִי and צִוִּירִי Is 21, 2 likewise for rhetorical reasons. So too the lengthened form, as שָׁיָבָה Jer 3, 12, Ps 7, 8, עָיָרָה Ps. 7, 7; but often also with the tone at the end, specially if an א begins the next word, Ps 82, 8, Judg 4, 18, and so too before יָהִי, because this was read as אָרְנִי (§ 17), see Ps 3, 8, 7, 7, even without א following 74, 22 (רִיבָהּ).

4. The shortened *Impf.* as *Jussive* (§ 48, 4), has the form יָרֶם (see above No. 4) also יָקִימוּ incorrectly written fully and even יָקִים which however differs only orthographically from יָקִימוּ. In the form with *Wāw consec.* (יָרָם, in *pause* יָרָם) with a guttural or a *Resh*, the final syllable usually takes *Päthäch*, e. g. יָרָסְרִי *and he turned aside* Ruth 4, 1 (but also יָרָסְרִי from יָרָסְרִי) and he rested Gen. 20, 11, יָרָסְרִי *and he weaned* Judg 4, 21, 1 Sam. 14, 28, 31 (on the other hand in open syll. always יָקִימוּ etc.).

The full plural-ending יָן has the tone (according to No 6 on p. 177), e. g. יָרָסְרִי Gen. 3, 3, 4, יָרָסְרִי Ps 104, 7, יָרָסְרִי Joel 2, 4, 7, 9.

II On Niphāl

5. In the Paradigm M. the form of the 1 pers. sing. Perf. נִקְוִימוּ, which occurs repeatedly, as in נִקְוִימוּ, נִקְוִימוּ, is taken as the model also for the 2 pers. sing. נִקְוִימוּ, נִקְוִימוּ and for the 1 pers. plur. נִקְוִימוּ, although no examples of them occur, so too the 2 pers. plur., of which we find only forms with *ô* (not *û*), viz. נִקְוִימוּ *ye have been scattered* Ez. 11, 17, 20, 34, 41, and נִקְוִימוּ *ye loathe yourselves* Ez. 20, 4 — To the *ô* (instead of *û*) of the Preformative may be traced the Perf. נִקְוִי Zech 2, 17 (*Impf.* יִקְוִי for יִקְוִי) The *Inf. constr.* occurs once in the anomalous form חָרַשׁ Is 25, 10, in חָרַשׁ Job 33, 30 the Massora supposes the syncope of ח (for חָרַשׁ), but perhaps חָרַשׁ (*Qāl*) is meant. Comp. also Rem. 9.

III On Hiphāl

6 Examples of the Perf. without the inserted י are חָרַשׁ *thou liftest* Ex 20, 25, חָרַשׁ *thou killest* (from חָרַשׁ, comp. § 20, 1, a), חָרַשׁ 3d fem. Perf. Hiph. of חָרַשׁ or חָרַשׁ 1 K 21, 25, חָרַשׁ 1 plur. Perf. Hiph. of חָרַשׁ 2 Chron. 29, 19, and even חָרַשׁ (§ 27, Rem. 3) Num. 17, 6, with *Wāw consec.* חָרַשׁ Is. 14, 30, comp. חָרַשׁ, Jer. 16, 13 and חָרַשׁ Ex. 29, 24. — In these cases the *ê* in the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the antepenult it becomes *—*; more fre-

quently however — , and in the syllable before the antepenult it is necessarily — (e.g. יִרְדְּמֹהֶיךָ Gen 6, 18, and so always before the suffix).—As in verbs עָצַע (§ 67, Rem. 6) these verbs take before gutturals also $\text{Pä}^h\text{thäch}$ instead of — , thus in all the forms of עָדַד Ex 19, 23 and עָדַד Is. 41, 25 45, 13.

7 In the *Impf.* besides the shortened form הָבִיא , the lengthened הִבְיִיאָה also occurs. With *suff.* הִבְיִינִי , Jer 17, 18 is anomalous (for הָבִיא Gen 43, 16), perhaps הָבִיא was meant (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40) or it was originally הִבְיִיאָה . In the *Inf* the ה is syncopated in הָבִיא Jer 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for הָבִיא). The participles have ē as vowel of the preformative like the עָצַע , for עָבִיר (1 K. 21, 21 in *Kethibh*) the Qā^h is everywhere עָבִיר .

The shortened *Impf.* has the form יָרַח (יָרַח), but always יָרַח comp No 4 above. The final syllable, when it has a guttural or *Resh*, takes $\text{Pä}^h\text{thäch}$, as in Qäl , e.g. יָרַח 1 Sam 26 19, יָרַח Gen 8, 21; יָרַח and he took away Gen 8, 13. Still the 1. *sing.* is usually like נָאֶשֶׁב Neh. 2, 20, more rarely נָאֶשֶׁב Josh 14, 7.

IV. In General.

8. On account of the intimate relation between verbs עָצַע and עָצַע (§ 67), it is necessary, in analysing forms, to note particularly the points in which these classes differ. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. *Impf.* Qäl with *Wāw* consecutive, $\text{Pī}^l\text{el}$ of עָצַע and $\text{Pī}^l\text{el}$ of עָצַע . Hence it is that verbs עָצַע borrow forms from verbs עָצַע , as in *Perf.* Qäl הוּ בּוֹ he despised (from בּוֹ , as if from בּוֹ) Zech 4 10, בּוֹ (for בּוֹ) he besmeared Is 44, 18. *Perf.* Niph נִבְּרַי Jer 48, 11 (for נִבְּרַי from מור , as if from קָרַר).

9. In common with verbs עָצַע (§ 67, 5), these verbs have also in *Niph.* and *Hiph.* the Aramaic and Rabbinic formation, which substitutes, for the long vowel under the preformatives, a short one followed by *Daghē sh fortē*. This form and the common one are often both in use, e.g. הִסִּיחַ to incite, *Impf.* יִסִּיחַ (also יִסִּיחַ) and he shows the way 2 Sam 22, 33 (also יִרַח Prov 12, 26), יִסִּיחַ to remove, *Impf.* יִסִּיחַ (from סוּג), also *Hoph.* הִסִּיחַ Is 50, 14, sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ to cause to rest, הִנִּיחַ to set down, *Impf.* יִנִּיחַ , *Imp.* יִנִּיחַ , plur. יִנִּיחוּ to spend the night, to abide, יִנִּיחַ , plur. יִנִּיחוּ to be headstrong or rebellious. Other examples *Niph.* נִמּוּל (from מול , not מל) to be circumcised Gen 17, 26, 27, Part 34, 22, with a guttural נִעַר Zech 2, 17; *Hiph.* הִזְוִיל to despise Lam 1, 8, יִלְּזוּ they depart Prov 4, 21.

To this class are perhaps to be referred some forms of verbs *Pē Gut-* tural with *Daghē sh fortē implicitum*, which others derive from another root, or wish to amend, וַיַּחֲזֵק for וַיַּחֲזֵק and she hastens (from הָיָה) Job. 31, 5, וַיִּצֵּט (others read וַיִּצֵּט) 1 Sam. 15 19, 26, 14 from צָטַע , צָטַע .

to *rush upon*. Both forms would be correct *imperf. apoc.* of הָשִׁיחַ and קָצַח (ל"ח), both are found however with quite a different signification from that required in this case.

10. Verbs, in which the middle stem-letter *Wāw* is sounded as a consonant, are, in respect to this letter, perfectly regular; e. g. חָוֵר *to be white*, *Impf.* יִחְוֹר; נָפַח *to expire*, *Impf.* יִנְפֹּחַ; רָחַב *to be wide*; *Pi.* יִרְחֹב, *Impf.* יִרְחֹב; עָוֵל *to act wickedly*; יָעוֹל *to bend*, *Hithp.* יִתְעַוֵּל *to bend one's self*, especially in those which are also at the same time verbs ל"ח, as צִוָּה *Pi.* יִצְוֶה *to command*, קָנָה *to wait*, רָחַב *to drink*, *Pi.* and *Hiph.* יִרְחֹב *to cause to drink*.

§ 73.

VERBS ע"י.

E. g. בִּין *to discern*. *Paradigm N.*

1. These verbs have the same inflection as verbs ע"י, and the י is here treated in the same manner as the ר of that class; e. g. *Perf. Qāl* שָׁח (for שָׁחַ) *he has set*, *Inf.* שִׁיחַ, *Inf. absol.* שֹׁחַ (for שָׁחַ), *Imp.* שִׁיחַ, *Impf.* יִשְׁחִיחַ, *Jussive* יִשְׁחַח, with *Wāw consec.* יִשְׁחַח.—But the *Perf. Qāl* has, in several verbs, still a second set of forms, which resemble a *Hiph'il* with the characteristic ה elided, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּינוּחַ (similar to הַבִּינוּחַ) Dan. 9, 2, also בִּנְחַת Ps. 139, 2; רִיבְוֹתָ *thou contendest* Job. 33, 13, also רִבְחָתָּ Lam. 3, 58. The above perfects (בִּין, רִיב, and the like) might be taken as forms *med. e* (really *ē*) whose *ē* has been lengthened into *ī* (as *ū* into *ū* instead of *ō* in the *Impf. Qāl* of קָם). It is more probable however that they actually are a shortened *Hiphil* form; especially as often complete *Hiph.* forms occur, e. g. *Perf.* הִבִּין, הַבִּינוּחַ, *Inf.* הִבִּין (also בִּין), *Imp.* הִבֵּן (also בִּין), *Part.* מִבִּין. Elsewhere *Hiphil* forms are in use along with actual *Qāl*-forms with the same signification, so too מִרְיָב (also רִיב), מִשִּׁים *putting* (also שִׁים), מִצִּיץ *glittering* (also in *Perf.* מִצָּץ). Moreover, as *passive*, we find a few times *Hoph. Impf.* יִשָּׁר from שָׁר *to sing*, יִשָּׁח from שָׁח *to set*.

2. The above *Hiph.* forms may easily be traced to verbs ע"י, and possibly they in part belong to that class. The same may be said of *Niph.* קָבַח, *Pi* לֵל, בִּוּחַן, and *Hithpāl* לֵל (as

if from בָּרַךְ). These verbs are in every respect closely related to verbs עָ"י. Hence it is that we find several verbs used in the *Qāl*, as עָ"י and עָ"י, and with the same meaning in both forms, as לָיַן (*denom.* from לָיַל *night* but see Davies' Heb. Lex. under v. לָיַן, 1.) *to spend the night*, *Inf.* לָיַן oftener than לָיַן; לָיַן *to put*, *Inf.* שָׁם (rarely שָׁם Job 20, 4), *Impf.* יָשָׁם, once יָשָׁם (Ex. 4, 11), *Part. pass.* שָׁם and שָׁם. In other verbs, one of the two is the predominant form, as גָּיל *to exult* (גָּיל only in Prov. 23, 24 *Kēthibh*). The following are mostly found as verbs עָ"י;—רִיב *to contend*, שָׂיַת *to set*, דָּיַן *to judge*, שָׂיַשׁ *to rejoice*; so too *Perf.* קָל (for in Arab. it is a verb *mid.* *Yōdh*) *to comprehend, to measure* Is. 40, 12, עִישׁ (as in Arab. and Syr.) *to rush upon*; and the *Perf.* קָץ (*denom.* from קָיַץ) *to pass the summer* Is. 18, 6, and דִּיג (from דָּג) *to fish* Jer. 16, 16.

The older grammarians did not recognise such verbs, but referred all the forms to verbs עָ"י. Indeed in many cases a decision is impossible, as imperfects like יָשָׁם may be just as well referred to the *Hiph.* of שָׁם and as participles, like שָׁם and other forms, agree already with the form of the עָ"י. In modern Arabic we find an exactly corresponding abbreviation (comp. בֵּין above No. 1) of the Hīph'il (Conj. IV.) of verbs עָ"י. However forms still remain which can only be traced to verbs עָ"י comp. Rem. 3. The Arabic, as also Ethiopic, has actual verbs עָ"י, and עָ"י, and the Hebrew has some with a *Yōdh* as a consonant, like אָבַי *to hate*, and צָרַי *to tire*, הָרַי *to be*, חָרַי *to live*.

The paradigm N is placed in connection with that of verbs עָ"י (Parad. M), in order to exhibit the parallel between the two classes. The conjugations which Parad. N omits have the same form as in Parad. M.

Rem. 1. In the *Perf.* *Qāl*, 3d fem. sing. there is found once יָלָנָה Zech. 5, 4 instead of וְלָנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* into *ē* (like fem. participles וְיָרְדָה Is. 59, 5); 1st pers. plur. יָלָנֵנוּ Judges 19, 13 for *lan-nū*. The lengthened imperative has before א the tone on the ultima (as by the verbs עָ"י § 72, Rem. 3); רִיבָהּ Ps. 85, 1, the same also elsewhere (Ps. 43, 1, 74, 22, 119, 154) for rhythmical reasons. Examples of the *Inf. absol.* are רִב *litigando* Judg. 11, 25, שָׂם *ponendo* Is. 22, 7, but also רִיב רִיב Jer. 50, 34, בֵּין תִּבָּרֵן Prov. 23, 1.

2. The *Impf. apoc.* יָבֵן; with shifted tone it takes the form with *S'ghôl*, as יָבֵן Judg. 6, 31. So with *Wāw consec.* וַיָּשֶׂם and he placed, וַיִּבֶן and he perceived; with guttural בָּהֶם וַיִּעֲטֵב בָּהֶם and he flew at them 1 Sam. 25, 14 (vide § 72, Rem. 9). As Jussive of לָיַן stands תִּלָּן Judges 19, 20 (in *pause*) and Job. 17, 2 for תִּלָּן.

3. As *Part. act. Qāl* we find once לָן *spending the night* Neh. 13, 21; *Part. pass.* שָׁרִים or שָׁרִים (according to a different reading) 2 Sam. 13, 32.

* * * *

4. Verbs ל"א scarcely ever suffer their א to quiesce, and hence are to be regarded as verbs 'Ayin Guttural, as in § 64. An exception where the א has lost its force as a consonant is: נָאִיר *they are fair* (from נֶאֱרָה *Pi' lēl* to נָאִיר really נָאִיר) Is. 52, 7, Cant. 1, 10. Very doubtful on the other hand is רִנָּה *it blooms* (Ec. 12, 5) *Impf. Hiph.* of רָנָה, for רִנָּה; if the form has been correctly preserved, it could better be traced back to רָנָה (with incorrect writing for רִנָּה) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

§ 74.

VERBS ל"א.

E. g. מָצָא *to find. Paradigm O.*

The א is here, as in verbs ל"א, treated partly as a consonant with a soft guttural sound (scarcely audible at the end of a syllable), partly as a quite inaudible (quiescent) letter, according to the following rules:—

1. In those forms which end with the third radical, the final syllable has always the regular vowels, e g. מָצָא, מְצָא, מִצָּא, מְצָא. In all these cases the א is simply absorbed into the long vowel without the latter being subject to any variations; at the utmost there might have been preserved originally a certain sound of the א after the quite heterogeneous ū. Therefore in the *Perf.*, *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl*, in the *Perf. Niph.*, and *Pū'āl* and *Hoph.*, the *Pāthāch* is lengthened before the feeble א into *Qā'mēs* (§ 23, 1), as מָצָא, מְצָא, etc., which (—) however is movable (§ 25, 2), hence we have in the plural מְצָאִים.

The *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl* have א after the analogy of verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*.

2. Also before affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ח, כ) the א is not heard, but is quiescent in the *Perf. Qāl*, in *Qā'mēs*, as מְצָאֵה (for מְצָאֵה); in the *Perf.* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, in *Sērē*, as מְצָאֵה; in the *Imp.* and *Impf.* of all the conjugations, in *Sēghōl*, as מְצָאֵה, מְצָאֵה.

The *S'ghôl* of these forms of the *Impf.* and *Imp.* may be considered throughout as an inflection and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (v. § 8, 1). In the same way the *ē* of the *Perf.* forms in *Piel*, *Hiphil*, *Hithpaal* may be traced to an original *ī* (as the usual 3d pers. sing. of this conjugation) although this *ī* may have been attenuated from an original *ā*. Regarding the *Niphal*, we might refer to traces of a weakening of the *ā* to *ī* with the verbs ע"ע (§ 67, Rem. 5); the supposition however lies nearer that the *Niphal* has yielded to the pervading analogy of the other conjugations. The use of *Šērē* and *S'ghôl* is otherwise explained from the great resemblance between verbs ל"נ and ל"ה (comp. § 75, 2), and an approximation of the former to the latter. No form of this kind in *Pu'al*; in *Perf. Hoph.* only 2d masc. הָאֵלֶּה Ez. 40, 4, lengthened in accordance with the rule.

Before the suffixes כִּי, כֵּן, כֵּן, the *ā* retains its character as a guttural, and takes (—); as אֵלֶּיךָ Cant. 8, 1, הִבְרָאָה Ez. 28, 13; comp. § 65, 2, Rem. The reason (as in verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*) is, that those suffixes require before them a *Sh'wā mobile*.

3. At the beginning of a syllable or before affirmatives beginning with a vowel, as well as before suffixes; the *ā* is a consonant, and the form regular, as מַצָּאֵי *mā-š'ē'ū*, מַצָּאָה etc. (in pause מַצָּאֵי, מַצָּאָה).

REMARKS.

1. Verbs *middle E.* like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain *Šērē* in the other persons of the *Perf.* as in מָלֵאתִי; yet 2 pl. מָלֵאתָ in Josh. 4, 24, מָלֵאתָ Esth. 7, 5. Instead of מָלֵאתִי is sometimes found the form מָלֵאתָ for מָלֵאתִי (after the form מָלֵאתָ, § 44, Rem. 4) *she names* Is. 7, 14, *it happens to* Jer. 44, 23, Deut. 31, 29, in *Niph.* מָלֵאתָ Ps. 118, 23, in *Hoph.* מָלֵאתָ Gen. 33, 11.

2. In the *Inf. Qāl* occurs the *fem.* form מָלֵאתָ *to fill* Lev. 12, 4 (comp. מָלֵאתָ from מָלֵאתָ); also מָלֵאתָ Job 20, 22 and Esth. 1, 5 written מָלֵאתָ. Compare similar forms Judges 8, 1, Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes Ez. 33, 12 and likewise in *Niph.* Zech. 13, 4.

3. The *Part. fem.* is commonly (by contraction) מַצָּאֵי, seldom מַצָּאֵי Cant. 8, 10, and without the *ā* (see Rem. 4) מַצָּאֵי (from מַצָּאֵי) Deut. 28, 57. So too in *Niph.* מַצָּאֵי Zech. 5, 7 (cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 43, where it stands as a substantive, like L. *oblatus* = *oblatio*, *donum*) and 1 Ch. 14, 2; מַצָּאֵי Deut. 30, 11.—The *Plur. of Part. Niph.* makes מַצָּאֵי dropping the *Qameṣ* (1 Sam. 13, 15, 2 K. 14, 14), which however remains in pause (Ezr. 8, 25); so from מַצָּאֵי the plur. מַצָּאֵי (but in p. מַצָּאֵי Ez. 13, 2); the *Qameṣ* remains also before suff. as מַצָּאֵי Is. 22, 3, and before *fem.* ending מַצָּאֵי 2 K. 19, 4, plur. מַצָּאֵי Gen. 19, 15. In the forms מַצָּאֵי *sinning* 1 Sam. 14, 33, and מַצָּאֵי *feigning them* Neh.

G, 8, the vowel is drawn back (§ 23, 2) and the א orthographically retained.

4. The א is sometimes dropped: a) in the middle of the word as in *קָצַרְתִּי* Num. 11, 11, *קָצַרְתִּי* Job 32, 18, comp. *קָצַרְתִּי* Judges 4, 19. In *impf.* *הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ* Jer. 9, 17, Zech. 5, 9, Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand the same form with pleonastic *Yôdh* analogous with ל"ה Ez. 23, 49 comp. Jer. 50, 20); *Niph.* *נִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ* ye are defiled Lev 11, 43; b) at the end of the word: *וַיְבִי* 1 K. 12, 12 *K'ithibh*; *Hiph.* *וַיִּחַשְׁרִי* 2 K. 13, 6. *Hiph.* *וַיִּחַשְׁרִי* to cause to sin Jer. 32, 35.

Upon the transformation of verbs ל"א into forms ל"ה v. § 75. Rem. VI.

§ 75.

VERBS ל"ה.

E. g. *גָּלָה* to reveal. *Paradigm P.*

These verbs, like the verbs פ"י (§§ 69, 70), embrace two different classes of the irregular verb, viz. ל"י and ל"י, which in Arabic, and especially in Ethiopic, are still more clearly distinguished. But in Hebrew the original י and י have passed over into a feeble ה, as a substitute for a final vowel (§ 23, 4), in all those forms which end with the third radical, and hence these verbs are called verbs ל"ה; e. g. *גָּלָה* for *גָּלִי* *he has revealed*, *שָׁכַח* for *שָׁכִי* *he has rested*. By far the greater number, however, of these verbs are treated as originally ל"י; and only a few forms occur of verbs ל"י. The separation of these classes is therefore not so distinct as in verbs פ"י and פ"י.

A true verb ל"י is *שָׁכַח* to be at rest, whence (with a י conson.) 1 pers. sing. *Perf.* *שָׁכַחְתִּי* Job. 3, 26, *Part.* *שָׁכֵן*, and the derivative *שָׁכַח* rest; yet in the *Impf.* it has *יִשְׁכָּח* (with *Yôdh*). In *קָנָה* I (Arab. *كُنِيَ*) to answer, and *קָנָה* II (Arab. *كُنِيَ*) to suffer, to be oppressed, are two verbs originally distinct, but with the same form in Hebrew (see Davies' Heb. Lex.).—In Syriac the intermingling of these forms is carried still farther, verbs ל"א being confounded with verbs ל"ה, i. e. with the two classes ל"י and ל"י of the Arabic.

Of quite another class are those verbs whose third stem-letter is a consonantal ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*, § 14, 1), e. g. *גָּבַה* to be high. They are inflected throughout like verbs *Lamedh Guttural*.

The grammatical structure of these verbs (which *Paradigm P* exhibits) is as follows:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped and ה is placed in its stead, as an orthographical compensation, indicating that a long vowel precedes. Such an indication was necessary already for practical reasons in the still unvocalized consonant text. But even after the addition of vowel signs, the orthographic rule still remained with very insignificant exceptions (v. § 8, No. 4 and *ā* in קָטַח etc.), that a final vowel must be pointed out by a so-called vowel-letter.—In the verb ל"ח, the ה which here is employed as a vowel letter, is preceded in each particular form by the same vowel through all the conjugations. Thus appears the ending:

ה— in all the Perfects, גָּלַח, נָגַלַח, etc.

ה— in all the Imperfects and Participles active, יִגְלַח, גִּלַּח, etc.

ה— in all the Imperatives, גַּלַּח, נַגַּלַּח, etc.

ה— in the Inf. absol. (except in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, also *Pi.*, see Rem. 10 and 15 below), גְּלַח, etc.

The *Part. pass.* *Qāl* forms an exception, in which the original י appears, at the end, גָּלִי, as also in some derivatives (§ 85, V).

The *Inf. constr.* has, as a rule, the feminine form in ח; thus in *Qāl* גִּלְחִי (from גָּלִיחַ), in *Pi' el* גִּלְחִי, etc.

In explanation of these forms we observe:—

That in the *Perf.* *Qāl* גָּלַח stands for גָּלִי (according to § 24, 2, c), so too in *Niph.*, *Pū'āl* and *Hōph'āl*. The *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are based on the forms חָקַל, חִקְקַל (§ 52, Rem. 1), *Hiph.* on the form חִקְקַל, after the manner of the Arabic *āqtālā* (§ 53, 1).

The final accented ה— of the imperfect is variously explained. The least plausible is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (or rather the *i* into which it is dissolved) with preceding *ā*. For the language generally only has *ē* as contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which at the most may be weakened into *i* (v. No. 2). According to *Rödiger* the obscure ח— is in place of the distincter characteristic vowels of the corresponding forms of the strong verb, which have maintained themselves in Arab. and Ethiop. with greater purity also in these verbs, e. g. *Impf.* *Qāl* יִגְלַח (Arab. *yaghlū*) (vulgar *yaglū*), Eth. *yēglā*; יִבְכֶּה (from בָּכָה to weep), Arab. *yabkī*, Eth. *yēbki*; יִחִי (r. יָחַי to live), Arab. *yachyā*, Eth. *yechyaw*; יִרְעֶה (r. רָעָה to feed), Arab. *yar'ā*, Eth. *yer'ay*. So too in the other conjugations, e. g. *Pi.* יִגְלֶה, cf. Arab. *yusallī*, Eth. *yēṣallī* (he

prays); Hiph. רָאָה (ר. רָאָה to see), Arab. *yur'û*, Eth. *yâr'û*, etc. According to these examples in Arab. and Ethiop. the characteristic vowel has maintained itself everywhere, and from thus we might conclude that also in Hebrew in the imperfects of the different conjugations of the ל"ה different vowels were originally employed, but in an endeavour after a complete analogy they all have become equally —. That such an effort has taken place, remains without doubt, if we also consider the uniformity of the forms, in *perf.*, *impf.* and *participle*. The only question now is, whether in regard to the imperfects, the uniformity of formation did not originally exist in an *ā* as a vowel to the final syllable. By the *Pual* and *Hophal* this would be a matter of course; but also elsewhere (especially in the *Qāl*, v. Rem. 4) the *ā* shows itself occasionally as the original vowel. Accordingly the accented — would be an inflection and lengthening of *ā* in an open syllable (as מִלֵּךְ for מִלְּךְ) instead of the full lengthening into *ā*. In the same way may be also explained the — of the participles, whilst the *constr. state* of the same (גֵּלֶחַ) is based upon a contraction of the original *ay*; comp. also the noun שָׂדֵי and שָׂדֶה (from שָׂדֵי *field*; construct שָׂדֶה. The same as in these *constr.* forms, also in the *Imper.* (ending הִ—, contraction of *ay*) *Yôdh* must everywhere be supposed to be the final letter, the original "ל" having also followed the analogy of "ל".

2. Before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ר, נ), the original י remains, and there arises *a*) in the *Perf.* the diphthong *ay* (י—); this diphthong should be contracted into *ê* (י—), but this *ê* is constantly found only in passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qāl* and other active and reflexive conjugations it appears to be further attenuated into *i* (comp. Rem. 7, 9, 14 and § 27, Rem. 1); but in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* before נָה it is changed into the obtuse and accented *ê* (נָה—). Here again we have the disputed question (v. above) whether this נָה— must be considered the equivalent of נָה— (i. e. *ê* as contraction from *ay*) or whether after the dropping of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3d sing.) *ā* was inflected into *S'ghôl*. In the latter case the *Yôdh* which is still written everywhere in these forms, must be simply considered an orthographical remainder of the original form. Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, there appears as chief vowel—

Perfect *Qāl i*, as נִלֵּיךְ;

Perfects of the other active conjugations, and also in the reflexive, partly *ê*, partly *i*, as in נִלֵּיךְ and נִלֵּיךְ;
and נִלֵּיךְ;

Perfects of the passives only עָלֶיךָ , as נָגִידָהּ ;

Imperfects and Imperatives always יִגְלֶיךָ , as תִּגְלֶיךָ , גִּלְיָהּ , גִּלְיָהָ .

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic, and the diphthong is contracted only by way of exception and in the popular idiom. In Aram. and Syriac, the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syr. also has in *Qāl* 2 p. sing. גִּלְיָהָ (but 1 p. sing. גִּלְיָה), and so too the West. Aram. has גִּלְיָהָ along with גִּלְיָה .

3. Before the vowel affirmatives (וִי , וְ , וְהִי), the *Yôdh* with the vowel before it is usually dropped, e. g. גָּלִי (for גִּלְיָהּ), תִּגְלִי (for תִּגְלִיָּהּ), *Part. fem.* גִּלְיָה , *plur. mas.* גִּלְיָהִם ; yet it is retained in ancient full forms, particularly in *pause*, as יִגְלִיָּהּ (see Rem. 4 and 13). Before *suffixes* also it is dropped, as in גִּלְיָהָ (Rem. 19).

4. In 3 *Perf. sing. fem.*, the old *fem.* ending וְהִי returns, and, with the elision of the *Yôdh* arises the form גִּלְיָהָ (before *suffixes*) and tone-lengthened גִּלְיָהָ . But this ancient form is become very rare (see Rems. 1 and 19); and, as if this mark of the gender were not sufficiently distinct, a second feminine-ending וְהִי is appended, before which the *Pāthäch* of the ending וְהִי becomes *Sh'wâ* so as to form גִּלְיָהָּ , גִּלְיָהָּ (*pause* גִּלְיָהָּ).

See similar cases in § 70, Rem. and in § 91, 3.

5. The formation of the *shortened Imperfect* both as *jussive* and w. ו consec. (§ 48 and 49), which occurs in this class of verbs in all the conjugations, is strongly marked, consisting in the rejection of the וְ , by which some other changes are occasioned in the form (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). The *shortened Imperative* is also formed by *apocope* of the וְ (Rems. 12, 16).

6. Of the *Imperfect lengthened* by וְ (§ 48, 3), only the following examples are found in verbs ל"ה :—in *Qāl*, אֶשְׁעָה , Ps. 119, 117, אֶשְׁמְרָהּ (retaining ו , see Rem. 4) Ps. 77, 4, and in *Hithp.* נִשְׁתַּעֲבָהּ Is. 41, 23 (toneless וְ after long vowel).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. For the 3 *Pers. fem.*, the older and simpler form גִּלְיָהּ , from גִּלְיָהָ (comp. the verb שָׁמְרָהּ , § 74, Rem. 1), is almost entirely banished from common use (see No. 4 above). One instance is נִשְׁמְרָהּ it yields Lev. 25,

21 (comp. 2 K. 9, 37 *Keth.*). So in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, e. g. *הִרְצִיָּהּ* it enjoys Lev. 26, 34, *הִקְלָהּ* it is taken captive Jer. 13, 19. But with *suffixes* this form is always used; see Rem. 19 below. In the 3d pers. plur. is found instead of the usual accent (גִּלָּהּ etc.) Ps. 37, 20, *הִקְלָהּ* in *pause* and also in *rhythmical antithesis* to the preceding *הִקְלָהּ*. Regarding the accent of the *consec. perf.* v. § 49, 3 Rem.

2. The *Inf. absol.* has also the form *רָאָה* *videndo* Gen. 26, 28. The form *רָאָה* Is. 22, 13 (also *רָאָה* in the same verse) has been chosen, because it represents a similarity of sounds with *רָאָה*; the same in 42, 20 in *Qeri* and Hos. 10, 4. As *Inf. constr.* גִּלִּית (once גִּלָּהּ or גִּלָּהּ) comp. *רָאָה* Gen. 48, 11, *רָאָה* 50, 20, or *רָאָה* 31, 28, and the feminine form *רָאָהָהּ* to see Ez. 28, 17, like *קָטְלָהּ* (§ 45, 1, b).

3. The *shortening* of the *Impf.* (see above in No. 5) occasions in *Qal* the following changes.—

- a) The first stem-letter most commonly receives a helping *Sēghōl*, or, when the middle radical is a guttural, a helping *Pä'thäch* (§ 28, 4), e. g. *הִגֵּל* for *הִגֵּל*; *בָּנָה* and *he built*; *רָאָה* let him look (for *רָאָה*).
- b) The *Chērēq* of the preformative is also sometimes lengthened into *Šērē* (because it now stands in an open syllable), as *רָאָה* let him see (from *רָאָה*). This however occurs mostly only after the preformative *ר*, whilst after the *י* the *š* being homogeneous remains, e. g. *יִרְאָה* (also *יִרְאָה*), *יִרְאָה* (also *יִרְאָה*); and by verbs middle guttural *יִרְאָה* (from *יִרְאָה*). The strange accentuation *רָאָה* Zech. 9, 5, *יִרְאָה* Micah. 7, 10 and *יִרְאָה* (mid. *ē*) Gen. 41, 33 can be explained only to some degree from *rhythmical* reasons.
- c) The helping vowel is not used elsewhere, and especially not in the cases mentioned in § 28, 4; e. g. *יִרְאָה* and *he took captive* Num. 21, 1; and with *š* lengthened to *ē*, *יִרְאָה* and *he drank*, *יִרְאָה* and *he wept*. The verb *רָאָה* has the forms *רָאָה* let him see, and *יִרְאָה* and *he saw*, the latter with *Pä'thäch* on account of the following *ר*.
- d) Examples of verbs which are *Pē Guttural* (§ 63) as well as *Lä'mēdh Hē*:—*יָצָא* and *he made* (from *יָצָא*), *יָצָא* and *he answered* (from *יָצָא*), *יָצָא* and *we ascended* (from *יָצָא*). On a few forms of *פ"ה* v. § 76, 2, c. Sometimes the pointing of the first syllable is not affected by the guttural, as in *יָצָא* and *he was wroth*, *יָצָא* and *he encamped*, *יָצָא* (with *Dag. lenē*, according to § 28, 4) let it rejoice Job. 3, 6. On *יָצָא*, *יָצָא*, *יָצָא* (both *ל"ה* and *פ"ה*) v. § 76, 2, b.
- e) The verbs *יָצָא* to be and *יָצָא* to live, where analogy would require the *Impf. apoc.* to be *יָצָא*, *יָצָא*, change these forms to *יָצָא* and *יָצָא*, because the second *Yōdh* draws to itself the vowel *i*, and makes with it a long *i*; in *pause*: *יָצָא*, *יָצָא*, the original *ā* having been modified into *Sēghōl*. (Comp. the derivatives *יָצָא* for *יָצָא*, *יָצָא* for *יָצָא*, etc., § 85, No. V).—From *יָצָא* to be occurs once the form *יָצָא* for *יָצָא* he will be Ec. 11, 3, (on the *א* v. § 23, 3, Rem. 3).

The full forms, without the *apocope* of ה—, occur sometimes even after *Wāw consec.*, especially in the 1st person and in the later books, e. g. וָאֵרָא and *I saw* (20 times) and Josh. 7, 21 in *Kethib* but never in the Pentateuch (וָאֵרָא, 15 times, 3 times in *Pent.*); וַיַּעַשׂ and *he made* 4 times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times). At times also for the *jussive*, as in וַיַּעַשׂ Gen. 41, 34, Jer. 28, 6.

4. The original י is sometimes retained before the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (comp. Nos. 3 and 6 above), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ם—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests upon the word. *Perf.* תִּשְׁתָּרָה *she trusts* Ps. 57, 2, תִּשְׁתָּרָה *they trust* Deut. 32, 37 (comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Qerē*). *Imp.* בְּשֵׁרֵי אֲשַׁלְּחֵם *ask ye* Is. 21, 12, *Impf.* יִשְׁכְּלוּ *they are quiet* Ps. 122, 6, יִרְבֶּינָה *they increase* Deut. 8, 13, Ps. 36, 9, more frequently like יִשְׁתָּרֶינָה *they drink* Ps. 78, 44, Is. 21, 12; 26, 11, Ps. 36, 8 (comp. Rems. 5, 7, 13 and 16).

5. The *Part. act.* has also a *fem.* retaining the 3d radical י, as in בֹּכֵיָהּ (= בָּכָה) *weeping* Lam. 1, 16, צֹפֵיָהּ *spying* Prov. 31, 27, פִּרְיָהּ *fruitful* Ps. 128, 3; in the *plur.* like אֹתֵרֵיהֶן *coming* Is. 41, 23. The *Part. pass.* is still sometimes found with the י as 3d radical, as עָשָׂה *made* Job. 41, 25, עָשָׂה Job 15, 22, contracted from עָשָׂה, and the י has still its consonant sound before a formative ending, as in עֹשִׂיהָ (read it as *ʿasūwōth*) 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethib*, נֹשְׂרֵיהֶן (read *nēšwōth* Is. 3, 16 *Kethib*).

6. The forms are at times written defectively, as in יִהְיֶה 2 Sam. 15, 33, תִּשְׁכַּח Job. 5, 12, and (according to the Massora) תִּיֵּאָדָה Mic. 7, 10, comp. תִּשְׁכַּח Judges 5, 29 (according to others in *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3d fem. *sing.*). Both cases must probably be considered in the sense of § 20, 2, c.

II. On *Niph'al*.

7. Here the forms with ה— in 1 and 2 p. *sing.* of the *Perf.* are the usual, the ה— being found only in נִקְרָה Gen. 24, 8; but in 1 p. *pl.* the ה— is always used, as in נִקְרָנוּ 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2 p. *pl.* occur in *Niph.* of these verbs.—The י is retained in *pause*, as in נִקְרָה Num. 24, 6.

8. The *apocope* of the *Impf.* occasions here simply the rejection of ה—, יִקְרָה from יִקְרָה; yet in one verb *ʿAyin Guttural*, we find a form with (ה—) shortened to (ה—), viz. יִמָּחַ (for יִמָּחַה) Ps. 109, 14 (but in *pause* יִמָּחַה Ps. 109, 13). Similar also in *Pi.* is יִמָּחַ (from יִמָּחַה) Ps. 141, 8, and in *Hithp.* יִמָּחַ (from יִמָּחַה) Prov. 22, 24.

III. On *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*.

9. In the *Perf. Pi.*, the second syllable has *i* (*Chireg*) instead of the diphthongal ה— in the greater number of examples, as in הִמְיָהּ, תִּמְיָהּ, always in 1 p. *pl.* and before *suffixes*, e. g. קִטְיָה Gen. 37, 26, תִּמְיָהּ Ps. 44, 20. But in the *Paradigm* the form with ה— stands first,

as being older, though examples occur in the O. Test. only in 1st sing. as Joel 4, 21. In *Hithp.* not only לִּי (Jer. 17, 16), but also לִּי is sometimes found (Prov. 24, 10, 1 K. 2, 26, Jer. 50, 24). Yet *Pā'āl* has always *Šē'rē* (לִּי), as in עֲשִׂיתִי Ps. 139, 15.

10. The usual form of the *Inf. absol. Pi.* is like כָּתַבְתָּ, כָּתַבְתָּ (according to כָּתַבְתָּ, the more frequent form also in the strong verb, see § 52, Rem. 3), rarely like כָּתַבְתָּ Ps. 40, 2.

11. The *Impf.* loses, after the *apocopè*, the *Dāghē'sh fortè* of the second stem-letter (comp. § 20. 3, a); hence *Pi.* וַיִּצַּח and he commanded, *Hithp.* וַיִּתְּחַל and he uncovered himself, Gen. 9, 21. Less frequently is *Pā'thāch*, in this case, lengthened into *Qāmēš*, as וַיִּתְּחַל and he marked 1 Sam. 21, 14, וַיִּתְּחַל he craves, *Hithp.* וַיִּתְּחַל Is. 41, 10. Ps. 45, 12; according to the best texts however this should read וַיִּתְּחַל.

12. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are found also *apocopated* forms of the *Imp.*, as צִי for צִיָּה command thou, נִסֵּה for נִסֵּה prove thou Dan. 1, 12; וַיִּתְּחַל feign thyself sick 2 Sam. 13, 5, Deut. 2, 24. Anomalous is Judges 9, 29 רָבַה for רָבַה increase; on וַיִּלְבֵּי Prov. 26, 7 (according to some *Imper. Pi.* for וַיִּלְבֵּי comp. *Delitzsch in loc.* In Ps. 137, 7 is found twice עָרִי naked instead of עָרִי (for עָרִי), but comp. 2 Chr. 24, 11.

13. The *Yōdh* is retained in some cases where it is more commonly omitted, e.g. *Impf.* וַיִּתְּחַל will ye liken Is. 40, 18, comp. vs. 25; וַיִּתְּחַל they cover them Ex. 15, 5.

IV. On *Hiph'ûl* and *Höph'âl*.

14. In the *Perf. Hiph.* 3 sing וַיִּגְלֶה, as also found besides וַיִּגְלֶה, especially וַיִּגְלֶה, וַיִּגְלֶה. The forms with *ê* are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Prov. 5, 13), rarely in the 2d sing. masc. never in 1. pl. In the other pers. they are about equally common with *î*; before suffixes the latter is used as somewhat shorter than the other. The Paradigm P puts first the older form with *î*. In *Hoph.* only *î* occurs.

15. The *Šē'rē* of the *Inf. absol. Hiph.* is the regular vowel (as in וַיִּתְּחַל); *Hoph.* conforms to this *Inf. absol.*, as in וַיִּתְּחַל Lev. 19, 20. The verb וַיִּתְּחַל to be much has three forms of the *Inf.*; viz. וַיִּתְּחַל used as adverb (§ 131, 2) much, וַיִּתְּחַל as *Inf. absol.* with a finite verb (§ 131, 3), וַיִּתְּחַל as *Inf. constr.* Gen. 41, 49, 22, 17, Deut. 28, 63. On וַיִּתְּחַל Job. 17, 2 (with *Dag. f. dirimens*) v. § 20, 2, b.

16. The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* is found either without a helping-vowel, as וַיִּתְּחַל let him subdue Is. 41, 2, וַיִּתְּחַל let him spread Gen. 9, 27, וַיִּתְּחַל and he watered (see § 28, 4); or וַיִּתְּחַל with it, as וַיִּתְּחַל (for וַיִּתְּחַל, see § 27, Rem. 2, c), as וַיִּתְּחַל and he led captive 2 K. 18, 11, וַיִּתְּחַל and he made fruitful Ps. 105, 24. Examples with gutturals: וַיִּתְּחַל Num. 23, 2, וַיִּתְּחַל etc., which can be distinguished from the like forms in *Qāl* only by the sense (comp. 28, 4).—The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* has always the helping-vowel *Šēghôl* or *Pā'thāch*, as וַיִּתְּחַל increase thou (for וַיִּתְּחַל, וַיִּתְּחַל) Ps. 51, 4, וַיִּתְּחַל let alone (for

וְרָץ, (וְרָץ) Deut. 9, 14, וְרָץ (for וְרָץ) Ex. 33, 12.—The *Impf. Hiph.* with *Yōdh* retained occurs only in וְרָץ Job 19, 2, from וְרָץ. Comp. Rem. 4 on p. 190.

V. In General.

17. In the Aramæan, where as before remarked, the verbs לָחַץ and לָחַץ run into one another, both classes terminate in the *Impf.* and *Part.* of all the conjugations, without distinction, in לָחַץ or לָחַץ. As imitations of this mode of formation, we are to regard those forms of the *Inf.*, *Imp.*, and *Impf.* in לָחַץ, more seldom לָחַץ or לָחַץ, which are found in Hebrew also, especially in the later writers and the poets. *Inf. Pi.* וְרָץ Hos. 6, 9. *Imp. Qāl* וְרָץ be thou Job. 37, 6, *Impf. Pi.* וְרָץ let him see Gen. 41, 33, וְרָץ he will do Is. 34, 3; וְרָץ Jer. 17, 17, וְרָץ consent thou not Prov. 1, 10, וְרָץ do thou not 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same for Gen. 26, 29, Josh. 7, 9, Jer. 40, 16, *Qeri*); וְרָץ Josh. 9, 24; וְרָץ Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph.* Lev. 5, 9; in *Pi.* Lev. 18, 7, 8, 12—17, 20, 19 (everywhere וְרָץ לָחַץ and also וְרָץ with small distinctives); וְרָץ Nah. 1, 3; וְרָץ Ez. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*). The circumstance that many of these forms stand in *pause* and that at the same time they represent a *Jussive* or *Voluntative* (Josh. 7, 9), leads us to suppose that the long vowel has been chosen principally in order to heighten the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to distinguish, by sound, the *Jussive* from the usual *Imperf.* Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29, Lev. 5, 9, Jer. 40, 16, Dan. 1, 13) the long vowel serves probably to avoid the hiatus which is produced by a following לָחַץ or לָחַץ. We are not sure whether in the choice of the לָחַץ we may not have a return to the original diphthongal final sound (in a manner that וְרָץ be directly contracted from וְרָץ).

The ending לָחַץ is found for לָחַץ in the *Impf. Qāl* וְרָץ and she committed fornication Jer. 3, 6 (before *Mäqqēph*) instead of לָחַץ in the *Perf. Hiph.* וְרָץ he made sick Is. 53, 10 (perhaps for וְרָץ from וְרָץ as secondary form to וְרָץ v. Rem. 21). Wholly Aramaic is the *plur.* וְרָץ they intimidated (Josh. 14, 8).

18. In three verbs is found the rare conjugation *Pi'el*, or its reflexive (§ 55, 2), where the third radical, which that conjugation requires to be doubled, appears repeated under the form וְרָץ (see § 24, 2, c), viz. in וְרָץ (contracted וְרָץ) to be beautiful, from וְרָץ archers Gen. 21, 16; but especially in וְרָץ to bow, *Pi'el* וְרָץ hence *Hithpāl'el* וְרָץ to bow one's self, to prostrate one's self, 2d pers. in וְרָץ and 1st pers. וְרָץ, *Impf.* וְרָץ, *apoc.* וְרָץ for וְרָץ (analogous to segholate forms like וְרָץ for וְרָץ).

19. Before *suffixes*, the ה final and the preceding vowel, are displaced by the so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), as וְרָץ (in *pause* וְרָץ) he answered me, וְרָץ, in *pause* וְרָץ Is. 30, 19 (and even outside of *pause* Jer. 23, 37) or like וְרָץ Deut. 32, 6, וְרָץ, *Impf.* וְרָץ, *Hiph.* וְרָץ, וְרָץ, וְרָץ. Very seldom וְרָץ takes the place of the

final —ה or —ה , as in אָפּדעקט Deut. 32, 26, הָכִסִּימוּ *he will cover them* Ps. 140, 10 קִרְיִי , הִכִּינִי *smite me* 1 K. 20, 35. By these examples we might suppose a return to the original ending *ay*; but perhaps they are based on a less correct full writing. The 3. *Perf. fem.* always takes before *suff.* the older form נָלַח (see No. 4), e. g. בִּלְחָהּ for בָּלָחָהּ Zech. 5, 4, in *pause* עָשָׂהּנִי Job 33, 4.

VI. Affinity of Verbs ל"ח and ל"נ .

20. The verbs of each of these classes, in consequence of their intimate relation (being quite confounded in Aramæan), often borrow forms from one another, especially in the later writers and the poets.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"נ —

- a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ח , e. g. *Perf.* בָּלָאֲחִי *I restrain* Ps. 119, 101; *Part.* חָטָא *sinning* Ec. 8, 12, 9, 18; *Pi. Perf.* לָא *he has filled* Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 K. 9, 11, Am. 4, 2, Ps. 143, 3; רָפְאִי *I heal* 2 K. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *Niph. Perf.* נִלְאָהָהּ (like נִלְאָהָהּ) *it was wonderful* 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph. Perf.* הִלְאָהָהּ Deut. 28, 59, הִלְאָהָהּ *she hid* Josh. 6, 17. On the other hand forms like הִשָּׂא Jer. 10, 5, הִרְבֵּהנִי (correct reading) Job 19, 2, are based upon syncope of א, v. § 74, Rem. 3.
- b) Which retain their own pointing, but have adopted the ח, e. g. *Imp.* רָפֵה *heal thou* Ps. 60, 4; *Niph.* נִחָבָה Jer. 49, 10 and הִחָבָה *to hide one's self* 1 K. 22, 25; comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi. Impf.* יִמְלֵה *he will fill* Job 8, 21.
- c) Which in all respects have the appearance of verbs ל"ח , e. g. *Perf.* צָמְאָהּ *thou thirstest* Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 3, 8; כָּלֵהּ *they kept back*, 1 Sam. 6, 10; כָּלֵהּ *they are full* Ez. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *Inf.* חָטָה (v. Rem. 2) *to sin* Gen 20, 6; *Impf.* יִכְלֵה (for יִכְלֵה) *he will keep back*, Gen. 23, 6; הִרְפִּינָהּ *they heal* Job 5, 18; *Part. fem.* יָצָא Ec. 10, 5; *Part. pass.* נָשָׂה Ps. 32, 1; *Niph.* נִרְפָּהָהּ Jer. 51, 9; נִבִּיָּהּ Jer. 26, 9, *Impf.* יִרְפֵּה 2 K. 2, 22; *Pi. Impf.* יִרְפֵּה Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hilph.* הִנְבִּיָּהּ *thou prophesiest* 1 Sam. 10, 6, *Inf.* הִנְבִּיָּהּ 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *Kethibh* לְהַשִּׂיחַ 2 K. 19, 25 the *Qere* gives the usual form לְהַשְׂאִיחַ ; the *Kethibh* would read לְהַשְׂאִיחַ (with syn. of א).

22. On the contrary, there are forms of verbs ל"ח which, wholly or in part, follow the analogy of verbs ל"נ ; e. g. in their consonants אָחָה *he comes* Is. 21, 12; יָרָצָהּ Ez. 43, 27, יָשָׁנָה Lam. 4, 1, טָרָהּ Jer. 33, 4, יָשָׁנָה Eccl. 3, 1, יָשָׁנָה *it is changed* Lam. 4, 1, שָׁנָה 2 K. 25, 29, וַיִּהְיֶה *and he became sick* 2 Ch. 16, 12; in their vowels, יָחָנִי Jer. 3, 22, יָחָדָהּ Dan. 10, 14, חָכְלָהּ 1 K. 17, 14; in both, חָלָהּ 2 Sam. 21, 12 *Qere*.

§ 76.

VERBS DOUBLY WEAK OR ANOMALOUS.

1. There are a number of verbs that have two stem-consonants which as weak letters are affected by the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether the verb is actually subject to both, or but one of them, or, as sometimes happens, to neither.

Thus e. g. from נָדַד *to flee* are formed *Impf.* יָדַד Nah. 3, 7, and יָדַד Gen. 31, 40 (after the analogy of verbs פָּעַץ), *Hiph.* הָדַד (as a verb פָּעַץ), but in *Impf. Hoph* יִדָּד (as פָּעַץ).

2. The following are examples of doubly anomalous verbs, and of difficult forms derived from them:—

- a) Verbs פָּעַץ and לָ"א (comp. §§ 66 and 74), e. g. נָשָׂא *to bear*, *Imp.* נָשָׂא, *Inf. constr.* שָׂאָה (for שָׂאָה), also נָשָׂא; after the prefix ל always שָׂאָה (but once מִשְׁתִּי Job 41, 17 with *Syn.* of א); *Impf.* הִשְׁתָּה for הִשְׁתָּה Ruth 1, 14.
- b) Verbs פָּעַץ and לָ"א (comp. §§ 66 and 75), as נָשָׂה *to bend* נָשָׂה *to smite*. Hence *Impf.* קָלַל יָשָׁה, *apoc.* יָשָׁה and he bowed, נָשָׂה and נָשָׂה and he sprinkled (from נָשָׁה); *Perf. Hiph.* הִכָּה he smote, *Impf.* הִכָּה, *apoc.* הִכָּה, so also נָשָׂה; *Imp.* הִכָּה, *apoc.* הִכָּה; *Inf.* הִכָּה; *Part.* הִכָּה.
- c) Verbs פָּעַץ and לָ"א (comp. §§ 68 and 75), as נָשָׂה *to be willing*, נָשָׂה *to come*, נָשָׂה *to bake*. So *Impf. Qāl* יָשָׁה, *plur.* יָשָׁה, *Is.* 41, 25 (for יָשָׁה), *Impf. apoc.* יָשָׁה Dent 38, 21 (for יָשָׁה), *Impf.* אָשָׁה Is. 21, 12, 56, 9, 12 (comp. אָשָׁה Exod. 16, 23) for אָשָׁה (§ 23, 3, Rem. 2, § 75, Rem. 4), *Hiph. Imp.* הִשְׁתָּה for הִשְׁתָּה (הִשְׁתָּה), Is. 21, 14, *Impf. apoc.* הִשְׁתָּה and he swore 1 Sam. 14, 24 (from הִשְׁתָּה, really הִשְׁתָּה, hence הִשְׁתָּה and, with the obscuring to *ô*, הִשְׁתָּה; instead of the simple *apocopé*, which would give הִשְׁתָּה, the *â* which had already disappeared, becomes again audible by the auxiliary *S'ghôl*.
- d) Verbs פָּעַץ and לָ"א (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 74), as הִצָּח *to go forth*, *Impf.* הִצָּח, *Inf.* הִצָּח, *Hiph.* הִצָּח *to bring out*.
- e) Verbs פָּעַץ and לָ"א (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 75), e. g. הִדָּה *to throw*, in *Hiph.* *to confess*, *to praise*, and הִדָּה *to cast* which are properly verbs פָּעַץ, also הִדָּה *to be beautiful* (which is really פָּעַץ). *Inf.* הִדָּה, *Impf.* הִדָּה (cf. *Impf.* הִדָּה Ez. 31, 7), with *suff.* הִדָּה we shot them (from הִדָּה) Num. 21, 30; *Pi.* הִדָּה for הִדָּה (§ 69, Rem. 6); *Hiph.* הִדָּה, *Inf.* הִדָּה *Impf.* הִדָּה, *apoc.* הִדָּה 2 K. 13, 17.
- f) Verbs פָּעַץ and לָ"א, particularly בָּא *to come*, *Perf.* בָּא, *once* בָּא 1 Sam. 25, 8; *Hiph.* הִבָּאָה and הִבָּאָה *Impf.* הִבָּאָה, for הִבָּאָה Mic. 1, 15. So הִבָּאָה *he refuses* (*Impf. Hiph.*, from הִבָּאָה) Ps. 141, 5.

- g) Moreover the verb *חָרַי* *to live* deserves to be noticed, which, besides its usual form *חָרַה* *fem.* *חָרְהוּ*, is also treated as a verb *ע"ע*, and hence has *חַי* (*pause* *חַי*, w. *י* cons. *חַיִּי*) in the 3 *Perf.* *Qāl* in Gen. 3, 22 and other cases; In Lev. 3, 22 is found even the contraction to *חַי*. The form *חָרְהוּ* stands Ex. 1, 16 in *pause* for *חָרְהוּ* (3. *fem.*) with *Dāgh.* omitted on acc. of the pausal lengthening of *ā* to *ā̄*.

§ 77.

RELATION OF THE WEAK VERBS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Several classes of weak verbs, e. g. those *פ"י* and *פ"ו*, *ל"ה* and *ל"א*, *ע"ע* and *ע"ו*, stand in a very close relationship, as appears from the similarity in their meaning and inflection, from their mutual interchange of forms and especially from the fact that often the same biliteral root occurs in several weak verbs having the same meaning. These two root-consonants, to which the common signification attaches (*biliteral root*, § 30, 2), are constant, and the third feebler radical is not taken into account. Thus, *הָכָא*, *הִרָה*, *הָכַךְ* and *הִרְכָּה* are all developements of the crude-form (or ultimate root) *הָךְ*, and mean *to strike*, *to beat in pieces*; *נָדָה*, *נָדַר*, *נָדַר* (from the root *נָד*) *to flee*.

In this manner are related in form and signification—

1. Verbs *ע"ע* and *ע"ו* (in which the essential stem-letters are the first and last), e. g. *מָהַךְ* and *מָהַךְ* *to become poor*, *מָשַׁח* and *מָשַׁח* *to feel or touch*, *נָדַר* and *נָדַר* *to flee*.

2. Verbs *פ"י* and *פ"ו* (in which the two last are the essential stem-letters), are related both to each other and to the former class. They are related to each other in the verbs *נָצַח* and *נָצַח* *to place*, *נָקַח* and *נָקַח* (*yāqōṣh*) *to fowl*; to the former class, especially to verbs *ע"י*, in *נָהַךְ* and *נָהַךְ* *to fear*, *נָחַךְ* and *נָחַךְ* *to be good*, *נָפַח* and *נָפַח* [= E. *puff*] *to blow*; *נָסַח* and *נָסַח* *to smash*. Verbs *פ"ו* are only seldom found connected with these classes, as *נָשַׁח* and *נָשַׁח* *to be destroyed*, *נָשַׁח* and *נָשַׁח* *to thresh*, etc.

3. Verbs *ל"ה* and *ל"א* (in which the first two consonants properly form the stem) are related both to each other and to the former classes; to each other in *נָחַךְ* and *נָחַךְ* *to break in pieces*, *נָחַךְ* and *נָחַךְ* *to meet* (comp. § 75, Rem. 20 ff.); to verbs of the former classes, in *נָחַךְ* and *נָחַךְ* *to suck*, *נָחַךְ* and *נָחַךְ* *to thrust*, etc.

¹ These verbs are *mimetic* or *onomatopoeic*, mimicking the sound intended, and so are akin to our *dash* and *thwack* (see § 30, 3).—Tr.

§ 78.

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use in the same signification, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. As, however, the missing forms or tenses are not generally the same in both, the two are combined to make out a complete verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, 2 aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre*; but with this difference, that in Hebrew these verbs are almost universally related in root as well as signification, like the Greek βαίνω, 2 aor. ἔβην, from the stem βά-ω.

A list of the most common verbs of this class:—

כִּישׁ *to be ashamed, Hiph.* הִכְבִּישׁ, but also הוֹכִיֵּשׁ (from כָּשַׁן).

טוֹב *to be good, Perf.*, טָיִב; *Impf.* יִטֵּב (from טָבַע); *Hiph.* הִטִּיב (from טָבַע).

יָרָא *to fear, Impf.* יִרְאֶה (from יָרָא).

עָץ *to awake only in Impf.* יִעָץ; for *Perf.* the *Hiph.* הִעָץ is used (fr. קָעַץ).

פָּצַע *to break in pieces, Impf.* יִפְצֹץ (from פָּצַע), *Imp.* פָּצַץ; *Niph.* נִפְצַץ; *Pi.* פִּץ (from פָּצַע); *P'ilēl* פִּיִּץ (from פָּצַע); *Reflex.* הִפְצִיץ; *Hiph.* הִפְצִיץ. Also *Pilpēl* פִּפְצַץ Job 16, 12.

שָׁקַח *to drink*, used in *Qāl*; but in *Hiph.* הִשָּׁקַח *to give to drink*, from שָׁקַח, which is not used in Hebrew.

עָלָה (to go, see above in § 69, Rem. 8.

Rem. 1. The case is similar when different conjugations of the same verb, having the same signification, borrow *tenses* from each other;—

וָסַף (to add) borrows its missing *Inf.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* from *Hiph.* וִיסַף.

נָגַשׁ (to approach) takes *Perf.* *Niph.* נִגַּשׁ for the *Perf.* *Qāl*, which is not in use; only the *Impf.* נִגַּשׁ, *Imp.* נָגַשׁ, and *Inf.* נִגַּשׁ of *Qāl* are in use.

נָהַג (to lead) has *Perf.* usually in *Qāl*, also the *Imp.* נָהַג; but the *Impf.* always in *Hiph.* נִנְהַג.

נָחַךְ (to pour out) has *Perf.* *Niph.* נִנְחַךְ, along with *Impf.* *Qāl* נָחַךְ, but the *Impf.* *Niph.* and *Perf.* *Qāl* are not in use.

Rem. 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formæ mixtæ*) in which, as they maintain, are united the character and signification of two different tenses, moods or conjugations. On correct grammatical principles most of the examples they adduce are

set aside; in others, the form seems to have originated in misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially through misunderstanding of an unusual full writing. Others again are nothing but false readings, or the erroneous combination of two originally different readings.

CHAPTER III. OF THE NOUN. (*Substantive and Adjective.*)

§ 79.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. As according to § 30, 1 most word stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun stems; it has become customary, especially lexically, to trace back also the noun to the most simple ground form of the verbal formation viz: the 3d sing. perf. Qāl, and, as it were, to derive it thence. This is done not only with those noun stems which may be classified directly with the corresponding verbal stem (the so-called verbal nouns § 83) but also with the so-called primitive nouns i. e.: those whose verbal stem can no more be found in Hebrew (§ 82), as well as finally with Denominatives which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

NB. The *adjective* quite coincides with the *substantive* in form. On the process by which words with an abstract sense come to be treated as concretes or adjectives, see § 83, Rem. 1.

2. A regular *inflection* of the noun by *cases* does not exist in Hebrew, although some ancient and almost wholly extinct traces of case-endings perhaps remain (§ 90). The relation of case in a noun is, therefore, either learned simply from its position in the clause, or indicated by prepositions. In either case the *form* of the noun undergoes no change (except for the construct state); and hence the matter belongs not to this division of grammar, but to the Syntax (§ 117). On the contrary, the connection of the noun with the feminine,

with the dual and the plural terminations, with suffixes, and with another noun following in the genitive, produces numerous changes in its form (see §§ 80, 87—89, 91—96), which is all that is meant by the *inflection*¹ of nouns in Hebrew. Even for the *comparative* and *superlative*, the Hebrew has no appropriate forms, and these relations must be expressed by circumlocution, as taught in the Syntax (§ 119).

§ 80.

FORMS WHICH MARK THE GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew, like all the Semitic languages, has but two genders, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Even inanimate objects or things and abstract ideas, which other languages generally express by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew as either masculine or feminine, chiefly the latter (see the Syntax, § 107, 3).

2. The *masculine*, as being the prevalent and more important gender, has no peculiar indication.

The *feminine* had originally the ending ת־ , as in the 3 *sing. Perf.* of verbs (§ 44, 1). The original ת־ however has been retained (provided the principal form was not already created by the annexation of a simple ת , v. below lit. b) only in close connection with a following genitive or suffix (comp. § 89, 2, *b* and § 91, 4). Apart from these cases the feminine ending of the independent form (the so-called absolute state) is:

- a) Most commonly an accented ה־ , as סוּסָה *horse*, סוּסָה *mare*; as in the 3d *sing. fem. perf.* (קָטְלָה etc.) this ה־ has been produced by rejecting the closing ת and lengthening the *ā* in an open syllable; whereupon the ה has been added as an orthographical compensation for ת , as well as to point out the final long vowel (comp. the quite analogous creation in forms like גָּלָה for גָּלִי § 75, 1).
- b) Simple ת to nouns terminating with a vowel e. g. יְהוּדִי *Jew.*, יְהוּדִית *Jewess*. The same termination ת is added very frequently to stems terminating with a consonant,

¹ This has been inexactly called the *declension* of the Hebrew noun.

however only (except before suffixes) with the aid of an auxiliary vowel, which as a rule is *Seghōl* but after gutturals *Pīthāch*, e. g. קטל *fem.* קטלה *killng* (ground-form קטלה, therefore before suffixes קטלתו etc.); מודע *fem.* מודעת *acquaintance*. The forms created in that way follow in every regard the analogy of the so-called Segholate forms (§ 94). The forms which have been developed by the aid of an auxiliary vowel maintain themselves also in the *status constructus*; except יולדת for the elsewhere used יולדת Gen. 16, 11, Judges 13, 5, 7 and so regularly before suffixes e. g. יולדתו Prov. 17, 25.

Rem. 1. The feminine form ח— is, in general, less frequent than the other, and occurs almost exclusively when the other in ח— is also in use. It is only in Participles and Infinitives that it is found more frequently than the other (e. g. קטלה oftener than קטלה, ברת than ברת).

2. Rarer feminine endings are:—

- a) ח— accented, as בִּרְמָה *emerald* Ez 28, 13, (also בִּרְמָה Ez. 28, 17); נִימְרָה Ps. 61, 1; חִיָּה 74, 19; שִׁעָה *crowd* 2 K. 9, 17 (if not a false reading); more often in *proper names* especially of places, among the Canaanites, the Phœnicians (in whose speech ח— was the usual f. ending, § 2, 2) and other neighbouring tribes, as צָרְפָה *Sarepta*, גִּבְעָה *Gib'ath*, אֵילָה *Aelana* in Idumea, קִרְיָה *Kirjath*, גִּלְיָה *Goliath* (Pluhstine).
- b) ח—, also in *names* of places, as בִּצְלָה, חִלְיָה, else mostly poetical, e. g. זִמְרָה Ex. 15, 2, Is. 12, 2, Ps. 118, 14 (probably instead of זִמְרָה *my song* with suppressed termination before the following י, נחלה *heritage* Ps. 118, 6, either for נחלתו *my heritage* or for נחלתו, comp. let. f., as probably also עֲזָרָה *help* Ps. 60, 13, 108, 13, פְּרָה *prolific* Gen. 49, 22; שֵׁנָה *sleep* (for שֵׁנָה) Ps. 132, 4 and in prose קָפָה *pelican* (which reading is also preferable in Is. 34, 11 to the form קָפָה); in prose also we find מָחָר *morrow* Gen. 19, 34.
- c) ח—, Aramæan orthography for ח—, found chiefly in the later writers, e. g. חִיָּה *fright* Is. 19, 17, שֵׁנָה *sleep* Ps. 127, 2, קָרְחָה *baldness* Ex. 27, 31, מִשְׁרָה *mark* Lam. 3, 12.
- d) ח—, a weakened form of ח— (§ 27, Rem. 4), only in זִרְהָ for זִרְהָ Is. 59, 5 and לָנָה for לָנָה Zech. 5, 4.
- e) ח—, without accent, as חֲרָמָה Deut. 14, 17, בִּצְרָה *burning furnace* Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ez. 40, 19, 2 K. 15, 29, 16, 18. In all these examples there should be the usual accented ח—, but the Punctists, not comprehending the feminine here, marked the ח— (by depriving it of the tone) as not feminine, but a kind of *locative*

form (v. § 80, 2). Also לַיְלָה *night* (really *noctu* comp. new Greek ἡ νύκτα) appears by the tone to be such a form, particularly as it is always construed as *masc.*, and we find לַיְלָה לַיְלָה also occurring. Also מְאִימָה *something*, might be considered as an old accusative (from מֵאִים, מֵיִם, *spot, point*). In the same way could be explained as accusatives אֶרֶץ Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34, 13; but there are also found forms in which the unaccented ה־ may be considered as a meaningless appendix, serving, at the most, as poetical emphasis, thus: אֶרֶץ (in P.) Job 37, 12; הַיּוֹרֶחַ *the sun* Judg. 14, 18 (else הָרֶם, הָלָה, הַיְלָה *brook* Ps. 124, 4, הַמָּוֶת *death* Ps. 116, 15, and some other words. Much of this however is doubtful.

f) ה־ only in poetry, e. g. אִימָה *terror* (= אִימָה), עֲזָרָה *help* (= עֲזָרָה), יִשְׁעָה *salvation* (= יִשְׁעָה), עֲוֹנָה *wickedness* (= עֲוֹנָה), see Ps. 3, 3, 63, 8, 92, 16, 94, 17, 120, 1, 125, 3, Job 5, 16, Ex. 15, 16, and other places. Those cases can hardly be taken for double fem. endings, for if they were, we could not explain why the final syllable has lost the tone; they are rather cases of an old accusative of direction (intention). In examples like עֲזָרָה *help* (Ps. 44, 27 etc.) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and stands only for poetical emphasis; comp. § 90, 2.

3. It is wholly unsuitable to consider the vowel-ending ה־¹ as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonant-ending ה־ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ה constantly, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*), and in the Phœnician also the feminines end only rarely in ה, but mostly in ה־, which is sounded *ath* in the words found in Greek and Roman authors (see *Gesenii Monumenta Phœnicia*, pp. 439, 440; *Schröder's Phon. Sprache*, pp. 169—74). The ancient Arabic has the weakened vowel-ending scarcely anywhere but in the pause; the modern Arabic is, in this respect, much like the Hebrew.

§ 81.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

Nouns are either *primitive*, i. e. those whose kindred relation to a verb-stem does not so easily appear (§ 82), as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (see Davies' *Hebr. Lex.*); or *derivative*,

¹ In this ending the ה can be considered consonantal (*h*) only in the sense, that the original ה as aspirated mute was at first changed into a guttural (according to *Socin*, among a part of the modern Bedouins there is still heard an *h* as fem. ending); at any rate in Hebrew this final consonant sounding has been later entirely abandoned.

as being derived either from the verb (*Verbals*, §§ 83—85) in the sense given above in § 30, 1 and § 79, 1, as צַדִּיק *just*, צִדְקָה *righteousness*, from צָדַק *to be just*; רָם *high*, רֶמֶה *high place*, מְרוֹם *height*, from רָם *to be high*; or (as in very few cases) from another noun (*Denominatives*, § 86), as מִרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet*, from רֶגֶל *foot*.

Rem. 1. Many of the early grammarians, who admitted none but verbs as *stem-words*, classed *all* nouns among the verbals, and divided them into,—a) *Formæ nudæ*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) stem-letters, and—b) *Formæ auctæ*, such as have received formative letters or syllables at the beginning or end, as מְקַלְכֶּה, מְלַכֹּה. These formative letters are.

י, ר, ת, ג, ז, א, ה, (האֵת:חִיִּי).¹

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* given in § 30, 1, Rem. 2, the relation of the noun to the verb is, strictly speaking, somewhat different, since, according to it, many nouns are formed immediately from the (ideal) root. But we here retain the common view, as being easier for beginners. Comp. § 79, 1.

2. Of *compound* nouns, as *appellatives*, the number in Hebrew is very small, e. g. בְּלִיָּעַל properly *worthlessness*, *baseness*. As *proper names*, they occur frequently, e. g. גְּבִירֵאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹרִיקִים (*whom raises up*), יְהוֹזָבָב (*whom strengthens*), etc.

§ 82.

PRIMITIVE NOUNS.

1. The number of *primitives*, as explained in § 81, is very small, the nouns which are in most languages primitive being here usually derived from verbal ideas; e. g. most of the names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר, שְׂעִירָה *barley* (prop. *bearded*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork*. (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from צָהַב—to be yellow). There remain a few nouns, e. g. the names of members of the body in men and beasts, for which a suitable stem-verb can hardly be found, or at most only indirect ones (derived from the kindred Semitic dialects), as קֶרֶן *horn*, עֵינַי *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are called also, by the old grammarians, *nomina heemantica*. Comp. § 5, Note ², § 30 Rem. 1.

2. The *form* of the primitives is that of the simple verbals, as קָטַל, קָטֵל, etc.; and it makes no difference, in the grammatical treatment, to which class the nouns are referred.

E. g. אָדָם *man*, follows the analogy of the verbals No. 1 (§ 84), whether it comes from אָדָם (*to be ruddy*) or not: אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, have the same form as if derived from אָבָה, אָמָה, and undoubtedly they may be traced back to these stems, although their corresponding signification (אָבָה *to procreate*, אָמָה *to precede*) has not been preserved in the language.

§ 83.

VERBAL NOUNS IN GENERAL.

1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in *form* and *signification* with certain forms of the verb, viz. the Participles and Infinitives, which, even without any change, are often employed as nouns; e. g. יָדָעַת (to know) = *knowledge*, אֹיֵב (*hating*) = *enemy*. Still oftener, however, we find that certain forms of the Infinitive and Participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb itself, though in use in the weak verb and in other dialects, are the prevalent forms employed for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form קָטַל, the Infinitives after the (Aram.) form מִקְטֵל (as a noun also מִקְטֵל), farther קָטַלָּה, קָטַלָּה, קָטַלָּה, קָטַלָּה (§ 45, b) etc. Some (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the Participle.

2. As to *signification*, it follows from the nature of the case, that nouns which have the form of Infinitives regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely-related ideas (e. g. the *place* of the action), and are therefore mostly *abstract*; that participial nouns, on the contrary, denote, for the most part, the *subject* of the action, or of the state, and hence are *concrete*. It is to be noticed, however, that a particular sense is found in many isolated examples of derivative nouns, which does not hold good alike in all.

Rem. It must not, therefore, appear strange (for it is found in all languages), that a noun which in form is properly *abstract*, should be employed afterwards as a *concrete*, and *vice versa*. So, in English,

we say *his acquaintance* for one *with whom he is acquainted*; the *God-head* for *God* himself; in Heb. מִדָּע *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*; פִּדְיוֹ *simplicity* and *a simple one*; on the contrary, הַשָּׂדֶה *that which sinneth* for *sin*, which use is frequent in the *fem.* of *concretes* (§ 84, 5, 6, 11).

For the sake of clearness, we treat first of the *derivatives* from the strong or regular verb (§ 84), and then of those from the different classes of the weak or irregular verb (§ 85).

The general view given in § 84 first classifies the Noun forms, after their significance, into *concretes* (as related to the participle), and *abstracts* (as connected with the infinitive); but next advances under each of these divisions from the simpler and easier forms to the harder and more enlarged. But the whole series of forms may be enumerated also simply with respect to the difference of form, without regard to the difference of meaning, since the forms do not always differ strictly according to the sense. In that case the forms would stand nearly in this order: 1) from simple stems: Nos. 1—5, 10—13; 2) from strengthened stems either by doubling the middle stem consonant (e. g. Nos. 6—9) or by repetition of one or several consonants of the stem (e. g. Nos. 20—23), 3) nouns with other additional letters whether *preformatives* (e. g. all forms derived from Niph. Hiph. and Hithpael, as well as the numerous forms with ה preformative) or *affirmatives* (e. g. Nos. 15, 16). It is of the greatest importance to distinguish everywhere whether the vowels employed by the formation of nouns were originally long and therefore unchangeable, or originally short, but have been lengthened in or before the tone. In the latter case the tone lengthened vowel becomes short by the removal of the accent or *Shewâ* (with the pretonic vowels, but also elsewhere). In what follows, the groundforms have everywhere been added where such changes are liable to occur.

§ 84.

· NOUNS DERIVED FROM STRONG STEMS.¹

We distinguish here—

I. *Participial Nouns from Qāl.*

1. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה, (Groundform *qāṭāl*, *qāṭāldt*), one of the most simple forms of this class and analogous to the two following (Nos. 2 and 3), but not in use as a Participle. It is most frequently employed as

¹ Under the strong verb we here include the verb with gutturals (§§ 63—65), and also those forms of weak stems whose weakness does not appear (comp. § 41).

an adjective expressing *quality*, as חָכָם *wise*, הָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright* It occurs, however, also with an abstract sense (No. 12).

2. קָטֵל, *fem.* קִטְלָה (Grdf *qātīl, qāṭīlāt*), Part of verbs *muddle E* (§ 50, 2), mostly with intransitive meaning (§ 43) and therefore frequently as adjectives, e g יָקֵן *old*, יָבֵשׁ *dry*, יָטֵן *fat*

3 a) קָטַל and קָטוּל, *fem* קִטְלָה, קִטּוּלָה (Grdf. *qātōl, qātōlāt*), with unchangeable *ō*, which, however, can be shown to have partly arisen from an obscured *ā* Here belong numerous adjectives, as גָּדוֹל *great*, רָחוֹק *far*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy* As *abstr* substantives, כְּבוֹד *honour*, שָׁלוֹם *peace*. From this is to be distinguished b) nouns of the form *qatōl* from original *qātūl* e g אָדָם *red*, עָגֹל *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, etc (not seldom written fully thus אָדָם, עָגִיל, etc) The original *ū* of the 2d syllable appears again before affirmatives, because then the following consonant is artificially doubled (as the *ū* can stand only in a closed syllable), thus the plurals עֲמָקִים, עֲגָלִים etc

4 קָטַל, קִטְלָה, *fem* קִטְלָה (sometimes like יִלְדָה with the *Seiê* retained) or קִטְלָה, the usual active participial of *transitive* verbs, e g אֹיֵב *enemy*, יוֹסֵף *suckling*, hence of the instrument by which the action is performed, as חֵרֶשׁ *a cutting instrument* (also with a personal signification, *plowman*) A feminine with a collective signification is sometimes found, as in אִירָחָה *caravan*, properly *a wandering, a wandering crowd* The groundform of these participles is *qōṭīl* (modified from *qātīl*) *qōṭīlāt*, but קִטְלָה has for groundform *qōṭālt*, comp § 80 2, b

5 קָטַל and קָטִיל, (*qātīl* and *qātīl*) passive Participles of Qāl, the latter (the usual Aiamæan participial form) employed rather as a substantive, e g אֶסֶר *imprisoned*, מְשִׁיחַ *anointed*, אֶסֶר *prisoner*, מְשִׁיחַ *anointed one* Both forms occur also with intrans and even active signification, as עֲצוּם *strong* and the examples in § 50, Rem 2, in the form קָטִיל (as secondary form to קָטַל No 2), קָטִיל *small*, and אֵל *act* נְבִיא *prophet*, קָטִיר *overseer*, etc Some words of the form קָטִיל express the *time* of the action, as קָטִיר *time of cutting, harvest*, חֲרִישׁ *time of ploughing*, like the Greek verbals in *τοζ*, e g ἄμνητοζ, ἔργοτοζ, τρυγητοζ, (acc. to the Greek Grammarians, the *cutting, plowing*, etc is in opposition to ἄμνητοζ etc *harvest gathered in* — *Liddell and Scott* s v ἄμνητοζ —, corresponding to this also the forms in the Heb. like קָטִיר are used *actively*, comp *נָחַר קָטִיר* in *Jei* 50, 16, 51, 33, *Cant* 2, 12) The feminines e g בְּתוּלָה *virgin* (*the secluded*)

6. קָטַל (Arabic קָטַל), with unchangeable vowels (see however below) In Arab it is the usual intensive form of the participle, and hence in Heb. expresses what is *habitual*, e g נָחַח *apt to butt*, קָנָא (also קָנָא) *zealous*, חָטָא *sinner* (diff from חָטָא *sinning*), גָּנָב *thief*, so of occupations and trades (the so-called *nomina opificum*), e g. בָּקָח *cook*, חָרַשׁ (for חָרַשׁ) *artificer* It is curious that the unchangeable *ā* of the 2d syllable should be dropped in the *constr state sing*, as if the groundform were not *qattāl* but *qattāl* e. g. חָרַשׁ *carpenter* Is. 44,

13 —To the same category belongs the form קָטַל (with the attenuation of *ā* of the 1st syll. to *ġ*) e. g. אֶקָר (Arab *'akkār*) husbandman (prop. digger). Here again the feminine (קָטְלָהּ or קָטְלָהּ) often takes the abstract signification, as הַטְּאָה (also הַטְּאָה) female sinner and sin, בִּלְחִיר, burning fever with a guttural טְבִיעָה signet

7 קָטַל and קָטַל, intensive forms applied to persons as adjectives of quality, as צַדִּיק righteous, אֲבִיר strong, חַנּוּן compassionate. Seldom passive, as אֲסִיר fettered

8 קָטַל, as יִסּוֹר corrector, שָׁכַר drunkard, גִּבּוֹר strong one, hero. Seldom passive, as יָבוֹר born. As, for instance the Arab *gabbār* (גִּבּוֹר) shows, all these forms are but modifications of the form קָטַל, produced by the attenuation of *ā* into *ġ* in the first syllable, and by inflecting *ā* into *ô* in the second

9 קָטַל (Grdf *qutl*) indicates everywhere abnormal qualities, especially a bodily fault or a defect, e. g. גִּבּוֹן hunch-backed, קָרָח bald-headed, אֵלֶם dumb, עִיר blind, פֶּסֶח lame, חֵדֵּשׁ deaf, נָקֵשׁ perverse, סָקֵר clear-sighted follows the same analogy. The abstract signification is found in the fem., אֵילָה folly, (although, before suff. אֵילָה)

II Nouns after the manner of Infinitives in Qāl¹

10 קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל (really *q'tāl, q'tīl, q'tūl*), are with No 11 the simplest forms of this class, of which the latter is the predominant, and the first a rare form in the verb as Infinitive (§ 45, a). As noun-forms they are rare, e. g. גִּבּוֹר man, מִזְרָה ornament, צִחֻק laughter. Instead of these, we much oftener find—

11 קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל, then three kindred so-called *s'gholate* forms (sprung from the grnd-forms *qatl, qitl, qutl*, as preserved in Arabic), e. g. מַלְךְ (for מִלְךְ *malik*, § 27, Rem 2, c) king (orig form מִלְכָּה), קֹדֶשׁ (orig form *qudsh*) sanctuary, these have the characteristic vowel with the accent in the first syllable, and the unaccented helping-vowel *S'ghôl* (§ 28, 4) in the second. Instead of the *S'ghôl*, a *Pä thäch* is used with gutturals in the second or third place as זֶרַע seed, נֶצַח eternity, עֵמֶל work.²—Examples of feminines, מַלְכָּה queen, עֻזְרָה help (also עֻזְרָה, wisdom)

In masculines as well as feminines the abstract is the proper and prevailing signification, as הִרְגַּם slaughter, חֲסַד pity, זִכָּר memory, אִסָּה gathering, yet the concrete often occurs, especially in the form קָטַל, e. g. מֶלֶךְ king, נַעַר a youth, בְּרִיטִי brutish, עֲבָד servant, בַּעַל lord, גִּבּוֹר man. In such forms the concrete sense is secondary and derived from

¹ All these forms are found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Arabic as Infinitives, or as so-called *nomina verbi*

² Only very few remain without a helping-vowel, as גִּיאַ valley, שִׁן sin, אֱמֶת truth, the first two of which may be explained by the circumstance that final *h* has there lost its value as a consonant

the abstract, as in *נַעַר* prop. *brutishness*, *נָעַר* prop. *season of youth* (comp. Eng. *youth* and *a youth*), or the form of the word is shortened from another with a concrete sense, as *מַלְכָּךְ*, *מֶלֶךְ* from participial forms (*mālik*, *ābid*), meaning *ruling*, *serving*.¹ But altogether the meaning of these forms is very various, e. g. even for the instrument, as *חֶרֶב* *sword*, *חֲרַט* *graving-tool*, and passively *אָרַג* *web* (really *weaving*, hence instrumentally *weaver's shuttle*). In the latter sense the form *מַטְבֵּל* is more common, as *אֹכֵל* *food*; this form *מַטְבֵּל* is also more used in the abstract meaning, hence *נַעַר* *a youth*, *נָעַר* *youth*.

12. *קָטַל* (*qātāl*, like No. 1), fem. *קָטְלָה* (*qātālāt*), both very often with the *abstr.* sense; e. g. *רָעַב* *hunger*, *אָשַׁם* *guilt*, *שָׂבַע* *satiety* (their concretes being *רָעַב* *hungry*, *אָשַׁם*, *שָׂבַע*); fem. *צִדְקָה* *righteousness*, *נִקְמָה* *vengeance*. Less frequent is the form *קָטַל* (Grdf. *qītāl*), as *שָׁקַר* *strong drink*, *עֵנָב* *grape*, *לֵבָב* *heart*. It would perhaps be more correct to count these forms among the participials in No. 1.

13 *קָנַל*, *קָנִיל*, *קָנִיל* (where *ō* is orig. *ā*), *קָנִיל*, all with an immovable vowel (§ 25) between the second and third radicals, and a Sh'wā (instead of orig. short vowel) under the first, as *כֶּתָב* *book* (Arab. *kītāb*), *חֲמֹר* *ass* (Arab. *hīmār*), *חֲלוֹם* *dream*, *כֶּסֶל* *fool*, *גְּבוּל* *border*; sometimes with *Aleph prosthetic*, as *זְרוּעַ*=*אֶזְרוּעַ* *arm*, *אֶפְרָח* *brood*. The corresponding *feminines* are like *בִּשְׁרָה* (Arab. *bishāra*), *good news*, *כִּתְבָּה* (Arab. *kītābāt*) *writing*, *מִגְבָּה* *might*; the last form coincides with the fem. of the form *קָנִיל* in No. 5.

14. *מִקְנָל* (the Aram. has *מִקְנַל* as the form of the infinitive), e. g. *מִשְׁפָּט* *judgment*. This form belongs to the category of the very numerous nominal formations with preformative *מ* which (without doubt connected with *מִי* *who* and *כִּה* *what* v. § 37) is employed to express the most varied relations. In all cases where the *מ* stands before a consonant with a toneless firm vowel it receives vocal *Sh'wā* (derived from an original short vowel); in those forms however in which the *מ*, with the first stem consonant makes a closed syllable, it receives at first everywhere the vowel *ā* which however is frequently weakened into *ī* or *ē*. Corresponding to this, there is found before the accented stem syllable the pretonic lengthening, partly into *ā* and partly into *ē*. In reference to the signification we must distinguish *a*) the *מ* *subjective*; thus the preformative *מ* of the participles of Piel, Hiph. and Hithp. and other active conjugations; *b*) *מ* *objective*; such as the preformative *מ* of the passive (Pual, Hoph. etc.) as well as that of

¹ In Arabic the form *qātīl* always expresses an action or a quality inherent in the subject, as a secondary form to the usual participle *qātīl*, which indicates the casual or passing action or quality; thus, *mālākā* to rule, Part. *mālik* ruling, *mālik* rarely *mālik*, ruler, king. Such an origin of *מֶלֶךְ* may be shown also from other examples. Comp. *גֶּדֶר*, as the name of a town, with *גִּדְר* (gdf. *gāḍir*) *wall*; and *כֶּתֵף* shortened (in the *constr. state*) from *כִּתְיָף* (*kātīp*) *shoulder*.

numerous nouns; comp. מְהֻמָּד *a desired object*, מְלָקוּחַ *prey*, בִּלְבוּשׁ *dress*, מְזֻמֹּר *Psalm*; fem. מְמַלְכָּה *kingdom*, מְשַׁכְּרָה *reward*, מְלָחֶמָה *war*, מְרֻכָּבָה *chariot*; c) מְיֻזָּג *instrumental*, e. g. מִזְלָג *fork*, מְפַתֵּחַ *key*, מְרַבֵּחַ *pruning knife*, מְאַבְלֵי *knife*; d) מְיָכוּם *local*, e. g. מִיָּכוּם (from יָכוּם) *place*, מְרֻבֵּי *pasture*, מְזֻבֵּחַ *altar*, מְרַחֵב *large space*, מְסֻתֶּר and מְסֻתָּר *hiding-place*. The vowels of the 2d syllable are with the exception of *i* and *u* as well as of *ô* (which has been mostly inflected from *â*; v. the last example) originally short vowels and therefore subject to attenuation into a short vowel or *Shewâ*; thus מְשַׁכְּרָה (with *ô* not *ô*) is reduced to the original מְשַׁכְּרָה.

15. סֻלָּן (Grdf. *qitlân*), קֻטְלָן *qitlân*, and other similar forms, with the terminations סֻלָּן and סֻלָּן, as פִּתְרוֹן *interpretation*, שֻׁלְחָן *table*, קָרְבָן *offering*; but also זִכְרוֹן *remembrance*, נְבוֹנִין *prophetic vision*. In a few old words instead of סֻלָּן and סֻלָּן we find סֻלָּן and סֻלָּן, as אֵילָם *porch*, סֻרְיוֹם and פִּרְיוֹן *ransom*.

In some examples the affirmative *Nûn* has been appended without the aid of an accented vowel, as in כְּנָעַן *Canaan* and צִפְרֵן *finger-nail* (in both cases only with an auxiliary vowel before the ending). In גִּיּוֹן *axe* original *â* has been modified into *Sêghol* instead of being lengthened into *â* (to the same category belong examples with affirmative ל as בְּרוֹז *iron*, בְּרֻמַל etc. (v. No. 35). For ין there is a modified form י, written also ה, which occurs especially in proper names, as מִדְּבָרִי and מִדְּבָרִי, קְמִדְּבָרִי for שְׁלֹמִי (comp. Πλάτων, *Plato*). In the *patronymic* and *gentilic* forms (§ 86, 5) the *Nûn* still appears, e. g. שִׁילָנִי from שִׁילָה the city *Shiloh* (called even now *Seilân*).

16. Also with the feminine-ending ה, e. g. רְפָאוֹת *folly*, רְפָאוֹת *healing*. In the Aramaean, this (or ר without ת) is a usual termination of the Infinitive in the derived conjugations (comp. No. 28). Its frequent use appears only in the later O. Test. books. As a synonymous ending we find at times הִתְרֵם in earlier use, as שְׁאֵרִית *remnant*. Comp. the denominative nouns, § 86, 6.

III. Participials of the derived Conjugations.

17. From *Niph.* נִפְתָּל, as נִפְתָּלוֹת plur. fem. *wonders*.

18. 19. From *Pi'el* and *Hiph.*, e. g. מְכַסֶּה *a covering*, מְזֻמָּר *snuffers*, מְשַׁחֲרֵי *destruction*.

20. From *Po'el*, as עוֹלֵל (probably shortened from מְעוֹלֵל Is. 3, 12) and עוֹלֵל *child*, שׁוֹלֵל *war-prisoner*, אֹצֵר *store*, חוֹתֵם *seal*, שׁוֹפָר *trumpet*; all with original *â* in the 2d syllable.

21. 22. From *Pi'el* and *Po'el*, as קֻטְלָל (groundform *qutlâl*), and קֻטְלָל (*qutlâl*), רֵאָן *green*, שָׁאָן *quiet*; קֻטְלָל *faint*.

23. קֻטְלָל have an intensive and iterative sense, as הִפְסִיחַ *full of turns* (L. *flexuosus*), מְרַבֵּחַ *full of twists* (L. *perversus*), and form adjectives with a *diminutive* signification (§ 55, 3), as אֲדָמָה

reddish, שְׁחֹרֹחַר *blackish*; hence in a contemptuous sense (like Latin *miser*, *misellus*, Germ. *Gesinde*, *Gesindel*), as אֶסְסֶסֶס (with the passive form as enlargement of אֶסֶס) *a rabble*.

IV. Nouns in the form of infinitives of the derived Conjugations.

24. From *Niph.*, as נִפְחָלִים (plur.) *struggles*.
25. From *Pi'el*, like נִפְץ *dispersion*, more frequently in the *fem.*, as בִּקְשָׁה *request*, with Qā'mēṣ unchanged in the second syllable.
26. קָטַל, as שְׁלוּם *requital*, חֲבוּק *folding* (of the hands); also with *concrete* sense (comp. No. 7), as לְמוֹד *learner*, עֲזוּז *strong*.
27. תִּקְטִיל (Infin. of *Pi'el* very common in Arabic), e. g. תִּקְטִיל *benefit*, תִּכְרִיךְ (covering) *mantle*.
28. From *Hiph.*, like אֶזְכְּרָה *remembrance-offering*, הִשְׁמַעְתָּה *announcing* (with firm Qā'mēṣ), like Aramæan Infinitives.
29. From *Hithp.* הִתְרַשַּׁשׁ *register* (prop. to register oneself in a genealogical table).
30. From *Pu'el*, like הוֹלִלִים (plur.) and הוֹלִלִים *folly*; in 31 the forms are kindred, having a long vowel in both syllables, as קִיטוֹר *smoke*, צִרְק *prison*, קִירוֹשׁ, also קִמְשׁ *nettle*. Perhaps the *i* of the 1st syllable serves as a compensation for the omission of the Daghesch.
32. From *Pi'lel*, as סִגְרִיר *heavy rain*, נֶאֱשִׂיָה (only plur.) *adultery*.
33. פִּתְחִיקָה *opening*, Inf. to No. 23.
34. שָׂקַטַל, as שְׁלֹחַבַת *flame* (comp. § 55, 6).
35. Quadriliterals of various forms e. g. *a*) with affirmative ל (v. No. 15) בְּרִזָּל *iron*, כְּרַמַל *orchard* (comp. כֶּרֶם *vineyard*) עֲרַפֶּל *dark clouds*, חֲרַגֶּל *locust*, הֲשַׁמֶּל *bright metal*; *b*) with the insertion of ל, so probably גְּלִמְדָה *barren*, חֲלִמְשׁ *flint*, the fem. וְלִפְסָה *glowing heat* etc. *c*) other forms: חֲרִמְשׁ *sickle*, עֲקָרֶב *scorpion*, סִמְרָה *vine blossom* etc.—Quinquiliterals (probably compounded) צִפְרִירָה *frog*.—See Davies' Heb. Lex. on אֶרְבֶּה *hare*, and on the other words mentioned above.

§ 85.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM WEAK STEMS.

These are formed after the analogy of the strong stem. Accordingly, following the same arrangement, we shall refer these forms to the corresponding ones already described, marking them with the same number (§ 84), but mentioning only such as exhibit some notable effect of the feebleness of the stem.

I. From Stems פ"ן.

Connected with the *Inf.* of *Qāl*, 14. מִתָּן *gift*, מִזֶּל *sickle*, מִנְפָּא *overthrow*; with *Inf.* of *Hiph.* 28. מִנְצְלָה *deliverance*.—

II. From Stems מ"ע.

From the *Part. Qāl* (after the form קָשֶׁל) we get:—1. חָם *upright*; commonly with *Päthäch* (to indicate the *Däg. f. implic.* of the final syllable), הֵל *abject*, רַב *much*, fem. רָבָה. From the *Inf.* 10, 11: בּוֹ *booty*, חֵן *favour*, חֵן *law*, fem. מִלָּה *word*, חֵן *law*; 14. מִסָּב *that which surrounds anything*, מִסָּךְ *covering*, מִגֶּן *shield*, מִעַז *fastness*, fem. מִגֵּל *roll*. Through the removal of the pretonic vowel have arisen forms after the analogy of No. 10 (קָשֶׁל, קָשֶׁל), which are further developed into proper segholate forms (No. 11); as מִמֶּר (from מִמֶּר, r. מִמֶּר) *bitterness*, מִמֶּד *timidity* (from מִמֶּד, r. מִמֶּד). 27. תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer*; also in the segholate form, as תִּמָּס *a melting away* (from תִּמָּס, r. תִּמָּס), perh. also מִסָּה *mast* (from מִסָּה *to make a tremulous sound*). From *Pulpel* (§ 55, 4), גִּלְגָּל *wheel* and *whirlwind* (from גִּלְגָּל *to roll*), קָלָקָל *contemned*, קֶרֶן *crown* (of the head), קֶבֶץ *flask*, etc.

III. From Stems פ"י and פ"י.

The participial forms are regular. To the Infinitive belong: 10. דָּע, fem. דָּעָה, דָּעָה *knowledge*, נִצָּח *counsel*. 13. סוֹד, for יסוד *divan*. 14. מוֹרָא *fear*, מוֹשֵׁב *seat*, מוֹקֵשׁ *snare*, מוֹלָדָה *birth*, מוֹסֵר *punishment*; from verbs פ"י of the 2d class (§ 70), מִיטָב *the best* and acc. to § 71: מִדָּע, מִדָּע (comp. Aram. מִדָּע) *knowledge* from דָּע. 27. תּוֹשָׁב *inhabitant*, תּוֹלָדָה *generation* (only pl. constr. תּוֹלָדוֹת), תּוֹלָדָה *the south*.

IV. From Stems ע"י and ע"י.

Participles: 1. זָר *foreign*. 2. גֵּר *stranger*, עֵדָה *a female witness, testimony*. 3. טוֹב *good*, טוֹבָה *what is good*. Infinitives: 11. various segholate forms, as מוֹת *death* (Arab. *maut*) and בַּיִת *house* (Arab. *bait*); שוּט (Arab. *saut*) *whip*, שׁוּק (Arab. *sâq*) *leg*, רוּחַ *spirit*; in feminine עוֹלָה *evil*, עוֹלָה *shame*. 14. מְנוּחָה, fem. מְנוּחָה *rest*, מְקוֹם *place*, also מְשׁוּט *oar* (from מְשׁוּט, and מְצִדָה *cave* (from מְצִד). 27. תְּהוֹם *the deep*, תְּהוֹמָה *intelligence*, תְּהוֹמָה *testimony*. 28. מְנוּחָה *rest*. 31. נִיחָה *satisfaction*.

V. From Stems ל"ה.

Participles: 1. יָפֵה *fair*, קָשָׁה *hard*, fem. קָשָׁה. Some lose the ה, as יָד *hand*, סֵי *sign* (for סֵיה). 4. רָאָה *seer*, fem. עוֹלָה *burnt-offering*. 5. זָקֵן *pure*, עָנִי *poor*.—Infinitives: 11. The segholates in various forms; at times like בָּכָה *a weeping*, מִלָּה *end*; sometimes also curtailed, as עוֹר *duration, eternity* (עוֹרָה). Sometimes the original ו appears, but then merely as a toneless helping vowel, as in שָׂוִי *a swimming*,

הָזָה, בָּזָה *waste*; but on the other hand with י, as in פֵּרִי *fruit* (Grdf. *pārj* and farther attenuated to *pirj*), חֲלִי *(chūlj) sickness*, חֲצִי (Grdf. *chisj*)—*half*; the *fem.* form always with consonant י or י, as in שְׁלִיחַ *rest*, לֵידָה *garland*. 12. (really belonging to 1.): רֵעַ *friend*: with rejection of the ending: עֵץ *tree*. 13. סִתִּי *winter*. 14. מִקְנָה *possession*, מֵרָא *appearance*, מֵעֵשָׂה *deed*, מַחֲנֶה *camp*; *fem.* מִצְוָה *command*. Apocopated form, מַעַל *height* (for מַעֲלָה). 15. כֶּנֶף *wealth*, בְּהִיּוֹן *destruction*. 16. דְּמִיּוּת *resemblance*, פְּדִיּוּת *deliverance* etc. 27. תְּבִלִּית *annihilation*, (שִׁקְוָה) *structure*, תְּרִבִּיּוּת *brood*. 28. אֲשָׁכָה *testicle* for אֲשָׁכָה (from אֲשָׁכָה), really 'äskāj.

VI. From doubly weak Stems.

We present only some cases of especial difficulty for the beginner to find the triliteral stem:

1. From a verb שָׁן and שָׂא and שָׂא *elevation* (Job 41, 17) for שָׂא *from שָׂא*.

2. From a verb שָׁן and שָׂא *instruction, law, thanksgiving*.

3. From a verb שָׁן and שָׂא *tumult* Num. 24, 17 (for שָׂא—*from שָׂא*).

4. From a verb שָׁן and שָׂא *island*, from שָׁן *to dwell*; *sign* derived from שָׁן which again comes from 'äwājät (with *fem.*, comp. Arab. 'ājät, Aram. *šān*), from שָׁן *cord*, from שָׁן *chamber* (for שָׁן), from שָׁן *to dwell* (secondary form of שָׁן v. s.); *people* (from שָׁן, Arab. *confluxit*); *irrigation* (for שָׁן, from שָׁן).

To the learner the stem is often obscured also though the loss of נ, ו or ה by contraction, e. g. שָׁן *wine-press* for שָׁן, שָׁן and this for שָׁן (from שָׁן *to press*); *anger* for שָׁן ('anp); *faithfulness* for שָׁן (from שָׁן), *time* for שָׁן ('idt with *fem.*), from שָׁן; *for שָׁן* *brightness* (from שָׁן).

§ 86.

DENOMINATIVE NOUNS.

1. Such are all nouns which are formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive, or derived from a verb, e. g. קָדְמִיּוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָדַם *the east*, which is itself derived from the verb קָדַם.

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given among the verbal nouns, the denominatives as secondary (though partly very old) forms, being entirely analogous to nouns derived from the verb.

The verbal with **מ** prefixed, e. g. was employed to express the *place of an action* (§ 84, No. 14); accordingly this **מ** *local* was prefixed to a noun in order to make it a *designation of place* (see No. 3 below).

The principal forms are the following:—

1. Like the *Part. Qāl* (No. 4 of the Verbals), as שַׁרֵּר *porter*, from שָׁרַר *gate*; בָּקַר *herdsman*, from בָּקַר *herd*; כָּרֵם *vine dresser*, from כָּרַם *vineyard*.

2. Like the verbals of No. 6, קָשָׁה *archer*, from קָשָׁה *bow*; מַלְחָה *seaman*, from מָלַח *salt, sea*. Both these forms (Nos. 1 and 2) indicate occupations inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in τῆς, τῶς, e. g. πολίτης, γραμματεὺς.

3. Nouns with **מ** prefixed, expressing the place in or near which a thing is found (comp. No. 14 of the Verbals), e. g. מַעְיָן *place of fountains*, from עָיַן *fountain*; מְרֻגְלִיחַ *place about the feet*, מְרֻגְשִׁיחַ *place about the head*, from רָגַל, רָאשׁ; מִקְשָׁה for מִקְשָׁה *cucumber field*, from קָשָׂה *cucumber*. Comp. ἀμπελών, from ἀμπελος.

4. Adjectival designations, with add. of וֶן, וֶה, as קֶדְמוֹן *eastern*, from קָדַם; אַחֲרִיֹן *hinder*, from אָחַר; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חָצַן; לִיָּרְחָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לִיָּרַח *a winding*; כֹּחֶשֶׁת *copper image*, from כָּחַשׁ *copper*. Also *abstracts*, as עִוְרִין *blindness*, from עָוַר. Comp. § 84, No. 15.

וֶן forms a *diminutive* (like the Syriac וֶן), in אִישִׁיִּן *little man* (in the eye), *apple of the eye* from אִישׁ; on the contrary שִׁשְׁיָן *little snake*, is really an adjective form, from שָׁשָׁה *to rub* (perhaps=rubber-like). In the same way יִשְׁוּרִין is really a denominative from יָשַׁר (=רָשָׁה) and not a diminutive (*pious little people* and the like), but rather *upright (righteous people)*; finally שְׁוִירִין is not *little moon*, but *artificial moon (jewelry)*, and צִנְרִיִּים, not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צָנַר *neck*). Comp. Delitzsch on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination וֶה, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals, gentilics, and patronymics*; e. g. נָכְרִי *strange*, from נָכַר *what is foreign*; שִׁשִּׁי *sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאָבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the substantive is a *compound*, it is commonly resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵי־מִנִּי *Benjaminite*, from בְּנֵי־מִנִּי (for the use of the article with such forms, see § 111, 1, Rem.). Rarely instead of וֶה we have a) the ending וֶה (as in Aramæan), as כִּזְלִי *deceitful* and in proper names, as בִּרְזִלִי *(ferreus, from ברזל iron) Barzillai*; and b) its parallel וֶה, as מִן־אֵשׁ *belonging to fire (אֵשׁ) fire-food, sacrifice*; לְבָנָה (prop. *milky*) *white poplar*, arab. lubnaj.

6. *Abstract nouns* formed from *concretes* by the addition of וֶה and וֶה (comp. the Eng. terminations -dom, -hood, -ness, etc.); e. g. מְלָכִיּוּת.

kingdom, from אֶלֶף אֶלְמָנָה *widow-hood*, from אֶלְמָנָה *widower*, אֶלְמָנָה *widow*; רִאשִׁית *principium*, from ראש=ראש *princeps*. (See the Verbals No. 16.)

§ 87.

OF THE PLURAL.

1. The *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is יִם, e. g. סוּס horse, plur. סוּסִים *horses*, often also written defectively סוּסִי, especially when in the same word a ו or י has already gone before as a so-called *fulcrum*, as in Gen. 1, 21 מַיִם. Nouns in יִם end with יִים in the plural, as עִבְרִיִּים *Hebrews* (Ex. 3, 18), from עִבְרִי, but usually a contraction takes place, as עֲבָרִים *crimson garments*, from עֲבָרִי. — Nouns in הֶ— lose this termination when they take the plural-ending, e. g. חֹזֶה *seer*, plur. חֹזִים (comp. § 75, 3). — In regard to the removal of the accent from the הֶ— in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 96. The termination יִם— is found sometimes also with feminines (comp. נָשִׁים *women*, § 96, under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years* from שָׁנָה; רֵעִים *eves*, from רֵעָה) and is employed elsewhere to represent intensive ideas (§ 108, 2), so that the designation of gender is not necessarily attached to it (comp. also No. 3).

This ending *im* is also prevalent in Phœnician, e. g. צִידֹנִים *Sidonians*; in Aramaean it is *in*, in Arabic *ûn* (nominative) and *în* (the other cases), in Ethiopic *ân*. Compare also the ending יָן in 3d pers. pl. mas. of verbs.¹

Less frequent terminations of the *plur. masc.* are:

- a) יָן, as in Aramaic (aside from the poetical use in some older and even the oldest portions), almost exclusively in the later books of the O. Test., e. g. מְלָכֵיךְ *kings* Prov. 31, 3, צִינִיךְ 1 K. 11, 33, רֹצֵץ *a guard* 2 K. 11, 13, חֲטָיִךְ *wheat* Ez. 4, 9; defectively אִיָּן *islands* Ez. 26, 18, קִדְיִךְ *days* Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מִדְיִךְ *carpets* Judges 5, 10 (in the north Palestinian song of *Deborah* which shows also other linguistic peculiarities); רִיבֵיךְ *ruins* Micah 3, 12 (apparently caused by the following רִי); מִלֵּיךְ *words* (from the Aram. מִלָּה) Job 4, 2 and in 12 other places (also מִלֵּיךְ, 10 times); further Job 24, 22, 31, 10, Lam. 1, 4.—Doubtful is however:

¹ On the connection between all these endings, see *Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur Heb. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo., p. 51 etc.

- b) — (with ה cast off, as according to some in dual יָדַי for יָדַי Ez. 12, 18, comp the constr *st* § 89, 2), e g. מְנִי *chords* Ps 45, 9, for מְנִי (if it is not to be written so), עַמִּי *peoples* Ps 144, 2 and prob. also Lam 3, 14, (2 Sam 22, 44 satisfies the rendering *my people*, comp in paral ex Ps 18, 44 עַם, also in Cant 8, 2 would the י of רַמְנִי better be taken as a suff) If according to this nearly all cases of this sort are more or less doubtful (comp also 2 Sam 23, 8, 1 Ch. 11, 11, 1 Sam 20, 38 Kthubh and Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache*, S 524 ff) for the whole question, it has at least its analogy in the other Semitic languages On the Assyrian plural ending compare, Schrader in the *Zeitsch der DMG* XXVI, p 218 ff. (e g *maliku* princes) In Syr we have the corresp plur *malikê* (ܡܠܝܟܐ), likewise in the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud גַּבְרֵי *men*, finally the apocope of the ה or ו is very common in the pronunciation of the West Aram e g חֲלֵי for חֲלָיִם *Psalm* — More doubtful still is—
- c) — (like the constr *state* in Syriac), and here are reckoned, e g. חֲלֵי *white cloths* Is 19, 9, נָרִי *princes* Judg 5, 15, חֲלֹנוֹי *windows* Jer 22, 14 This last is also taken for dual (§ 88, Rem 1) *two windows* but it is probably a corrupt reading for חֲלֹנוֹי, חֲלֹנוֹי may be *my princes* (with suff), and חֲלֹנוֹי in Is 20 4 is either constr *st*, comp § 89, Rem, or likewise coll sing with the ending חֲלֹנוֹי, חֲלֹנוֹי the *Almighty*, from the stem חֲלֹנוֹי, is formed with the adjective ending חֲלֹנוֹי, while in the collectively used singular לוֹכֵס *locust-swarm* Am. 7 1, Nah 3, 17 (from לָכַס) the חֲלֹנוֹי belongs to the stem (cf חֲלֹנוֹי Ps 8 8, f חֲלֹנוֹי), finally, חֲלֹנוֹי the *Lord* (prop *my lord*, from the so called plural of Majesty, חֲלֹנוֹי *lord*) the *ay* is originally a suffix, see § 121, Rem 4
- d) חֲלֹנוֹי, as supposed plural ending in חֲלֹנוֹי = חֲלֹנוֹי *mudges*, which however is rather a collective singular (of the stem חֲלֹנוֹי) with the formative syllable חֲלֹנוֹי (comp § 84, No 15), likewise חֲלֹנוֹי *ladder*, prop *steps* (from חֲלֹנוֹי I), comp our *staus*

2 The plural termination for the *feminine gender* is וֹת (often written defectively חֲ—), which takes the place of the singular feminine-ending חֲ—, חֲ—, חֲ—, when the noun in the singular ends with one of these, otherwise it is merely appended to the form of the singular, as תְּהִלָּה *song of praise*, plur תְּהִלּוֹת *letter*, plur אֲנָרוֹת; אֲנָרוֹת *a well*, plur בָּארוֹת Feminines in חֲ— form their plural in חֲ—, and those in חֲ—, חֲ—, e g מִצְרַיִם *an Egyptian woman*, plur מִצְרַיִת *kingdom*, plur מַלְכוּתֹת These last plurals have, however, for their basis, the singular endings חֲ— and חֲ— before which *Yodh* to be retained as a consonant must be doubled.

Rem. It is only from mistake or disregard of these feminine-endings וִי and יִי that some words ending with them, form their plural by the addition of ים—, e. g. הַיִּנִּית *spear, plur.* הַיִּנִּיתִים and הַיִּנִּיתוֹת; הַזִּנָּה *whoredom, plur.* הַזִּנָּהִים, הַיָּתוּמוֹת *widowhood*, and many other instances. After the manner of the Syriac is the formation of the plural (before suffixes) עֲדָת (ʿēdh^e-wō th) *laws*, with Waw as a consonant, from the singular עֲדָה.

This ending וִי (-ōth) stands for -āth (as it sounds in Arab., Ethiop. in the construct state of the West Aram. in Eastern Syriac also in Assyrian, Schrader l. i p 222, see on the change of ā to ō, in § 9, 10, 2), and -āth is properly only a longer and stronger form of the singular-ending āth (§ 80, 2). The strengthening is intended partly to denote the plural and partly as intensive, and this ending is thus by a further application appended even to such nouns as have not -āth in the singular.

How the changeable vowels of the noun are modified by the addition of the plural endings, is explained in §§ 92—95.

3. Words which are of two genders (§ 107, 3) have often, in the plural, both the masculine and the feminine termination, e. g. עָבֹד *cloud*, pl. עָבֹדִים and עָבֹדוֹת; both forms may be employed as masculine and feminine, but their gender must be determined by observing the usage of the language in respect to each word. But a number also of other words of one invariable gender have both (*masc.* and *fem.*) plural-endings, e. g. דָּוָר *m. an age, plur.* דְּוָרִים and דְּוָרוֹת; שָׁנָה *f. a year, plur.* שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת. The gender of the singular is in such cases retained with both the plural forms, e. g. אֲרִי *m. a lion, plur.* אֲרִיִּים *m.* (Zeph 3, 3), דְּוָרֹת *m.* (Job 42, 16).

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days* and שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמֹת (only *constr.* Deut 32, 7, Ps 90, 15) and שָׁנוֹת are rare poetic forms.

A difference of sense appears in the use of several words for members of the body, the dual (see § 88) being used for the living members themselves, while the plural in וִי denotes something like them but without life, e. g. יָדַי *hands*, יָדָיו *artificial hands, tenons* Ex. 28, 51, כַּפָּיִם *hands*, כַּפֹּתֵי *handles* (L *manubria*), קַרְנֵי *horns*, קַרְנוֹת *horns* (of the altar), עֵינָיִם *eyes*, עֵינֹת *fountains*.

4 A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וִי—, while many feminines have a plural in ים—. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains in the plural; e. g. אָב *father, plur.* אֲבֹת; שֵׁם *m. name, plur.* שְׁמוֹת;

on the contrary, מַלְאָךְ *f. word, plur. מַלְאָכִים*; פִּלְגֶּשֶׁת *f. concubine, plur. פִּלְגֶּשֶׁתִּים*.

5. It is only in adjectives and participles that we find the two plural-endings strictly and constantly distinguished according to the gender, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonæ*; קָטָנִים *m.*, קָטָנוֹת *f.* So also in substantives of the same stem, when the difference depends on sex, as בָּנִים *filii*, בָּנוֹת *filæ*; מַלְכִּים *reges*, מַלְכוֹת *reginæ*

Rem. 1. In some few words, there is added to the plural form in וְ the other termination of the plural —ִים (— in construct state, comp. § 89, 2) or that of the dual —ִי, e. g. בָּמֹדָה *height, pl. בָּמוֹת*, construct state בְּמוֹתַי שָׂאוֹל, בְּמוֹתַי מֵרֹאשֵׁי שָׂאוֹל *from places at the head of Saul* 1 Sam. 28, 12, חוֹמָה *wall, plur. חוֹמוֹת* (*mœnia*), whence dual חוֹמָתַי *double wall*. This double designation of the plural appears also in the manner of connecting suffixes with the plural forms in וְ (§ 91, 3).

2 Some nouns are used only in the sing. (e. g. אָדָם *man*, collectively *men*) a series of other nouns are used only in the plural, e. g. מִרְיָם *men* (in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēt man*), and some of these have a singular sense (§ 108, 2), as פָּנִים *face*. Also when the actual plural of the latter is required, there is but the same way of expressing it, hence, פָּנִים means also *faces* in Gen. 40, 7, Ez. 1, 6, אֱלֹהִים *God* and also *gods*

§ 88.

OF THE DUAL

1. As a most ancient modification of the plural, we have the *dual*, which however in Hebrew is used only in substantives (v. No. 2) not in adjectives, verbs, and pronouns. It is indicated in both genders by the ending —ִי, appended to the singular, as יָדַי *both hands*, יְמֵי *two days*; but instead of the feminine-ending —ִי, the dual-form always takes the old ending *ath*, with a long *ā* (on account of the open syllable), thus יָדַיִךְ, as שְׁפָה *hp*, שְׁפָתַיִךְ *both lips*; the ו of the termination —ו remains, as כְּוָשֶׁת, in dual כְּוָשֶׁתַיִךְ *double fetters*.

With nouns which stand in sing. without the fem. ending the dual ending is added to the ground form; which however generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the removal of the tone, e. g. כָּנָף *wing* (ground form *kānāph*), Dual כְּנָפַיִךְ (the first *ā* becoming *Shwā*, since it is no longer

pretonic, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone syllable). But in most cases the original form remains before the dual ending, in the segholate forms (§ 84, 11), as רֶגֶל *foot* (Grdf. *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; yet קַרְנִים is used as well as קַרְנָיִם (from קָרַן *horn*), לָחַיִם from לָחַי *cheek* (as from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לָחַיִם).

Rem. 1. Unusual forms of the dual, mostly occurring only in proper names, are, — *a*) הַיָּן (as in West. Aram., — comp. *aini* of the Accusative in Arab.) and הַיָּי (— *āni* of the nom. in Arab.), as הַיָּי Gen. 37, 17, and דֶּקֶן 2 K. 6, 13 (*pr. name* of a city, prop. *two wells*); בְּרֶחֶק (dual of בְּרֶחַק) name of a town, called also קִרְיָתָיִם in 1 Ch. 6, 61, Josh. 21, 32 (so too the Moabite cities in Mēsha's Inscription in line 10 קִרְיָתָן *Qiryathān* or *Qiryathēn* = קִרְיָתָיִם in O. Test.; in line 30 בֵּית דְּבָלָתָם = בֵּית דְּבָלָתָיִם Jer. 48, 22; in lines 31 and 32 חֲרוּתָיִם = חֲרוּתָיִם in O. Test., also line 15 צִוְרוֹתָיִם = צִוְרוֹתָיִם noon; in line 20 מֵאֵתָיִם = מֵאֵתָיִם *two hundred*); — *b*) הָם, prob. in the *pr. n.* הָעֵינִים *the double spring*, and יָם — in יָמַיִם *two* in the combination שְׁנַיִם *twelve* (besides the usual form שְׁנַיִם); — *c*) הָ (with ה cast off), יָדַיִם Ez. 13, 18 (if we do not read יָדַיִם here), perhaps also יָדַיִם (double windows) Jer. 22, 14 (but see § 87, 1, c).

2. Only seemingly dual are the words מַיִם *water*, שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *Jerusalem*. The former two are plurals from the lost singulars מַי, שָׁמַי (comp. § 87, 1), the latter is probably a distended form for the older יְרוּשָׁלַם and the Massora, with its *Qerî perpet.*, did not mean a dual; comp. the shorter form שָׁלַם Ps. 76, 3, and the Aramaic יְרוּשָׁלַם.

2. The use of the *dual* in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, etc. (§ 97), chiefly to such objects as are by nature or art in *pairs*, as יָדַיִם *both hands*, תַּפְלִיִּים *both fists*, אָזְנוֹתַיִם *both ears*, שִׁנַּיִם *set of teeth* (used of the *two* rows); further נַעֲלָיִם *pair of shoes*, מֵאֲזֵנָיִם *pair of scales* (Lat. *bilanx*), or at least are thought of as forming a *pair*, as יָמִים *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*, שְׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*, אַמְתָּיִם *two cubits*.

Rem. In the former case the dual is used also for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, as שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i. e.: three pairs) Is. 6, 2, Ez. 1, 6; שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes* Zech. 8, 9; כָּל־יָדַיִם *all hands* Ez. 21, 12; כָּל־בְּרָכָיִם *all knees* Ezek. 7, 17; מְצַלְצֵלִים *cymbals* Ezr. 3, 10; שְׁשָׁלִים *double-hooks* Ez. 40, 43. — With some emphasis the dual takes also the numeral *two*, as in Amos 3, 12, Judg. 16, 28.

¹ See *Gesenii Thesaurus Ling. Hebrææ*, p. 629.

² With this use of the *dual* may be compared the Welsh *dwylaw* (two-hands) used for the only *plur.* of *llaw* (hand), and *dwyfron* (two-breasts) for the *chest*, but *bronau* (the reg. pl. of *bron*) for the *breasts*. — Tr.

See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87, Nos. 3 and 5, Rem. 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Hebrew, at an earlier period, made a more extensive and free use of the dual, and that the restrictions and defects above specified belong to a later phase of its developement. The ancient Arabic forms the dual in the noun, pronoun and verb, almost co-extensively with the Sanskrit or Greek; but the modern Arabic omits it almost entirely in verbs, pronouns and adjectives. The Syriac has it without living force, only in a couple of words, and that somewhat as in the Latin forms *ambo, duo, octo*. In like manner, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the more modern East-Indian tongues; and its full use in the Old-Slavic has been later, e. g. in the Bohemian, confined as in Heb. to *pairs*, as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see *Grimm's Gramm.* I. p. 814, 2d ed.

§ 89.

THE GENITIVE AND THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. The Hebrew has no longer the living use of *case-endings*,¹ but indicates the *relations of case*, either not at all, which is true of the *nominative* and generally also of the *accusative*, or by prepositions (§ 117); but the *genitive* relation is indicated by a close connection between two nouns. The noun, which serves in Latin or Greek as genitive to limit another (*nomen rectum*), in Hebrew remains unchanged, and is only uttered in more close connection with the preceding (*nomen regens*), and the two nouns are sometimes said to be in *regimen*. In consequence of this connection, the tone hastens on the second (the genitive) of the two nouns² and the first (or governing noun) suffers a shortening by changes chiefly in the vowels (when changeable), e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word of God*, literally *word-God* (where we reverse the order, as *God's-word*, like *fruit-tree*); יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand of the king*; and partly in both consonants and vowels, e. g. דְּבָרִים

¹ On some traces of obsolete case-endings, see § 90.

² In accordance with the universal tendency of the tone, in the Hebrew, as well as other languages, to hasten towards the end of words (§ 29, 1); observe, for instance, in German the natural accentuation of the last word in "*der Thron des Königs*".

words, דְּבַרֵּי הָעָם *words of the people*. Thus in Hebrew,¹ the noun which stands *before a genitive* suffers a change (when there is any), by which this relation is indicated, and in grammatical language it is said to be in the *construct state*, while a noun which is not thus followed by a genitive is said to be in the *absolute state*. This goes to show that the *construct state* is not strictly the result of the syntactical relation, but merely an effect of the relations of tone.

Whether such words are (as often happens) connected by Māqqēph (§ 16, 1) or not, does not affect the sense, but depends on the accentuation. On the further use of the *construct state*, see the Syntax, §§ 114, 116.

2. The *vowel-change* which many nouns exhibit in the *construct state* are fully taught in the Paradigms, §§ 92—95. This *construct* form of the noun has, moreover, peculiar *endings* better fitted for union with the following noun. Thus:—

- a) In place of the plural and dual *endings* יִם— and יִם—, it has, by throwing off the *m*, simply י— (comp. Rem. below); e. g. סוּסִים *horses*, סוּסֵי פָּרְעֹה *horses of Pharaoh*; עֵינִים *eyes*, עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *eyes of the king*.
- b) In place of the usual feminine-termination הָ— (in the *absol. state*), it always takes the original ending ת—, as מַלְכָּה *queen*, מַלְכַּת שֶׁבָּא *queen of Sheba*. But the feminine-termination ת— remains unchanged in the *constr. st.* as well as the plural ending תִּם—.
- c) Nouns in הָ— (from verbs לָה, § 85, V.) form their *constr. st.* in הָ—; as רֹאֶה *seer*, *constr.* רֹאֶה; undoubtedly this הָ— is contracted from original הִי— (the הָ being orthographically retained) whilst the *absol. state* has been changed, after the *Yôdh* had been dropped, from רֹאֶה into רֹאֶה (v. § 75, 1); the same contraction is found with כִּי *constr.* כִּי *sufficiency*; חַיִּי *life*, *constr.* חַיִּי, and so also נָחַל (נָחַל) *valley*, *constr.* נָחַל.

¹ What is here said of the Heb. mode of expressing the relation of the genitive, is applicable in almost every particular also to the Keltic. In Welsh, for instance, they express *word of God* by *gair Duw*, i. e. *word-God*, without any change in either noun, their close connection in utterance being all that indicates the genitive case.—Tr.

On the ending י and ך in the *constr. st.*, see § 90.

Rem. to a). Probably the liquid ך at the end of a word was pronounced obscurely, like the Latin *-m* before a vowel, and hence might be wholly lost in pronunciation, just as the *m*, in the case alluded to (commonly called *ecthlipsis*), was obscured or slurred over in the language of common life and in poetry. (*Quinct. Inst. Orat.* IX. 4, § 40; *Schneider's Lat. Gram.* I. pp. 153, 300). So also the corresponding *n* of the plural-ending in Arabic and Aramæan is slurred over, and that of the plural-ending ך in the verb (§ 44, 1, and § 47, Rem. 4). After the rejection of the *m*, the final vowel *i* of the plural-ending was strengthened by a foregoing *a* (*Guna*, in Sanskrit grammar), so that *ai* arose, which was then contracted to *ê* (§ 7, 1, and § 9, 6). Instead of ך, the Syriac still has ך: in Hebrew, too, this form may be clearly traced in the suffixes to the plural noun (§ 91, 2). Of this we have, perhaps, an example in the form שׁוֹרֵי הַשָּׂדֶה Is 20, 4.—It is obvious that the ך of the *dual* has come from ך (ך from ך).

§ 90.

TRACES OF ANCIENT CASE-ENDINGS.

ה local, י and י appended to the construct state.

1. As the Arabic distinguishes three cases by terminations, so we find also in the Hebrew noun three endings, which correspond in sound to those of the Arabic, but have mostly lost their significance. These endings (the so-called *paragogic letters*) appear only as crumbled remains of a fuller and more vital organic developement, than the language exhibits in the Old Testament, where it no longer ordinarily distinguishes the cases by terminations.

The Arabic case-endings in *the fully declined nouns (*Triptota*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative (corresponding to the three primary vowels); in the so-called *Diptota* the ending *a* represents also the genitive. In modern Arabic, these endings have almost entirely disappeared; and when they are now and then used, as by the Bedawins, it is done without regularity, so that one is used for the other (*Wallin*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gesellsch.* Bd. V., 1851, p. 9, Bd. XII., p. 874; *Wetzstein*, *ibid.* Bd. XXII., 1868, p. 113). Already, in the Sinaitic inscription, the regular use is not adhered to (*Beer*, *Studia asiatica*, III., 1840, p. XVIII; *Tuch*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges.* Bd. III., p. 139); and even at present among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai, one may hear e.g. *'ammuk* (thy uncle, in the

nom.) used also for 'ammik (*gen.*) and 'ammak (*acc.*). In central Arabia the three endings are still heard in the mouth of the people of the towns; farther south and east the *-a* stands for the *-i*, and nearer the coast these endings are heard no more (*Palgrave's Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and eastern Arabia*, Vol. I., p. 465, Lond. 1865). The Ethiopic, likewise, has preserved only the *-a* (in pr. names—*hâ*), which is, however, still used for the whole scope of the accusative, and moreover (the distinction of case being dropped) as a termination of the *constr. st.* for connecting it with a following genitive. *Philippi* gives a lucid discussion of the questions belonging here in: "Wesen und Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebrew. — Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt." Weimar 1871, p. 96 ff. (Compare the criticism on it by *Noldeke* in the *Gotting. gel. Anzeig.* 1871. St. 23.)

2. The *accusative* relation is still most obvious in the ending הַ— (usually without accent), which is appended to the substantive—

- a) Mostly to denote *direction* towards an object, or *motion* to a place¹ (answering to our *-ward*), e. g. יָמָה *sea-ward, westward*, צָפוֹנָה *northward*, אֲשׁוּרָה *to Assyria*, בָּבְלָה *to Babylon*, הָרָה (from הָר) *mountain-ward* Gen. 14, 10, אֶרֶצָה *to the earth*, בֵּיתָה *into a house*, תִּרְצָה *to Tirzah* (from תִּרְצָה) 1 K. 14, 17, עֲזָה *to Gazu* (from עֲזָה) Judg. 16, 1; with the article, הָהָרָה *to the mountain*, הַבֵּיתָה *into the house*, הָאֹהֶלָה (Grdf. 'ohl) *into the tent* (also הָאֹהֶלָה Gen. 18, 6, Exod. 18, 7); even after the *constr. state* with a genitive following, בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house*, אֶרֶצָה הַנֶּגֶב *to the south-land* Gen. 20, 1, אֶרֶצָה מִצְרַיִם *towards Egypt's land* Ex. 4, 20, מִדְבָּרָה דַּמַּשְׁק *towards the wilderness of Damascus*, 1 K. 19, 15 מִזֶּרְחָה שֶׁמֶשׁ (here *with the tone*, contrary to rule) *towards the rising of the sun, eastward*, Deut. 4, 41; and even after the plural, כְּשָׁדִימָה *to the Chaldeans*, Ez. 11, 24, הַשָּׁמַיִמָה *the heavens-ward*.
- b) Sometimes in a weaker sense, as merely pointing to the place *where*² something is; e. g. מַהֲנֵימָה *at Mahanaim* 1 K. 4, 14; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*) Jer. 18, 2 comp.

¹ See on this force of the accusative, § 118, 1: and compare the Lat. local accusative, as *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

² So also elsewhere the accusative, § 118, 1.

2 K. 23, 8. (On the other hand בָּבֶלְיָה Jer. 29, 15 and זִבְלָה Hab. 3, 11, must be taken as the usual accusative of direction: *to Babylon, in the dwelling*; also expressions like: פָּאָה צָפוֹנָה *the side towards the north* Jos. 15, 5, comp. 18, 15, 20, Ex. 26, 18).

- c) The proper sense of the ending ה־ is still more disregarded when a preposition is prefixed to the word, and this not only after ל or עַד (which is easily explicable), e. g. לְמַעַל *upwards*, לְמַטָּה *downwards*, לְשֹׂאֵלָה *into the grave* Ps. 9, 18; עַד־אַפְקָה *unto Aphek*, Josh 13, 4 but also after ב and even after מִן e. g. בַּנִּגְבָּה *in the south* Josh. 15, 21, מִבְּבֶלְיָה *from Babylon* Jer. 27, 16. Comp. also § 80, Rem. 2, f.

This termination ה־ has usually reference to *place* (hence called *He local*); yet in rare cases it also refers to *time*; so, in עַתָּה (with the tone on the last syllable) *now, at this time* (from עַתָּה), מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה *from year to year* Its use is peculiar in הֲלִילָה, prop. *ad profanum*! = ἄγ. γένετο, *absit, or God forbid!*

Also as *accusatives of the object* we may regard not only a few names of places, Num. 32, 35, Josh. 21, 36 (אַחִיזָה), but also אֶרֶץ זָבֻלֹן *terram Z.* and אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי *terram N.* Is. 8, 23; comp. Job. 34, 13 and § 80, Rem. 2, e.

As the ending ה־ is properly unaccented, the vowels of the word, as the above examples show, undergo mostly no change, in מִדְּבָרָה (*const. state*, v. § 26, 3, c) the short vowel *ä* remains even in open tone-syllable. The segholate forms, as אֶרֶץ, מִדְּבָרָה, appear according to their original form, without the helping-vowel (cf. also שְׂמִינָה); so too the feminine ending appears in its older style (§ 80, 2), only that the *ä* of the ending ה־ is lengthened to *a* in the accented open syllable, as in הֲלִילָה. Moreover, the ה־ itself is in some cases shortened to ה־, as נֹבָה *to Nob* 1 Sam. 21, 2, 22, 9; דֶּדָּנָה *to Dedan* Ez. 25, 13, אֲנִי *whither* 1 K. 2, 36, 42.

3. Much less frequent, and almost exclusively poetical, is the use of the two other endings, which along with the accusative in ה־, are presumed to correspond to the Arabic case endings viz. the so-called *literæ compaginis* ה־ (the obsolete *genitive* ending) and ו־ (also ו־ in proper names) the

obsolete *nominative* ending. The reference to case in these forms is *quite lost*, and they are to be regarded simply as *archaisms*, which occur in poetry or in elevated speech, and are found besides in many compound names handed down from early times. As in these names, so also elsewhere, these terminations stand only in the closest connection of noun with noun, viz. in the *constr. state*.¹

- a) The ending *י* — is not quite rare in the *construct state*, and it usually has the tone, e. g. *בני אֲחִנֹּחַ* *his ass's colt* Gen. 49, 11, *עֲזָבִי הָצֹאֵן* *forsaking the flock* Zech. 11, 17, *שֹׁכְנֵי סִנְה* *dweller in the bush* Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine, *גִּנְבָּתִי לַיְלָה* *stolen at night* Gen. 31, 39 (in excited speech), *מִלֵּאֲתִי מִשְׁפָּט* *full of justice* Is. 1, 21, *עַל הַבְּרָרִי* *after the manner of Melchizedek* Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the apparently numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the construct and the absolute state (comp. § 116, 1) without abolishing the relation of dependence e. g. *רַבָּתִי בְּגוֹיִם* *mistress among the nations* Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of the tone from the *י* — here may have proceeded from the foregoing *רַבָּתִי לָם*, where the drawing back of the tone resulted from the following tone syllable; however comp. also *אֶהְבֵּתִי לְרוּשׁ* Hos. 10, 11); *אֶסְרִי לְזֶמֶן* *binding to the vine* Gen. 49, 11, comp. Ex 15, 6, Obad. 3, Ps. 113, 5—9 (partly in freer constructions; v. 8 even with *Infin.*). Outside of the *constr. st.* is found the *Chîrêq compaginis* e. g. Is. 22, 16, Mic. 7, 14, Ps. 123, 1, and besides these in like manner it is found with some particles which are strictly nouns in the *constr. st.*, as *זֶדְלָתִי* (= *זֶדְלָת*) *besides*, *מִנִּי* (poet. = *מִן*) *from*, *בְּלָתִי* *not*, and in compound proper names, as *מֶלֶכ־צֶדֶק* (i. e. king of righteousness), *גִּבְרִיָּאל* (man of God), *חֶמְיָאל* (favour of God), and others; comp. the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. *חֶמְיָבַעַל* (favour of Ba'al).

¹ In ancient combinations of words, other endings are also often retained which have disappeared elsewhere, or are but seldom employed; e. g. the feminine-ending *ת* — with the noun in the genitive connection (§ 89, 2, b) and with the verb in connection with suffixes (§ 59, 1). In like manner, many peculiarities of the language are retained in proper names, and also by the poets.

- b) The always accented ending י— is of much rarer occurrence, in prose only in the Pentateuch, and that in more elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חִירֹה־אָרֶץ *the beast of the earth* = חִירָה הָאָרֶץ v. 25 (the same is copied in Ps. 50, 10, 79, 2, 104, 11, 20, Is. 56, 9, Zeph. 2, 14); other cases are בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר *son of Beor* Num. 24, 3, 15, בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor* 23, 18, and מַעְיֵנוּ מַיִם *fountain of water* Ps. 114, 8.—On the ending י—, see the following Rem.

Rem. As these two terminations י— and ו have wholly lost their significance, they can no longer pass for proper case-endings; yet it is probable that once they, as well as הַ— (No. 2), were so used in the living language; for we find that the ancient Arabic had exactly corresponding endings, and like the Hebrew (see above) lost them at a later period. This is the case also in other tongues. In Latin, for instance, we find a trace of the so-called locative case (in names of towns, *ruri, domi*, etc.) with the same ending as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural-endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient terminations of case, which are no longer so used; not to mention the Germanic and Roman languages.—Even in cases where the ancient Arabic incorporated, with stronger sound, case-endings with the stem, as in אָבִי, אֲבִי, אִבִּי (constr. st. of אָב *father*), the modern uses all three forms without distinction of case. Hence also probably in the Hebrew constr. state אָבִי, אֲבִי, we have properly a genitive-ending; and in West. Aram., אָבִי, in Heb. מָרִד (in prop. names as מְרוֹשָׁלַם and מְרוֹשָׁלַם, שְׁמִי (שְׁמוֹת), קָנִי (שְׁמוֹת), a nominative-ending, so that we can better understand how מְרוֹשָׁלַם occurs along with מְרוֹשָׁלַם, and אֲרוֹמִי with אֲרוֹמִי.

§ 91.

THE NOUN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In connecting the noun with pronominal suffixes, which in this case stand for the genitive of the pronoun and therefore necessarily are appended to the construct state of the noun (§ 33, 2, b), we have, as in the verb (§ 57 etc.), two things to notice, viz. the form of the suffixes themselves and the changes in the form of the noun. Here we take up chiefly the first, as the second will be treated of under the inflection of nouns in § 92. A general view of the suffixes is given also in Paradigm A. We exhibit the suffixes, first, as appended to the singular, and then as appended to the plural and dual of the noun.

1. The suffixes to the singular Nouns are these:—

Singular of Pronoun.	Plural of Pronoun.
1. <i>com.</i> יָ— <i>my.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> נִי, נִי— <i>our.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i> הָ, הָ—, in pause הָ— } <i>thy.</i> { <i>f.</i> הָ, הָ— }	2. { <i>m.</i> כֶּם, כֶּם— } <i>your.</i> { <i>f.</i> כֶּן, כֶּן— }
3. { <i>m.</i> הוּ, הוּ—; הוּ, הוּ— } <i>his.</i> { <i>f.</i> הִי, הִי—, הִי— } <i>her.</i>	3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם, הֵם—, poet. } <i>their.</i> { <i>f.</i> הֵנּוּ, הֵנּוּ— }

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms here than when they are attached to the verb, and their use is as follows:—

a) The forms without a union-vowel are joined to the few nouns which in the *constr. st.* end with a vowel, as אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶם.

b) The forms with a union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), are joined to nouns ending with a consonant. The union-vowel is usually *a* in the 3rd *sing., fem.* הָ— (for *aha*), and 3rd *plur.* הֵם—, הֵנּוּ—; also in 3d *sing. masc.* הוּ, הוּ of which the *ô* is contracted from *âhû* (הוּ—) as well as the pausal form of the 2d *masc.* הָ— (as a half lengthening of original הָ—). The forms with *e* are in the above mentioned *pers.* only used with nouns in ה— (from the stem ל"ה) *constr. st.* ה— (contracted from *ay*) e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ *his field* (for *sadaishû* or directly from *sadē-hu*); מַרְאֲהוּ from *marajhâ* = *marāhā* with the rejection of *Yôdh* and the half lengthening of *ā* to *Sēghôl* in the accented open syllable; but שָׂדֵהָ *her field* from *sāda[h]hā*. Outside of these ל"ה forms is found the union vowel *e*, but rarely with 3d *pers.* e. g. אִירוֹהִי *his light* Job 25, 3, לְמִירוֹהִי *after its kind* Gen. 1, 21, 25; but in 2d *sing. fem.* הָ— and in 1st *plur.* הֵנּוּ—, are the customary forms, while הָ—, הֵנּוּ— are of rare occurrence; see Rem. 2.—Instead of הָ—, כֶּם—, כֶּן— (with *Shēwā' mobile*), when the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, we have הָ—, כֶּם—, כֶּן— as in רִיחֶהָ *thy spirit*, בְּרָאָהָ *thy creator* Is. 43, 1, חֵבֶכֶם *your friend* Job 6, 27.

2. Rare forms are—

Sing. 2d *pers. m.*, in pause הָ—, in פִּתְחָהָ *thy hand* Ps. 139, 5; *fem.* הָ— Ez. 5, 12, כִּי— Ps. 103, 3, Jer. 11, 15; once כִּי— in פִּתְחָהָ *thy envoys* Nah 2, 14, comp. No. 2, Rem. 2; also הָ— (הָ— Is. 22, 1).— 3d *pers. f.*, e. g. in the frequent אֲחֵלָה Gen. 9, 21, 12, 8, 13, 3, 35, 21 (throughout with *Qeri* אֲחֵלָה); קָצָה 2 K. 19, 23, *Kethibh*, for which we find קָצָה in Is. 37, 24; עִירָהָ and סִירָהָ Gen. 49, 11 (*Qeri* עִירָהָ).

Plur. 1st *pers.* הֵנּוּ—, in pause קִרְבָּנֵי Job 22, 20, comp. Ruth 3, 2, Is. 42, 10.—2d *pers. fem.* הָ— Ez. 23, 48, 49.—3d *pers. m.* הֵם—

2 Sam. 23, 6 (from which is contracted the usual form בְּיָדָם). Fem. בְּיָדָהּ 1 K. 7, 37, Ez. 16, 53; בְּיָדָהּ Gen. 41, 21, בְּיָדָהּ Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere mostly in pause, finally בְּיָדָהּ as suff. to a noun, only in Is 3, 17

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes must be considered to be appended to the original ending of the *construct state* ($\text{יָ}—$ comp. § 89, 2, Rem.). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2d *fem.* In most cases we find, what occurs in the *construct state* without suffixes, viz. the contraction into $\text{יָ}—$ (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2d *masc.* and 3d *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic. suff. יָהוּ) the *Yôdh*, which has been virtually dropped, is retained orthographically. The preceding *ā* is either lengthened into *ā* (3d *masc. sing.*) or inflected into accented *Sêghôl* (2d *masc.* and 3d *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *masc. sing.* see below under letter *b*. Thus we have the following:

Suffixes of Plural Nouns:

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. com. $\text{יָ}—$	<i>my.</i>	1. com. יָהֶם	<i>our.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i> יָהֶם <i>f.</i> יָהֶן	} <i>thy.</i>	2. { <i>m.</i> יָהֶם <i>f.</i> יָהֶן	} <i>your.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i> יָהֶם , poet. יָהוּ <i>f.</i> יָהֶן	{ <i>his.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. { <i>m.</i> יָהֶם , poet. יָהֶם <i>f.</i> יָהֶן	} <i>their.</i>

In these forms the original $\text{יָ}—$ is a) contracted in the 3d *sing. masc.* יָהֶם and throughout the plural, as סוֹסֵיהֶם etc.; b) retained unchanged in the 1st *masc. sing.* סוֹסִי , the real suffix ending י or $\text{יָ}—$ being blended with the final *Yôdh* into $\text{יָ}—$, and in the 2d *fem. sing.* סוֹסִיָּהּ (with auxiliary *Chirêq* after the *Yôdh*); on the other hand c) the *Yôdh* of $\text{יָ}—$ is abandoned and α) the *ā* lengthened into *ā* in the 3d *masc. sing.* סוֹסִי i. e. *sûsâw*; β) *ā* inflected into accented *Sêghôl* in the 2d *masc. sing.* סוֹסִיָּהּ from *sûsâkhâ* and in the 3d *fem. sing.* סוֹסִיָּהּ from *sûsâhâ*.

Rem. 1. The *Yôdh* of these forms (letter *c* above), being only orthographically retained, is occasionally omitted (which in unpuncted MSS creates slight confusion with the *sing.*), e. g. יָהֶם for יָהֶם *thy*

ways Ex. 33, 13, רִצְרוּהוּ for רִצְרוּהוּ *his friends* Job 42, 10, לְמִיָּדָם *after their kinds* Gen. 1, 21. This omission of the *Yôdh* occurs esp. with the *suff.* 3d pers. *m. sing.*, where we very often find יָ, which is, however, almost invariably changed in the Q'ri to יִי, e. g. הַצֵּי *his arrows* Ps. 58, 8 in Q'ri הַצֵּי.

2. Unusual forms are: *sing.* 2d pers. *fem.* יָךְ— (after the unchanged interjection אֲשֶׁרִי *blessed!* Eccl. 10, 17, comp. *Delitzsch*), יָכִי— (comp. Syr. —כִּי) 2 K. 4, 3 and 7 in *Kethibh*; Ps. 103, 3—5; entirely abnormal is מַלְאֲכָה (so acc. to *Kimchi* Lex.) *thy messengers* apparently for מַלְאֲכָי = מַלְאֲכָיִךְ Nah. 2, 14.—3d pers. *masc.* וְהִי (quite an Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12; 3d *fem.* וְהִיא Ez. 41, 15.—*Plur.* 2d pers. *fem.* יָרְכֶה— Ez. 13, 20; 3d pers. *masc.* וְהֵם— Ez. 40, 16, *fem.* וְהֵנָּה— Ez. 1, 11.

3. On יָרְכֶה see § 103, 2, Rem.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *constr. st.* of the masculine plural. Yet this was so far lost sight of by those who spoke the language, that there arose the strange peculiarity (in fact the inaccuracy) of appending these *suffix-forms* (already embodying the plural-ending יָ) to the feminine plural in וְהֵן, as סִסְמֹרֶתָיָה, סִסְמֹרֶתָיָה, where in reality a double indication of the plural occurs.¹

NB. This is the rule; yet the bare suffix (as in No. 1) is sometimes appended to the ending יָ, as עֲרִיבֵי Ps. 132, 12 (if not the *sing.* for עֲרִיבֵי acc. to *Kimchi* in the Lex. תְּחַנְנוּ 2 K. 6, 8, for תְּחַנְנוּ); מִכְתָּבָה Deut. 28, 59 (acc. to analogy of inf. לִי). In the 3d *plur.* this is even the more prevalent mode; e. g. אֲבוֹתָם *their fathers*, oftener than אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם; so also שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דּוֹרֵיהֶם *their generations*, obviously to avoid the excessively long forms with יָ.

4. We now subjoin, in illustration of the preceding statements, a Table of the *masculine* and the *feminine nouns* with *suffixes*; and choose for the purpose a word whose stem-vowel is unchangeable. It should be remarked however that the *construct-ending* תִּ— of the *feminine* retains its *Pä'thäch* before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם, כֵּן, but changes it to *Qā'mēš* before the *light* suffixes.

¹ See an analogous case in § 87, 5. Rem. 1. Comp. the double feminine-ending in the 3 *Sing. Perf.* of verbs לָהּ § 75, 4.

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.**Singular.*

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוס ¹	a horse	סוּסָה	a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוס	horse-of.	סוּסַת	mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי	my horse.	סוּסָתִי	my mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֶךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתֶךָ	thy mare.
<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֶיךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתֶיךָ	thy mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסוֹ	his horse.	סוּסָתוֹ	his mare.
<i>fem.</i>	סוּסָהּ	her horse.	סוּסָתֶהּ	her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵנוּ	our horse.	סוּסָתֵנוּ	our mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horse.	סוּסָתֵיכֶם	your mare.
<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horse.	סוּסָתֵיכֶן	your mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסָם	their horse.	סוּסָתָם	their mare.
<i>fem.</i>	סוּסָן	their horse.	סוּסָתָן	their mare.

Plural.

	<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוסים	horses.	סוּסוֹת	mares.
	<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוּסֵי	horses-of.	סוּסוֹת	mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing</i>	1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵי	my horses.	סוּסוֹתֵי	my mares.
	2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
	3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיוֹ	his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו	his mares.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהָ	her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ	her mares.
<i>plur.</i>	1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ	our mares.
	2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם	your mares.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן	your mares.
	3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם	their mares.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן	their mares.

§ 92.

VOWEL-CHANGES IN THE NOUN.

1. The vowel-changes in a noun (often called its *inflection comp.* § 79, 2), are caused—*a*) by a noun following in the

¹ In learning this Paradigm and the others, let the accent be carefully placed on the last syllable, except when it is marked elsewhere (see § 15, Rem. 3).—Tr.

genitive,—*b*) by pronominal suffixes,—*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, of the absolute state, as well as of the construct (before the following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. The tone, in all these cases, is moved forward one syllable or more, or even (*Stat. cons.*) thrown upon the following word. We here meet with three cases, viz.—

a) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case in appending the plural and dual endings **ים**— and **ים**— as well as all the monosyllabic suffixes, or those which have their accent on the 1st syllable. In disyllabic nouns the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 1st syllable becomes *Shēwā* (because it no longer stands before the tone); on the other hand the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable is retained (as being now the pretonic vowel), e. g. **דָּבָר** *word* (groundform *dābār*), plur. **דְּבָרִים**, with the light suffix, commencing with a vowel: **דְּבָרִי**, plur. **דְּבָרֵי**, **דְּבָרֶיךָ**, etc.; **כָּנָף** *wing*, dual: **כַּנְפָּיִם**; also with the unchangeable vowel in the 2d syllable: **פֶּקִיד** *overseer*, plur. **פִּקְדִּים** with the suff. to the sing.: **פִּקְדִּי** etc.; to the plur **פִּקְדֵיךָ**, **פִּקְדֵיךָ** etc.; with the unchangeable vowel in the 1st syllable: **עוֹלָם** *eternity*, plur. **עוֹלָמִים**, with the suff. **עוֹלָמִי** etc. But in participial forms with tone lengthened *ē* (originally *ī*) in the 2d syllable, this *ē* is reduced to *Shēwā mobile* before the accented suffix e. g. **אֵיב** *enemy*, plur. **אֵיבִים**, with suff. **אֵיבִי** etc., likewise in the formations analogous to **קֶטֶל** (§ 84, No. 9) e. g. **אֵלֶם** *dumb*, pl. **אֵלֶמִים**.

b) When the tone is moved forward two places, as in the dual and plural construct, and when the *grave*¹ suffixes are appended to the plural (**יָכֶם**—, **יָהֶם**—) In this case the tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Shēwā*, and the vowel of the first syllable which had been

¹ Nearly all the suffixes are *light*, being so called in distinction from the few that always carry a strong accent or tone, and which hence are called *grave*, namely **כֶּם**, **כֶּן**, **כֶּם**, **יָכֶם**, **יָהֶם**, **יָכֶם**, **יָהֶם**.

lengthened, as being pretonic, becomes short again, e.g. *דְּבָרֵי הָעָם* words of the people, *דְּבָרֵיכֶם* your words, *דְּבָרֵיהֶם* their words (in which cases the *i* of the 1st syllable is everywhere attenuated from *ā*).

Rem. In the so-called *S'ghô'late* forms, in the singular the suffix is appended throughout to the groundform (*מִלְכִּי* *my king*, *מִלְכֶּנִּי* etc.); on the other hand, before the ending *—ים*, *ות* (partly also bef. *—ים*) a *Qā'mēṣ* is inserted as pretonic vowel, before which the vowel of the first syllable disappears (*מִלְכִּים*, *מִלְכֹּת*, *מִלְכֵּי*). This *Qā'mēṣ* is retained also before the light suffixes which are attached to the *pl. masc.*, so that (as with *דְּבָרֵי* etc. from *דָּבָר*) it has a semblance, as if the suffixes were attached, not to the *constr. state*, but to the *absol. state* (*מִלְכֵּי*, *מִלְכֵּיהֶם* etc.). On the contrary the *construct state* plural and dual form, according to letter *b* *מְלָכִים*, with grave suffix *מְלָכֵיכֶם* etc.

- c) Before the *Shewâ mobile* which precedes the suff. *ה* when appended to a consonant, the tone-long vowel of the penult is retained (being now in an open syllable before the tone) e. g. *הָמִיָּה*, *דְּבָרָה*; but before the grave suffixes *כֶּם* and *כֶּן* in the same position it is shortened, thus *דְּבָרֶכֶם* (*d'bār'khēm*) etc. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the 2d syllable in the *constr. sing.* is shortened, the tone going forward to the following word, e. g. *דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים*; *חֵצֶר הַבַּיִת*; *דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים* (from *חֵצֶר*).

3. The vowel changes in the inflection of *fem. nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, the addition of the feminine-ending to the *masc.* having already occasioned similar changes to those produced by appending the light suffix (§ 94).

Besides the above (No. 1 and 2) mentioned vowel changes which take place according to general laws (§§ 25—28) there are other phenomena occasioned by the inflection of nouns, to judge correctly of which, it is necessary to go back to the original forms §§ 84—86. Here belong e. g. the rejection of the *ו* of the *ל"ו* stems (comp. § 91, 1, b), the doubling of the final consonant of the contracted *ע"ע* stems in cases like *דָּם*, *דָּמָה* etc.

NB. There is this striking difference between the vowel-changes in the verb and the noun, namely, that in the verb the *second* of two movable vowels mostly disappears (*קָטַל*, *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ*), in the noun the *first* (*דָּבָר*, *הַדָּבָר*, *הַדָּבָרִים*), comp. § 27, 3.

For greater convenience attention will now be given in the next sections to the Inflections of Nouns, with explanatory remarks (founded on the Paradigms); first the masculines (§ 93), then the feminines (§ 95), the theory as to the vowel-changes in the latter being premised in § 94.

§ 93.

INFLECTIONS OF MASCULINE NOUNS.

Masculine nouns of a simple stem may be most conveniently arranged, with reference to their vowel changes, in four classes, as in the following Table. The necessary explanations are subjoined. We here only remark in general,—

- a) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 107, 1, 3) are inflected like masculine nouns (e. g. **הָרֵב** *f. sword*, like **מֶלֶךְ** *m. king*), except that in most cases they take the plural ending **וֹת**—; so **הָרֵב** has *plur. absol.* **חֲרִבוֹת**, *const.* **חֲרִבוֹת**, which is also the form before *suffixes*; see § 95.
- b) That in the plural of the first three classes the lengthened pretonic vowel remains unchanged before the so-called light suffixes, whenever it is found already before the plural-ending **ִים**—. Comp. § 92, 2, *b*, Rem. and Note ¹; also § 91, 1, Rem. 1, *b*, last clause.

י

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.						
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נַעֲחַ	פְּעַל
	(king)	(book)	(sanctuary)	(a youth)	(perpetuity)	(work)
„ <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נַעֲחַ	פְּעַל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נַעֲחִי	פְּעָלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֶכָּם	סִפְרֶכָּם	קֹדְשֶׁכָּם	נַעְרֶכָּם	נַעֲחֶכָּם	פְּעָלֶכָּם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכִּים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים	נַעְרִים	נַעֲחִים	פְּעָלִים
„ <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נַעֲחֵי	פְּעָלֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נַעֲחֵי	פְּעָלֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעְרֵיכֶם	נַעֲחֵיכֶם	פְּעָלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רַגְלַיִם	קַבְצָיִם	מְתָנָיִם	נַעֲלָיִם		
	(feet)	(two heaps	(loins)	(sandals)		
		Pr. N.)				
„ <i>constr.</i>	רַגְלָי	קַבְצָי	מְתָנִי	נַעֲלָי		

I.							
	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֹק
	(death)	(olive)	(scourge)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(law)
„ <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם, יָם	אִם	חֹק
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֵּרִי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פֵּרִיְכֶם	יָמֶכֶם	אִמְכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מָוֶתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	עֲבָיִים	יָמִים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
„ <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי (gazelles)		יָמֵי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי		יָמֵי	אִמּוֹתֵי	חֻקֵּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>		עֵינָיִם	יּוֹמַיִם	לְחָיִים	כַּפָּיִם	שָׁנִים	
		(eyes)	(two days)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
„ <i>constr.</i>		עֵינֵי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפָּי	שָׁנֵי	

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	כְּתֹף	חֲצֵר	יָחַד
	(word)	(wise)	(an old man)	(shoulder)	(court)	(fle
" <i>constr.</i>	דְּבַר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	כְּתֹף	חֲצֵר	יָחַד
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֵנִי	כְּתָפִי	חֲצֵרִי	יָחַד
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְכֶם	חָכְמֶכֶם	זָקֶנְכֶם		חֲצֵרְכֶם	יָחַד
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דְּבָרִים	חָכְמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	[יָחַד]
" <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חָכְמֵי	זָקֵנֵי		חֲצֵרֵי	יָחַד
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרַי	חָכְמַי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצֵרַי	יָחַד
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חָכְמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצֵרֵיכֶם	
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפִים	חֻלְצִים	יָרֵכִים			
	(wings)	(loins)	(thigh)			
" <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפֵי					

III.

IV.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	בַּיִת
	(perpetuity)	(enemy)	(prophet)	(overseer)	(poor)	(with)
" <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	בַּיִת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלְמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		בַּיִתִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלְמְכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֶכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם		בַּיִתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים	פְּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	בָּיִתִּים
" <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלְמֵי	אֹיְבֵי	חֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עָנִיֵּי	בָּיִתֵּי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלְמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		בַּיִתִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיֵּיכֶם	בָּיִתְכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מְלָאָכִים	מֵאֻזִּים		שְׂבָעִים		
	(tongs)	(balance)		(fortnight)		
" <i>constr.</i>		מֵאֻזֵּי				

. EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Parad. I* comprises the whole circle of the so-called *segholate* forms (§ 84, 11). In the first three examples with a strong stem, the ground forms, מִלֵּךְ, סֶפֶר, קָרֵשׁ, have been developed by the adoption of an auxiliary *S'ghôl* into מִלְּךָ (ā inflected into ē) סִפֵּר (i lengthened into ē) קָרֵשׁ (ū lengthened into ō). The next three examples show, instead of the auxiliary *S'ghôl*, an auxiliary *Pā'thāch*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or closing (*e*) gutturals. In all these cases the *constr. st.* agrees entirely with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the groundform; but in *c* and *f* the original ū is replaced by ō, and, in *d* and *f* the guttural demands an echo of the ā and ō in the shape of a *Châṭēph* (חֲטֵי, חֲטֵי); before a following *Sh'wā* this *Châṭēph* is changed into a simple auxiliary vowel (ā, ō) according to § 28, 3; thus נֶעְרָה etc. In the plural there is inserted, before the accented ending ים—, a pretonic *Qā'mēš*, according to § 92, *b*, Rem., whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Sh'wā*. This *Qā'mēš* is again evanescent in the *constr. st.* so that now the short vowel comes to stand after the first stem consonant, in an open syllable (מִלְכִי not מִלְכִי). On the other hand the pretonic *Qā'mēš* of the *absolute state* maintains itself before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *constr. st.* The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground form (as with *a—d* and *h*; comp. however *k*); the *constr. st.* of the *dual* is always the same as that of the *plural* (except in cases like *k*).

The paradigms *g* and *h* give forms with middle י and י (§ 85, IV, 11); the ground forms מִרְיָה and זִרְיָה, with the exception of the *absolute sing.*, have been contracted everywhere into מִרְיָה and זִרְיָה. *Parad. i* represents one of the numerous forms, in which the contraction of a middle י or י has been performed already in the *absolute sing.* (ground form *šawf*). *Parad. k* is a form from a stem ל"ה (§ 85, V, 11).

The *paradigms l, m, n* are forms of stems ע"ע, therefore contracted out of יָעָם, אָעָם, חָעָם with regular lengthening into

קם, חק, אמ, חק. These forms take *Dāghē'sh* in the last stem letter before suffixes, e. g. רמי, רמים etc. (s. § 85, II, 10, 11).

REMARKS.

1. To I *a* and *d* (Groundf. קטל). In *Pause* there occurs mostly the full lengthening into *ā*, like קרם *vineyard*, קר, קר, *seed*, and so always with ארץ *earth*, with the article הארץ (comp. also by the LXX the writing Ἀβέλ, Ἰαφῆθ for רב, רב). However there is sometimes found along with the form with *ā* in *Pause* also the simple inflection of *ā* into *ē*, e. g. חסד, together with חסד, and very frequently the form with *S^ghol* only, e. g. קדם, מלך *east*, רשע *help*, etc.—With two *S^ghols* in spite of the middle guttural is found לחם *bread* (*Pause* לחם) and רחם *womb* (*Pause* רחם) together with רחם (*Pause* רחם); before the closing א stands always auxiliary *S^ghol* as דשא, פלא, פרא etc. (also written פרא).

The *constr. št.* is almost always like the *absolute*, though there occurs sometimes a removal of the characteristic vowel to the second stem-consonant (v. No. 4) e. g. זרע, זרר, רשע, נפש, also זרע etc.

The so-called ה— local is added to the groundform, thus ארצה, in *Pause* ארצה; however compare also נגב from נגב *south* and קנצה (perhaps from a secondary form קרם).

The suffixes of the singular are added likewise to the groundform in middle gutturals with *Châteph Pâthäch* instead of the *silent Shewâ*: נכרי etc. (however there is also לחמי, נמי etc.) With rather a large number of קטל forms before suffixes in the singular, as well as in the *constr. pl.* and *dual*, the *ā* of the first syllable is weakened into *ē*, as my *body*, רחמי; the same with שמש, בצע, גי, זבח and many others. In a few cases of this kind, besides the form with *ā* there may exist another with original *ē* in the first syllable; it is certainly thus with רשע and רשע, נצח, נצח etc. With the abolishing of the firm close of syllable is found בגר etc. from בקר Deut. 15, 14 and 16, 13, in both cases plainly through the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *ē* for *ā*: רשע, רשע, רשע etc.

In the plural there is found sometimes, along with the ending רם— also the ending יר, e. g. נפשיות, נפשיות, together with נפשיים (Ez. 13, 20) etc.; construct state נפשות, נפשות. Others have only the ending רי e. g. ארצות const ארצות from ארץ. Without *Qāmēs* before the ending רם— is found רחמים *entrails* (comp. however also the numbers קשרים, twenty, קשרים 70 and קשרים 90).

In the construct plural there is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, a firm close of the syllable, e. g. נפשי Gen. 42, 25, 35 (before suffixes); נפשי Canticles 8, 6, נפשי Ez. 17, 9; נפשי Is. 5, 10 (on the other hand, according to the best testimony, *not* in נפשי Is. 55, 8 al.). Very frequently there occurs also here the weakening of *ā* into *ē* (v. above) e. g. נפשי. Even נפשי Is. 57, 4 besides נפשי Hosea 1, 2 al.

In the dual absol. are found with the forms like אַלְפִים *two thousand*, סַנְדָּלִים *sandals*, בְּרָכָיִם *knees* (*ā* weakened into *ǝ*), with suffix בְּרַכְיָהּ, also forms with pretonic *Qā'mēš* like קַרְנֵיִם (also קֶרְנִים) *horns*, הַדְבָּלִים *double way*.

2. To the paradigms *b* and *c*. By rejecting a final א (which however is preserved orthographically) there is found חַטָּא *sin*.

The first guttural, before suffixes, generally receives *Sēghôl* instead of the original *ǝ*, e. g. חֹלְקִי, עֹרֵר etc.; the same in construct plur. עֲנִי etc.; חֹטָא forms חֲטָאִי 2 Kings 10, 29 etc. by preserving the ח of חֲטָאִים before weak א.

3. To paradigms *c* and *f*. Without an auxiliary vowel stands קֶשֶׁט Prov. 22, 21; with middle gutturals פָּעַל etc., with ה however also אָהַל, בָּהֶן; with a closing guttural גָּבַח, גָּבַח etc., with א however גָּבַח. Before suffixes reappears sometimes in the singular the original *ǝ*; e. g. גָּדְלוּ (Ps. 150, 2) and also נָקְדְּלִי from גָּדַל *greatness*; סָבְלוּ (with *Dāghēsh forte dirimens* and the echo of the *ǝ* in the form of ח) Is. 9, 3.—Corresponding to the form סָבְלוּ *pōl'khēm* stands חָטְבְּהָ Hos. 13, 14 even without middle guttural. In the forms סָבְלוּ Is. 1, 31 (instead of פָּעְלוּ) and חָטְבְּהָ Is. 52, 14 (for חָטְבְּהָ 1 Sam. 28, 14) the lengthening of the original *ǝ* into *ō* is retained even before the suffix, comp. § 63, Rem. 4.

In the same way remains the *ō* before the ה of local, e. g. חָטְבְּהָ Gen. 24, 67 (also חָטְבְּהָ 18, 6).

In the absol. pl. the original *ǝ* vanishes generally before *Qā'mēš* e. g. בְּקָרִים from בָּקָר *morning*, סָבְלוּ *works*, רִפְחִים *lances*; on the other hand with initial gutturals the *ǝ* remains as *Chateph Qā'mēš*, e. g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, עֲגָרִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*, and the same, without initial gutturals, סְנִיפוֹת *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qōdhāshīm* etc. with *ō* as the orthographical representative of ח); also before light suffixes חָטְבְּהָ etc., whereby however the reading frequently wavers between חָטְבְּהָ and חָטְבְּהָ (the latter especially after the article הַחָטְבְּהָ); comp. with these forms especially § 9, Rem. 2.

From אָהַל *tent* is found אָהָלִים and אָהָלִים (after the Syriac; comp. above פָּעְלוּ); with light suffixes אָהָלִי etc.; so from אֲרָחוֹת *way*; אֲרָחוֹתִי (also אֲרָחוֹתִי). It seems that by these different ways of writing, a distinction was to be made between the plural of אֲרָחוֹת *Caravan* and that of אֲרָחוֹת *way*; however there is also found with the former signification אֲרָחוֹת (constr. state Job 6, 19) and with the latter אֲרָחוֹת (e. g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of *Ben Naphtali* and *Kimchi*).

In the constr. state plur. with original *ǝ* there is only רִבְסֵי Ps. 31, 21; elsewhere like קָדְשֵׁי, אָהָלִי etc.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto there belong here also a series of forms which have the characteristic vowel only after the second stem-consonant, as is ordinarily the case in the Aramaic. Thus: *a*) after the form חָטְבְּהָ (comp. § 84, No. 10): חֲבֵשׁ *honey*, חֲבֵשׁ *little*, in pause: חֲבֵשׁ, חֲבֵשׁ; חֲבֵשׁ *man* Ps. 18, 26 (elsew) חֲבֵשׁ and infinitives like חֲבֵשׁ § 45, 1, *a*);

with assimilation of $\text{ד}=\text{ד}$ (צד), with suff. צו , plur. צוֹרִים . With stems of middle *Waw* rise formations like אֵי (from $\text{'uwy}=\text{אֵי}$) plur. אֵיִם etc.; c) from the groundform קָזַל partly forms like בָּחוּ , בָּחוּהוּ (from tūhw , būhw), partly like חָלִי , חָלִיִּי , and also without initial guttural צָרִי (also צָרִיִּי Gen. 37, 25), רָאִי etc.; in *pause* חָלִי etc., with suffix חָלִיִּי , plur. חָלִיִּים .

7. To paradigms *l—n*, Segholate forms from stems ע"ע (v. § 85, II, 11). a) In the *gaṭl* form the \tilde{a} of the contract form is partly lengthened in the *absolute state sing.*, as in רָם (so also in the *constr. state*, except in the combination רָם-סִיָּה *a weedy-sea*; even before *Mäqqē'ph*: רָם-הַמֶּלַח *a salt-sea*), partly it remains short before *Dāghē'sh f. implic.* e. g. פֶּרֶס *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations have *Qāmēš* in *pause* as well as mostly after the article (e. g. הָעַם). In the *constr. state* חַי *life*, and חַיִּי *sufficiency* are contracted into חֵי , רֵי , הַרְהוֹ *mountainwards* Gen. 14, 10 (v. § 22, 1) has to be noticed as a *directive* (also הַרְהֹה). However forms like חֵי may possibly be derived from the groundform חָרִי , especially as there is also found חָרִירִי Jer. 17, 3 (v. *Parad.* II). Before suffixes and in the *plur.* there occurs sometimes the attenuation of \tilde{a} into \tilde{i} , e. g. סָרִיסִים etc.—Some nouns (especially in poetical speech) have besides the contracted forms, also the uncontracted ones e. g. חָרִירִי Gen. 14, 6 *Plur. constr.* חָרִירִים ; חָרִירִיִּים Neh. 9, 22, Judges 5, 14, עֲזָמִירִי Neh. 9, 24 (elsewhere עֲזָמִירִים); b) *qāṭl*-forms: אֵשׁ , אֵשׁ *fire*, חֵן *favor* etc.; c) *qūṭl*-forms: חֵק , חֵק *totality*, before *Mäqqē'ph* חֵקֶךָ , כֹּל־ , with suff. חֵקִי etc., the *Dāghē'sh f.* falling out (according to § 20, 3, b) also חֵקֶךָ , חֵקֶכֶם , with כֹּחַ *strength* even כֹּחִי etc. also כֹּחִי .

The *Segholates* with assimilated middle *Nūn* follow likewise the analogy of *Parad. l—n* e. g. אַף *wrath* (אַפִּי *Dual* אַפִּים for *'anp*; זֵי *goat* זֵיִם for *'inz*).

2. *Paradigm II* comprises all formations with original short vowels as well in the first as in the second syllable; comp. § 84, 1, 2, 12 and the general laws of formation § 92, No. 2.

Rem. 1. To paradigms *a* and *b*, groundform *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of \tilde{a} into $\tilde{ā}$ is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only with ל"א -forms e. g. צָבָא *army*, צָבָא . For the construct forms חֵלֶב *milk* and חֵלֶב *white* Gen. 49, 12, we must adopt, instead of the usual absolutes חֵלֶב , לֶבֶן , a secondary form חֵלֶבֶן , לֶבֶןֶן . Sometimes an artificial doubling of the final consonant takes place in order to keep the preceding vowel short e. g. חֲמֹלִים *camels*, חֲמֹלִים *small ones*, חֲמֹלִים *brooks*.—The weakening of the \tilde{a} of the first syllable into \tilde{i} does not take place in the *constr. state plur.* nor in some instances with non-gutturals, e. g. זֵנִים *tails*, כַּנְפִּים *wings*, נָחַל , נָחַלִּים .—The *Dual* נָחַלִּים from נָחַל *stream*, shows an abnormal remainder of the \tilde{a} before an accented ending.

From ע"י stems rise according to § 72, 4 formations like קָם (*Part.*

Qāl), *high* with unchangeable *Qāmēš*.—In the ע"ע the contraction is mostly prevented by the lengthening of the two short vowels, therefore e.g. *הָלַל*, *הָלַל* etc. But undoubtedly also contracted adjective forms belong here, like *לֹוּ* *low*, *לֵיט* *light*, etc. (פָּלַל, קָלַל) Then inflection follows naturally *Parad. I, l* Under the influence of a guttural arise forms like *רָע*, *רָעִים*, *רָעִי* (for *רָעִים* etc.). On *הָר* *mountain*, comp above I Rem. 7.

The few nouns of the groundform *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as *לֵב* *heart*, *שָׁר* *strong drink*, *עֵנַב* *grape* etc. For *שָׁר* *hair* is found besides *שָׂר* also the *constr. state* *שָׁר* (having been treated as a Segholate form), for *זֶלַע* *ivy* is also found *זֶלַע* and even *זֶלַע* 2 Sam. 16, 13, both probably ancient secondary forms (also in the absolute state) for *זֶלַע*, comp also *זֶלַעִי* and *זֶלַעִי* as well as the *constr. state plur.* *זֶלַעִים*, also of *זֶלַע* *strangeness* stands Deut 31 16 the *constr. state plur.* *זֶלַעִים*.

2 To *paradigm c—c*, groundform *qāṭāl* Here the shortening of the *e* of the second syllable into *ä* in the *constr. state*, is quite peculiar (except with *לֵא*, e.g. *מֵלֵא* *full*, *מֵלֵא*, comp however also *עֵרָב* Gen 25, 26 from *הֵעֵר* *heel* and *אֵבֶל* Ps 35 14 *mourning*), e.g. *זֶקֶן* etc. *Parad. d* represents forms which treat the word *כֶּתֶף* as if it were a segholate, accented upon the first syllable (v Puad I Rem 4) or in other words they convert it into a real segholate, in the same way are formed *גֵּר*, *גֵּר*, from *גֵּר* *wall*, *גֵּר*, *גֵּר* *thigh*—In the *plur. constr.* the *ē*, lengthened from *ī*, is retained with the verbal adjectives of these forms e.g. *שָׂחִי* *שמחי*, *שָׂחִי*, comp also *יִרְדָּי* (under the protection of the secondary tone) from *יִרְדָּי* *naul*—From *נָוֶה* stems come forms like *נָוֶה* *dead person* (from *māwīl*), *נָוֶה* *stranger*, *נָוֶה* *witness* with unchangeable *Sei*, thus *נָוֶהִים*, *נָוֶהִי* etc.

Related to this are the forms of the groundform *qāṭāl*. The latter is according to the rule, lengthened into *qāṭol*, e.g. *רָגֹל* *round*, *רָמַק* *deep*, *רָמַק* *red* on the other hand before affirmatives the *ū* comes back again, guarded by the artificial doubling of the following consonant, as *רָגֹלִים* etc.

3. To *paradigm f*, groundform *qāṭāl* from *לֵא* stems With *שָׁרִי* is also found the form *שָׁרִי*, preserving the final *Yôdh* (comp. § 85, V, 2); in the same way the closing *ו* is preserved in *שָׁרִים* *sufferers, constr.* *שָׁרִי* The plural of *שָׁרִי* is *שָׁרִים*, *שָׁרִים* (also *שָׁרִי*). Also the word *פָּנִים* *face*, *פָּנִי*, *פָּנִי* etc. belongs undoubtedly to the category of these forms.

In some forms of this kind the vowel of the second syllable has already been abandoned in the *sing. absolute state*, thus in *יָד* *hand* (for *יָדָה*), *constr.* *יָד*, with *suff.* *יָדִי*, but *יָדָה*, *plur.* *יָדִים*, *constr.* *יָדִים*, *Dual* *יָדָי*, with *suff.* *יָדָי* etc., in the same way *דָּם* *blood* (for *דָּמָה*), *constr.* *דָּם*, with *suff.* *דָּמִי*, but *דָּמָה* (*ä* weakened into *ī*, *plur.* *דָּמִים*, *דָּמִי*).

3. *Paradigm III* comprises forms with unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable

has been lengthened from an originally short vowel and is therefore changeable. Here we must distinguish the cases where the originally short vowel has been lengthened, as well in as *before* the tone, but vanishes elsewhere, when standing in an open syllable (*parad. a*, to which also examples like **אֲוִיעִים** *wheels*, for **אֲוִיעִים** must be reckoned) also the cases where the vowel becomes Sh^wâ, even *before* the accent (*parad. b*); finally the entire rejection of the ending in the forms **ל"ה** which belong here (*parad. c*).

Rem 1. In the category of **יָלָם** (which however has been modified from 'ālām) belong in regard to inflection also the following forms of those cited in § 84: No. 14 **מִקְשָׁל** with the only difference that the **ל"ה** of this form maintain the *Qāmīš* in the inflection, e. g. **מִקְשָׁל** plur. constr. **מִקְשָׁלִים**, No. 15 **שִׁלְחָן** *table* (plur. **שִׁלְחָנוֹת** constr. **שִׁלְחָנוֹת**), **קָרְבֵּן**, **קָרְבָּן**, therefore in constr. plur. with suffix **קָרְבָּנֵיהֶם** Lev. 7, 38; No. 17 **עֲקָרָה**; No. 35 **עֲקָרָה** plur. **עֲקָרָהִים** (with the doubling of the final consonant for **עֲקָרָהִים**, compare also **קָרְבָּן**, **קָרְבָּנִים**); § 85, I, No. 14 **מִחָן**; II, No. 14 **מִחָן**, **מִחָן**, where the *ā* of the first syllable maintains itself against the rule, even where it is not pretonic, e. g. **מִחָנִי**; III, No. 14 **מוֹשֶׁב** etc.; No. 27 **חִשְׁבָּן**.

2. (*Paradigm b*) Instead of the shortening of the *ē* into the original *ī* in forms like **אֵי־בֹכֵם** it is more frequently shortened into *ē*, e. g. **יָצָרָה** *thy creator*, and with a closing guttural there are found forms sometimes like **שִׁלְחָן** sometimes like **בִּרְאָה**. According to the same analogy are inflected: § 84, I, No. 3; No. 9 **עֵבֶן** etc. (however there are exceptions, as **רַב־בָּנִים**, No. 35 **עֲפָרָה**; III, No. 14 **מוֹשֶׁב**; VI, No. 2 **מוֹשֶׁב**; but also here are found exceptions like **מִקְשָׁלִים** Ps. 26, 12.

3. (*Paradigm c, Part Qāl* of verbs **ל"ה**, differing from *Parad. II, f*. by the stability of the vowel in the first syllable.) The **ל"ה** forms of § 85, V, No. 14 and 4 belong here according to their formation.—In some cases, before a suffix commencing with a consonant, the original *āy* of the ending has been contracted into *ē*, and thus are produced forms that have apparently the *plural suffix*; as **מִרְאִיהֶם** *their appearance* Dan. 1, 15, Gen. 41, 21 (on the other hand the examples mentioned farther back from Is. 14, 11, 30, 23, Gen. 47, 17, 1 Sam. 19, 4 are real plurals). Before the plural ending the original ending *āy* has come back again in **מִרְאִיהֶם** Is. 25, 6 (*Part. Pu.* from **מִרְאֵה**).

4. *Paradigm IV* comprises forms with a changeable (*a, b*) or already vanished vowel (*c*) in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second one. With *Parad. c* are also connected all the forms, which have in both syllables

unchangeable vowels and can therefore (like **בָּרָב**) not submit to any flectional changes.

Rem. 1 Analogous with **בָּקִיר** (Groundform *pāqīd*) are § 84, I, No. 3 **פָּדִיל** etc (with *ō*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*), in substantives like **שָׁלוֹם** the *ō* has been inflected from *ā* (arab *sālām*), No 5 **אָסִיר**, **אָסִיר** etc , II, No 15 **זָכָרִין**, **זָכָרִין**, *constr* **זָכָרִין**, IV, No 35 **חָלָמִישׁ**, *constr* **חָלָמִישׁ**, § 85, IV, No 14 **מָקִים** etc , V, No 15 **בָּלִיִּין**, *constr* **בָּלִיִּין**

2 **פָּנִי** (groundform *'ānī*, stem **פָּנִי**) represents forms in which the closing *Yōdh* has been blended in *ī*, before formative additions the *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dāghe sh forte* becomes again a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable vanishes, comp § 85, V No 5 **נָקִי**, *Plur* **נָקִיִּים**

3 **כָּרָב** with unchangeable *ā* in the second syllable whilst the *Sh'wā* comes from a short vowel (arab *kīlāb*), *constr. state* **כָּרָב** Esth 4, 8 (readings like **יָרָב** Esth 1, 4, **כָּרָב** 4 8, 2 Ch 35, 4 are simply errors). In a stricter sense belong here the forms numbered § 84, II, No. 13, in a larger sense those which have throughout unchangeable vowels, thus § 84, I, No 6 **קָטָל**, comp however the anomalies mentioned there), No 7, 8, partly II, No 15 and III, No 23, IV, No 26, 27, 32, 33, § 85, IV, 27, 31, V, 27 —In opposition to the anomalous abbreviations of the form **קָטָל** (v. above) there are found elsewhere cases, where the vowels before the accent maintain themselves also in the antepenult (with the secondary accent), comp above No 2, Rem 2 and No 3 Rem 3, as well as, of the form **קָטָל** (really *qāṭīl*) the examples **מְרִיצִים**, **מְרִיצִים**, **שְׂלִישִׁים**, whilst the *constr. state sing* reduces according to the rule the *a* into *Sh'wā* **סָרִיס** and **מְרִיצִין** (Forms like **מְרִיצִין** *tyrant*, for **מְרִיצִין**, therefore with unchangeable *Qamēṣ*, must not be mistaken for the above.) Of the forms **קָטָל** (*qāṭīl*) belong here **שָׁבַע** *week*, *plur* **שָׁבָעִים** and **שָׁבָעִים**, *constr. state* **שָׁבָעִים**, but with *Methēg* of the secondary tone in the fourth syllable before the last **שָׁבָעִים**.

§ 94.

FORMATION OF FEMININE NOUNS.

1. The feminine ending **ָה**— appended to the masculine forms (see § 93), effects almost everywhere the same changes, which are produced by adding a light suffix to masculine nouns, as in both cases the tone is removed one place farther forward (v. § 92, 2). In the following summary are kept the same divisions and subdivisions as in § 93; a few special forms are treated in § 95, in connection with the paradigm of the feminine noun.

Parad. I (segholate forms, everywhere with the appending of the feminine ending to the ground form), a) **מַלְכָּה** *queen*,

כִּבְשָׁה and with the weakening of *ā* into *i* כִּבְשָׁה *lamb*, *strength* (if not belonging to parad. *b*); *b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר), not to be mistaken for the unchangeable forms of ל"ה stems, created by a prefixed מ, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲדָנָה *grace, delight* (עֲדָן); *c*) הִלְכָּה proper noun (הִלָּךְ *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); *d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); *e*) בָּאֵשָׁה *weed*, טָהֳרָה *purity* (טָהַר); *f*) עִוְלָה *wrong* (also עִוְלָה parad. *i*); *g*) צִידָה *game* (contracted from צִיד, therefore really parad. *i*); *h*) בִּינָה *intellect*, סוּפָה *tempest*; *i*) אֵלִיָּה *fat sheep* (as of אֵלִי), שְׁבִיָּה (*ā* weakened into *i*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִוְיָה *wreath* (probably an original *gill* form); *k*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (weakened from מִדָּה); *l*) זָמָה *plan*; *m*) חֻקָּה *law* (חָק).

Parad. II. Groundform *qāḏālāt* etc. *a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *b*) אֲדָמָה *earth*; *c*) נִכְלָה *corpse*; *e*) עִרְפָּה *languid*; *f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"ע arise thus *a*) רַבָּה *many*, with middle gutturals רָעָה *bad*; from ע"ר זָרָה *stranger*; *c*) עֵדָה (ground form 'āwīd) *female witness*; from stems middle *o* טוֹבָה *good*. From the ground form *qāḏūl* עֲמָקָה *deep* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבָדָה *servitude*.

Parad. III (unchangeable vowel in first, changeable in second syllable); *b*) יָלְדָה *puerpera*, but also with reduction of the *ē* (originally *i*) into *Shewā* יֹשְׁבָה *dwelling* Nah. 3, 8; however in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת— (v. below No. 2); *c*) גֹּלְיָה *emigrating host* (masc. גֹּלִיָּה), but also with the retention of the final *Yôdh* בּוֹכִיָּה *weeping* Lament. 1, 16.

Parad. IV (original changeable vowel in the first, unchangeable in the second syllable); *a*) גִּדְלָה *great*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, really *pious*; בְּרוּיָה *virgin*, really L. *sejuncta*; *b*) עֲנִיָּה *wretched*.

2. The feminine ending ת is (except before suffixes) rarely appended, in its original form, to the noun; comp. however forms like בְּכִיָּה *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי § 93, I, *k*), בְּרִית, *covenant*; also fem. participles of ל"א, as יֹצֵאת, *emigrating*, although these forms may have been contracted from יֹצֵאת like segholate forms (therefore we also have מִצְאָה), as בָּאָר (§ 93, Parad. I, 4, *b*), comp. § 74, Rem. 3. Besides this, there is found with a simple ת, only יִלְדָּה בֵּן (construct state) Gen. 16, 11; Judges 13, 5, 7, for יִלְדָּה (Gen. 17, 19, Is. 7, 14).

The forms which arise by the appending of the **ת** feminine to the ground form, are, as a rule, developed exactly in the manner of the masc. segholate-forms. Thus rise in I, *a*) from **גְּבֵרָה** (masc. **גֶּבֶר** = **גָּבַר** § 93, I, 4, *a*) the form **גְּבֵרָה** *mistress*; from **מַלְכָּה** (מֶלֶךְ = מָלַךְ) *queen*; Parad II, *a*): **יָבֵם** *brother-in-law*, fem. **יָבֵמָה** (from **יָבַמָה**); *c*) **גִּדְרָה** *wall* (from **גִּדְרָה**), thus, the general form *constr. state masc.* **זָקֵן** is taken as a base; comp. on the other hand **חַמְשָׁה** as *constr. state of חַמֵּשׁ* with the lengthening of the original *ġ* of **חַמֵּשׁ**); of formations with changeable *ō* in the second syllable, belong here **נְחֹשֶׁת** *brass* (from **נָחֶשֶׁת**); Parad. III, *a*) **חֹתָמָה** (from **חָתָמָה**) masc. **חֹתָם** *seal*; *b*) **יֹנְקָה** (real sense, *sucking*) *off-spring*; and so mostly the feminines of the participle **קָטַל**, however also here we must admit the ground form **קָטְלָה** (**יֹנְקָה**, **יָלְדָה**, v. above); this ground form reappears before suffixes and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. **יָדְעָה**, fem. of **יָדַע** *knowing*; in a larger sense belongs here also **גִּלְגּוּלָה** *skull*, v. § 95; Parad. IV, *c*) **סֵפֶרֶת** *scripture*, modified from *kethāb* § 93, Parad. IV, *c*.

As to the ending **וּת** and **יָת** v. § 84, No. 16 and § 95 at the end.

§ 95.

PARADIGMS OF FEMININE NOUNS.

Corresponding with the general laws of formation, exhibited § 92, 2, 3, the principal cases that have to be considered, in regard to the inflection of feminines are the following: 1) a tone lengthened vowel retakes its original shorter form by the removal of accent (thus the *ā* of the ending **וּת** becomes *ă* again in the ending of the *constr. state* **וּת־**). On the other hand a long pretonic vowel, although originally short, maintains itself *before* the ending **וּת־** e. g. **צִדְקָה**; 2) outside of the accent or foretone every original short vowel becomes *Shewā*; on the contrary the *ă* which had likewise disappeared in the first syllable, returns again *before* a similarly vanished vowel, although usually weakened into *ĭ*, e. g. **צִדְקָה** from *šādāqāt*; 3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms, before the ending **יָם**—as well as before the

light suffixes, a pretonic *Qā'mēš* is inserted anew, and the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Shēwā*, but reappears in the *constr. state* and before grave suffixes.

In the following paradigms we present only such of those forms treated in § 94 (besides I, *d*) as require the consideration of some vowel change or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Parad. I, *d*.

Paradigms of feminine Nouns.

	I				
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶכָּה	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָבָה	חֻקָּה	גְּבֵרָה
	(queen)	(reproach)	(waste)	(law)	(mistress)
" <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶכֶת	חֲרַפַּת	חֲרַבַּת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֵרַת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלֶכָּתִי	חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲרַבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבֵרָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלֶכְכֶּם	חֲרַפְכֶּם	חֲרַבְכֶּם	חֻקְכֶּם	גְּבֵרֵיכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקוֹת	
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקוֹת	
" <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתֵי	חֲרָפוֹתֵי	חֲרָבוֹתֵי	חֻקוֹתֵי	
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רַקְמָהִים			מַצְלָהִים
		(double embroidery)			(cymbals)

	II			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	צִדְקָה	זַעֲקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנְקָה	גִּלְגָּלָה
	(justice)	(outrage)	(year)	(sprout)	(skull)
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנָה	יוֹנְקַת	גִּלְגָּלַת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנְקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	צִדְקַתְכֶּם	זַעֲקַתְכֶּם	שָׁנַתְכֶּם	יוֹנְקַתְכֶּם	גִּלְגָּלַתְכֶּם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	[יוֹנְקוֹת]	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>with suff.</i>	צִדְקוֹתֵי		שָׁנוֹתֵי	יוֹנְקוֹתֵי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתֵי
<i>Dual absol.</i>			שְׁפָּהִים		[נְחָשִׁים]
			(lips)		(pair of fetters)
" <i>constr.</i>			שְׁפָּתַי		

REMARKS.

Rem. 1. *Parad. I* (feminine of Segholate forms). *a*) the form of this class with ה local sounds like גבִּיעָה towards *Gib'ā* (masc. גִּבְעָה). In some cases, especially with gutturals for the first letter, it cannot be distinguished whether the forms belong to *qāṭl* or *qīṭl* e. g. חִזְקָה *strength* (comp. חִרְקָה under *b*). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעִים *seven times* (comp. שִׁבַּע *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms, as רִבְשׁ (§ 93. I. Rem. 4) there is found חִרְסָה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form מִי (לִי comp. § 93 I, *k*) rise feminines, partly like נִאֲרָה and אֲלָרָה (v. above § 94, 1, I. *k*) partly like בִּכְרָה (§ 94, 2), sometimes the closing ה before the plural ending, has been retained as if it belonged to the stem, e. g. חֲנִיכוֹת *lances*. Forms like גִּדְרָה (comp. אֲנִיה as a *qūṭl* form), are derived directly from the masculine forms גִּדְרֵי *kid*, אֲנֵי *shep*.—*b*) An example of ע"ן חִבְרָה *wheat* (for חֲנֻבָּה), plur. חֲרִיבִים; analogous with מִבְּרָה (§ 93, I, Rem. 4, *b*) are forms בִּרְכָה *pond* (with unchangeable *Sērē*) and שִׁאֲלָה *request*, with suffix שִׁאֲלָתִי, but also שִׁאֲלָה (= שִׁאֲלָתִי) Job 6, 8, Ps. 106, 15 (on רִדְה etc. comp. below letter *e*).—*c*) the *plural absol.* of עֲרֵלָה *prepuce* is עֲרֵלִים (comp. פִּעְלִים § 93, *Parad. I, f*) *construct* עֲרֵלִי—*d*) As an example of a feminine Segholate form of a stem ע"נ (groundform *qūṭl*, like חֲרָה of the form *qāṭl*, זִכָּה of the *qīṭl* form) with *ō* for *ū*, is found חֲנָה *fright* Is. 19, 17 (aram. orthog. for חֲנָה)—*e*) Segholate forms with ה fem. In the *Parad. I* גִּבְרִי (v. § 94, 2, 1, *a*) the *ā* of the groundform גִּבְרָה has been sharpened into *ī* before the singular suffixes. Plural would be גִּבְרִיָּה—To the same category belong infinitives of פ" and פ"ן, which have rejected the feeble consonant, as שָׁרַח (from רָשַׁח), דָּרַח (from רָדַח), שָׁרַח (from שָׁרַח), as well as קָרַח (from קָרַח), comp. § 69 Rem 4 and § 66. The infinitive of פ" is however also found in the form רָדַח, לָרַח, צָרַח, also עָרַח *congregation* (from רָדַח), כָּצַח *advice* (from רָצַח), שָׁנָה *sleep* (from שָׁנָה), *constr.* שָׁנָה, whilst in the *construct forms* זָרַח *sweat* Gen. 3, 19, (from זָרַח to flow) and צָרַח *excrement*, Ez 4, 12, the *Sērē* has remained firm, בִּשְׁתִּי *shame* (from בִּשְׁתִּי to be ashamed) must be considered undoubtedly as a *qōṭl* form of an *ē* stem, analogous with בָּשָׂח (§ 93, I, Rem 4 *c*). Of a ל"ה (לָה) has been formed after rejection of the closing *Yôdh*, the masculine לָל and afterwards the feminine דֶּלֶת *door*; plur. דֶּלֶתֹת, *constr.* דֶּלֶתֹת retains however the final ה (v. above חֲנִיכוֹת). In a similar way has been formed שִׁקָּה *trough* (from שִׁקָּה), of which the *masc.* should be שִׁקָּה=שִׁקָּה; on the other hand, the *plur. constr.* שִׁקָּהִית Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ה as an apparent stem consonant) can only be traced back to a kindred form (שִׁקָּה or שִׁקָּה).

2. *Parad. II* (groundform *qātālāt* etc. comp. § 94, I, *Parad. II a* and *b*). Analogous with the masculine forms such as קָטַן, plur. קָטָנִים, is found here קָטְנָה *little* etc.—The *constr.* forms, as צִדְקָה (*pid'qāṭh*) differ by the vocal *Shewā* from the Segholate forms, as קִבְשָׁה (*kib-sāth*). Consequently the *constr. state* בְּרִכָּה (בְּרִכָּה *blessing*) is anomalous, and

probably comes from the unused absolute בִּרְכָה —Under the influence of a guttural (v. Parad. *b*) the original *ā* of the first syllable comes back again in the *constr. state* (comp. also אֶרֶץ *earth*, אֶרֶץ, in other places it is modified into *Seghōl*, e g עֲגֹלָה *chariot*, עֲגֹלָה. Frequently with an *absolute state* in חֶ— the *construct* is formed with the ending ח e. g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, *constr.* עֲטָרָה (from עֲטָרָה), with עֲצָרָה *gathering* is found already in the *absolute state* עֲצָרָה, יבִּמָה (from יבִּמָה *brother in law*) has before suffixes יבִּמָה, agreeing completely with יבִּמָה. (Parad. I *e*)—אֶמֶת *fidelity*, is found from a ל"ן stem (אֶמֶת) (for אֶמֶת='amant) before suffixes אֶמֶת etc.—From the *masc* form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) are formed גִּדְּרָה *wall*, נִבְלָה *corpse*, *constr.* נִבְלָה, בִּרְכָה *cattle*, *constr.* בִּרְכָה (for בִּרְכָה). More frequently however the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the ending *at* of the *constr. state*, thus from נִבְלָה is found once נִבְלָה Is. 26, 19 and always נִבְלָה *prey*, נִבְלָה *unchan*, full Is 1, 21 (with *compaginis* v § 90, 3 —As a *dual* is found יִרְכָּתִים (comp יִרְכָּתִי Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete יִרְכָּה as feminine to יִרְכָּה), the *constr. state* יִרְכָּתִי, is thus to be referred to a *Segholate* form (יִרְכָּה, comp יִרְכָּה as *constr. state* of יִרְכָּה) —The forms with simple *feminine* ח are not based on the groundform *qāṭil* but on the usual form of the *constr. state* (v. § 92 *Parad* II, *c* וְיָקֵן וְיָקֵן), thus the feminine of קָבֵר *companion* is חֲבֵרָה, of גִּדְּרָה besides גִּדְּרָה also גִּדְּרָה —The feminine of the form *qāṭil* of stems ו"ע, גִּדְּרָה, נִבְלָה, have an unchangeable *a* in the first syllable, as נִבְלָה, *constr. plur.* נִבְלָה, *dual* נִבְלָה *double height*. From בָּמָה *mount*, (stem ב"ו, therefore with unchangeable *ā* in first syllable) is found in the *constr. state plur.* the pleonastic form בָּמֹתִי or *defectively* בָּמֹתִי (v. § 87, Rem 1), the *Massora* demands for this everywhere בָּמֹתִי, which must be read *bam^othi* (not *bōm^othi*) with the anomalous reduction of the *ō* into (חֶ), before suffix however בָּמֹתִי etc —Besides the forms with the ending חֶ are found also such with ח, thus with the shortening of *ā* into *ā* are formed *Segholates*, like נָחָה (*masc.* נָח) *rest*, שָׁחָה *pit*, from שָׁחָה and שָׁחָה —The feminine of the form *qāṭil* of stems ו"ע, as נִבְלָה, as well as those of the form *qāṭil* of ו"י, like מֵתָה *mortua*, עֵדָה *fem. witness* (from עֵדָה, מֵתָה, מֵתָה) have likewise unchangeable vowels in the first syllable. The feminine of the form *qāṭil*, as עֵמֶקָה (*masc* עֵמֶק) maintains in all cases the original *ū* by doubling the following consonant; on the other hand through appending the *fem.* ח are formed *Segholates* like נִחְשָׁה, before *Suff.* נִחְשָׁה etc. *Dual* נִחְשָׁה (placed in the *Parad.* III, *b*), comp however נִחְשָׁה Lament 3, 7.

A few feminines of ל"ה stems (*Parad.* II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, formed by the ejection of the closing *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and the contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the ending *āth*, thus מִנְיָה *share* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāvāth*, מִנְיָה *end, plur.* מִנְיָה (*constr. state* Neh. 12, 47, 13, 10) and מִנְיָה (12, 44), מִנְיָה Exod. 38, 5.—מִנְיָה *sign* (stem מ"ה) comes from מִנְיָה and this is contracted from *āyāt*='āyāyāt.

3. *Parad.* III, comp. the enumeration of the different forms § 94,

No. 1, *Parad.* III, and No. 2. The *dual* חוֹמַיִם instead of חוֹמָיִם *double wall* is anomalous, taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת—In a wider sense belong here the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 6), in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the ending ה, e g. בִּלְקָה *burning fever* (from *dallāqt*) טַבַּחַת *signet*, next the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 9), as אֵילָה *folly* (for 'wālt) and all the forms, which are formed with מ preformative and have a changeable vowel in the second syllable (§ 84, No 14), e g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מְזַמְכָּה *pruning knife*, constr. מְזַמְכָּה, מְשַׁבֵּרָה *reward*, before suffix חַיִּי *comp* also the forms mentioned in § 85, III, as מִלּוּדָה *birth* (of לָא, on the other hand, מוֹצֵאָה *outgoing*), הוֹלָדָה *generation*, חַיִּיבָה *abomination*, constr. חַיִּיבָה etc. Sometimes the plural of these forms depends on a secondary form e g. מַחֲרֵשׁ *ploughshare*, plur. מַחֲרֵשִׁים (as from מַחֲרֵשׁ), עַשְׁתָּרִית *Astarte*, plur. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת (the *ā* no more being inflected into *e*), on the contrary כְּתוּבֵי *capitals* (of columns) and חִיבוֹת *reproofs* are the regular plurals of כְּתוּבָה and חִיבוֹתָה. — In כּוֹתֵשׁ *coat* the original *ū* of the first syllable has maintained itself through the doubling of the following consonant (comp arab *qūtūn*) before suffix חַיִּי, the constr. state however is כּוֹתֵשׁ (as already in the *absol state* Ex 28, 39), plur. כְּתוּשִׁים, constr. כְּתוּשִׁים — The form mentioned in *Parad* III, טַלְטָלָה is a *pulpul* form of the stem טַלַּל, comp קִרְקַר § 85, II.

4 To the fourth class, for which no *parad* is required, belong all those numerous forms, which at present have entirely unchangeable vowels, after the originally short vowel of the first syllable has become *Shewā*, through the removal of the accent (comp however בְּנִיָּה Jer. 3, 7, 10, with an anomalous retention of the *a*, although the same had been only lengthened from *ā*) Of forms mentioned in § 84 and 85 belong here especially those with ע"ם stems, as מְגִלָּה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* § 85, II, as well as the feminines of the participle *Hiph'il* ע"י, e g. מִאֲרִיָּה *lighting* (from מִאֲרִי), principally the feminines of ע"י stems, which are combined with *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ, v. § 85, IV, 14 Thus, in their external shape, all these forms coincide with those which already, as masculines, have throughout unchangeable vowels (v. their enumeration § 93, *Parad.* IV, 3).

5. The feminine ending יָה — is based (apart from the לָה forms, as בכִּיָּה, § 94, 2), on the appending of the *feminine* ה to the ending י —, which has been employed to form adjectives etc, v § 86, 2, 5 and 6. The ending יָה mentioned in the same place and also in § 84, No. 16, is attached in segholate forms partly to the groundform, as עֲשׂוּיָה Job 12, 5 partly to forms with lightly closed syllable, as מְלָכִיָּה *kingdom*; from לָה stems are formed words partly like מְשֻׁבָּר *imprisonment* partly like מְשֻׁבָּר *weeping*, the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable also in the constr. state and before suffixes. קְדִיבָה *difficulty* is formed of a qāḏil-form, and קְדִיבָה of a qāḏil-form etc.—In the plural of these forms we can distinguish a different manner of treatment. In some cases the

ending וּ is entirely retained, as belonging to the stem (comp above Rem.1) e g אֶמְנִיחֶךָ from אֶמְנִיחַ, in others this ending is dismembered, as in מַלְכוּתִי Dan 8 22 (without doubt for *malukuwôth*), as well as in עֵדִית (*ed'wôth*) from עֵדִית *witness* (only in connection with *suffixes* עֵדִית etc.).

§ 96.

NOUNS OF PECULIAR FORM

In the following alphabetical list is arranged a collection of much used nouns whose inflections offer more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities are however entirely subordinate to the general laws of sound, and the usual designation of these nouns as *irregular* is therefore not justified, if we only consider rightly the groundforms on which the present forms are based.

אב (for **אָבֶה**, from **אָבַה** prob. to *procreate*, hence **אָב** prop. *procreator*) *father*, constr. **אָבִי**, with suff. **אָבִי** (*my father*), **אָבִיךָ**, **אָבִיו** or **אָבֵיהוּ**, **אָבֵיהֶם**, plur. **אָבוֹת** (§ 87, 4) constr. **אָבוֹת**. The feminine ending of the plural points undoubtedly to an original abstract, indicating dignity, comp. § 108, 2, *b*

אָח brother, (for אחת fr אחת) constr אחי, with suff אחי (my brother), אחיכם, אחיכם, plur constr אחי. But the plur absol is אחים (with Dag f implicitum, § 22, 1), hence אחי, אחיך, אחיך, etc. On the form אחי (which is invariably used instead of אחי), see § 27, Rem 2, b, and so too אחי in pause for אחי my brethren. The doubling of the ה points by no means to another stem (אחח) but serves only as an artificial means of keeping the preceding Pāthāch short, as in גְּבִימִים etc. (§ 93, Parad II, a)

אֶחָד *one* (for אֶחָד, with *Dāg f implicitum*, § 22, 1, comp § 27, Rem 2, *b*), *constr st* and also elsewhere in close connection אֶחָד, *fem.* אַחַת *una* (for אַחַת, see § 19, 2), in *pause* אֶחָד. In one instance (Ez 33, 30) it takes (by *aphæresis*, § 19, 3) the form *תור masc*, as in Aram. תור *some*, but also *the same*

אָחור *sister* (from *āchāwāt* or *’āchāyāt* with the elision of the ו or י and the modifying of the ā—arisen from *āā*—into *ō*), constr. אָחורָה, with *suff* אָחורִי etc., however see Num 6, 7 אָחורִי (with *Dagh f implic.* in ח) The *plur absol* (אָחורִים) accidentally does not occur, but the *constr* with *suff* is found in אָחורִי etc (Lz 16, 52, אָחורִיךְ for אָחורֶיךָ). The forms אָחורִי Jos 2, 13 *Kethibh*, אָחורֶיךָ Ez 16, 51, 55, 61, אָחורֶיכם Hos 2, 3 come from a singular אָחורָה (with rejected third consonant).

אִישׁ *man*, either incorrectly lengthened from **אִשׁ** (from 'išš with the assimilation of the *Nûn* of the groundform 'inš (stem אִנֶּשׁ) which has again been attenuated from 'anš) or a direct softening from 'inš; in the *plur.* it has very seldom **אִישִׁים** (Is. 53, 3, Ps. 141, 4, Prov. 8, 3), the usual form being **אֲנָשִׁים** (from אִנְשָׁא), *constr.* אֲנָשִׁי. *Comp.* אִשָּׁה.

אִמָּה *maid-servant*, with *suff.* אִמָּהָ, *plur.* (with ה as a consonant) אִמָּהוֹת, *constr.* אִמָּהוֹת. *Comp.* in Aram. אֲבָהֶן *fathers*, also Arab. 'abahât (fathers), 'ummahât (mothers).

אִשָּׁה *woman* (for אִנְשָׁה, *fem.* from אִנֶּשׁ, see אִישׁ), *constr. st.* אִשָּׁה (for 'išt with *fem.* from 'išš after rejection of *Dāghēsh* and lengthening the *ī* into *ē*, *comp.* חֲמִשָּׁה as *constr.* of חֲמִשָּׁה *five*; but a direct derivation from אִישׁ would also be possible, the *ī* having been reduced to *ē*); with *suff.* אִשָּׁהּ, *plur.* נָשִׁים (shortened from אֲנָשִׁים), but Ez. 23, 44 אִשָּׁה; *constr.* נָשִׁי, with *suff.* נְשִׁייהם.

בֵּית *house*, *constr. st.* בֵּית, *plur.* בָּתִּים *bāttî'm* or rather *bâtîm*, for the *Dāg. forte* (after firm *Méthēgh*) serves only to distinguish this word from בָּיִת *staying over night* (*Part. Qāl* of בָּיִת); the former habitual reading *bōttîm* is therefore not at all justified. *Comp.* Gesenius' Lex. 8th ed. under בֵּית. To the reasons cited there, the testimonial of the Babylonian vocalization must be added, which leaves no doubt as to the reading *bâtîm*.—*Constr. st.* בָּתִּי, with *suff.* בָּתִּיהֶם.

בֶּן *son* (from *bēny* for *bāny*=בָּנָה from בָּנָה *to build*), *constr. st.* בֶּן, seldom בֶּן, once בְּנִי (§ 90, 3, a) Gen. 49, 11, and בְּנִי (§ 90, 3, b) Num. 23, 18, 24, 3, 15. With *suff.* בְּנִי, *plur.* בָּנִים, *constr. st.* בָּנִי, with *suff.* בְּנִי, בָּנִיהֶם, בְּנִיהֶם.

בַּת *daughter* (from בָּתָה=*fem.* of בָּן, *comp.* § 19, 2), with *suff.* בָּתִּי (for בָּתִּי=בָּתִּי); *plur.* בָּנוֹת (*comp.* בָּנִים *sons* from a *sing.* בָּנָה), *constr. st.* בָּנוֹת.

חָם *father-in-law*, with *suff.* חָמִיךְ; and **חָמָה** *mother-in-law* with *suff.* חָמוּהָ. Compare אָב *father*, אָח *brother*, אָחוֹת *sister*.

יּוֹם *day*, (Arab. *yaum*) *dual* יּוֹמַיִם; but *plur.* יָמִים, (from יְיָמִים with elision of י) *constr.* יָמִי and יָמוֹה (Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15).

כֶּלִי *vessel*, from כָּלָה *to hold*, *plur.* כֶּלִּים (as if from כָּל, *constr. st.* כֶּלִּי, with *suff.* כֶּלִּי, *plur.* כֶּלִּיכֶם).

מַיִם (*plur.*) *water* (*comp.* § 88, 1, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* מַיִ, but also doubled מֵימַי, with *suff.* מֵימֵיךְ, מֵימֵיהֶם.

עִיר *city*, *plur.* עָרִים, *constr. st.* עָרֵי (either syncopated from עִירִים (v. Judges 10, 4) or from a kindred *sing.* עָר, which is still found in proper names).

פֶּה *mouth*, *acc.* to Gesen. for פִּי, from פָּאָה *to breathe*. It may however be derived from an original פִּי (*Olsh.*) for פִּיה, of a stem פִּיה or פִּיה. In

this case the *constr.* פִּי would be contracted from *p^ewî* or *p^eyî* (with *Chî'rêq compag.*); comp. אֲבִי from אָב for אָבִהּ, with *suff.* פִּי (for *pîy*, *my mouth*), פִּיךָ, פִּיהִי or פִּיו, פִּיהָ, פִּיהֶם, פִּיהֶם; *plur.* פִּים *edges* 1 Sam. 13, 21 (= פִּיִּים) and פִּיָּו (Prov. 5, 4).

רֹאשׁ *head* (derived from רָאשׁ = ראש), *plur.* רִאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23, 2), *constr. st.* רֹאשִׁי, with *suff.* רִאשִׁינִי etc., but Is. 15, 2 רֹאשֵׁיו.

שָׁמַיִם *plur. heaven* (§ 88, 1, Rem. 2) *constr.* שָׁמַיִ.

§ 97.

NUMERALS. I. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 are, in Hebrew, substantives with abstract meaning, like *triad*, *decate*, *πεντάς*, and are therefore originally attached in the *constr. state* to the numbered word, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias filiorum*. However the use of the numerals in apposition was likewise of an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias* sc. *filii*, and from this apposition it came to pass that these abstract substantives were conceived as adjectives (§ 120). The words אֶחָד *one*, fem. אַחַת (v. § 96) show already by their form that they are adjectives although here combinations like אֶחָד הַהָרִים *unus e montibus* are also possible. The consequence of the appositional and finally adjective construction was that, for numbers used in connection with feminine nouns, a special (shorter) form came into use, whilst the original forms with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connection with masculine nouns. Thus in the numbers 3 to 10 arose the semblance as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive and the feminine form with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality there are proper dual forms, with the usual distinction of gender.

The numerals from 1 to 10:—

	<i>With the Masculine.</i>		<i>With the Feminine.</i>	
	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁנַיִם ¹	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
6.	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶה	
9.	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעַ	תְּשֻׁעַ
10.	עָשְׂרָה	עָשְׂרָה	עָשֵׁר	עָשֵׁר ³

The other Semitic languages exhibit the same peculiarity in respect to the genders, of the numerals from 3 to 10. The full form of the numeral abstracts is now but rarely found in connection with feminine nouns³; e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה נְשִׁים Gen. 7, 13, Ez. 7, 2 (in K^cthibh), Job 1, 4; in apposition Zech. 3, 9, 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23.

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִם, which would be the regular *fem.* form for שְׁנַיִם. Notwithstanding this, the *Dāghē'sh* in שְׁנַיִם etc. can by no means be taken for *Dāghē'sh fortē*, risen from an assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in this case we should have at the most שְׁנַיִם (comp. Arab. *ḥuntani*). We rather have to read *stayim*, *štē* (with *Dāghē'sh lene*=אֶשׁ or אֶשׁ with א prosthetic § 19, 4); comp. Arab. *'utnātāni*, another *fem.* form to *'utnāni*, duo.

² The simple numerals, from 1 to 10, not only exhibit an essential agreement in all the Semitic dialects; but they also, as pure primitives, awaken the expectation that somewhere a connecting point may be found for establishing a historical affinity between these languages and the Indo-Germanic (see § 1, 3, 4). Thus we may compare: אֶחָד, Sansk. *eka*; שְׁנַיִם (אֶחָד) Sansk. *dva*, Lat. *duo*; שְׁלֹשָׁה (אֶחָד) Sansk. *tri*, *τρεῖς*, *tres*; אַרְבָּעָה Sansk. *pañcan*, *πέντε*; שֵׁשׁ (properly, as the Arab. and Aethiop. show=שֵׁשׁ, grdf. *šidš*) Sansk. *śaśh*, *ṣṣ*, *sex*; שִׁבְעָה Sansk. *saptan*, *ἑπτά*, *septem*. Meanwhile we should consider that there is a more natural explanation of the Semitic numerals by reference to existing verbal stems which renders these comparisons, as a basis of evidence, extremely doubtful; thus אֶחָד (Arab. also *wāḥid*) from the stem וחד, Hebr. *ḥāḥ* to be united; שְׁנַיִם from שָׁנַה to fold hence double, i. e. *two folds*, אַרְבָּע from רָבַע to lie down (by folding the four paws); חֲמִשָּׁה, really the contraction of the five fingers into the fist, from חָמַשׁ; finally עָשְׂרָה from אָסַר to bind together—a connection (comp. אָסַר).

³ In the vulgar dialects of the Arabic, and in the Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numerals is used almost exclusively. This form appears in Hebrew

2. The numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed by adding to the *units* the numeral *ten* (in the form עָשָׂר *masc.*, עֶשְׂרָה *fem.*), written as separate words and without the conjunction. As, however, they are both pronounced closely together, the units appear almost entirely in the form of the construct state (without pretonic vowels); comp. in the following table אָחַד and אֶחָה in the number 11 and the units in the feminine numbers from 13 upwards. Only the real forms of connection (*constr. st.*) of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשָׁה etc. are excluded from the combinations with עָשָׂר, as they are really in apposition and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the number 12 are only seemingly in the *constr. st.*, although formed in the same manner and for the same reason of close connection (by contraction of *ay* and elimination of ם in שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם). In שְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ם), unless both forms be considered as the Massoretic *Q'ri perpetuum* (§ 17) viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי for the really intended שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם. Accordingly the numbers from eleven upwards are:

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
11	{ אָחַד עָשָׂר עֶשְׂתֵּי עָשָׂר ¹	אֶחָה עֶשְׂרָה עֶשְׂתֵּי עֶשְׂרָה
12.	{ שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרָה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרָה
13	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרָה

and so on, analogous with the last. These numbers have regularly but the above form. In regard to their syntax comp. § 120, 2 Rem.

also when speaking of the number as such, in the abstract, as in the multiplatives (Gen. 4, 15, 24)

¹ The enigmatic עֶשְׂתֵּי has been lately found in the Assy. cuneiform inscriptions where it has the form *istin=unus* (v. Schröder in der Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. 26 p. 234 ff). According to this עֶשְׂתֵּי עָשָׂר would be a combination like Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ἑνδεκά*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12—19), and serve at the same time in the combination of the fem. numeral eleven, whilst elsewhere the Assyrian has *ichit* (אִחִי) for *una*. It seems that in Hebr. also the verbal stem for עֶשְׂתֵּי

Very rarely the *units* appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as in *חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר* *fifteen* Judg. 8, 10, 2 Sam. 19, 18, *שְׁמֹנֶת עָשָׂר* *eighteen* Judg. 20, 25.

3. The *tens* from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the corresponding units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten-times* the unit), as *שְׁלֹשִׁים* 30, *אַרְבָּעִים* 40, *חֲמִישִׁים* 50, *שִׁשִּׁים* 60, *שִׁבְעִים* 70, *שְׁמוֹנִים* 80, *תִּשְׁעִים* 90. But *twenty* is expressed by *עֶשְׂרִים*, plur. of *עָשָׂר* *ten*.¹ They are of *common gender*, and do not admit the *construct state*. When units and tens are written together, the earlier writers commonly (but with many exceptions) place the units first (e. g. *two and twenty*, as in Arabic and German); but in the later writers the order is most commonly reversed (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, French, English *twenty-two*) e. g. 1 Ch. 12, 28, 18, 5. The conjunction (*וְ* *and*, also *וְ* before numerals accented on the 1st syllable, *וְ* before —, *וְ* before *Sh'wā*) is always used between them.

The remaining numerals are:

100	<i>מֵאָה</i> <i>fem., constr.</i> <i>מֵאוֹת</i> <i>plur.</i> <i>מֵאוֹת</i> <i>hundreds.</i>
200	<i>מֵאוֹת</i> <i>dual</i> (for <i>מֵאוֹתִים</i>).
300	<i>שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת</i> (2 K. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15 however in <i>ʿEṯhibh</i> (הַמֵּאוֹת)).
400	<i>אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת</i> etc.
1000	<i>אַלֶּפֶּה</i> <i>masc. plur.</i> <i>אַלְפִים</i> <i>thousands.</i>
2000	<i>אַלְפִים</i> (<i>dual</i>).
3000	<i>שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים</i> , 4000 <i>אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים</i> , etc.
10000	{ <i>רִבְבָּה</i> , but in later books (Ezr. 2, 64, Jon. 4, 11). <i>רִבּוֹ, רִבּוּא, רִבּוֹת</i> (prop. <i>multitude</i> , cf. <i>μῦθος</i>).
20000	<i>שְׁנֵי רִבּוֹת</i> ² (<i>dual</i>) Ps. 68, 18, also <i>שְׁנֵי רִבּוֹת</i> Neh. 7, 71.
40000	<i>אַרְבַּע רִבּוֹת</i> , Ezr. 2, 64.
60000	<i>שֵׁשׁ רִבּוֹת</i> Ez. 2, 69 (perh. f. <i>רִבּוֹת</i> , as Dan. 11, 12).

has been preserved in *עֲשֵׂה* *work of art* and *עֲשׂוּת* *thought, opinion*. These two terms may easily be related to the fundamental idea of *connecting, combining* and thus one finds for *עֲשֵׂה* the idea of *uno, unity*.

¹ The anomalous plural forms *עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים*, from the *S^cgholates* *עָשָׂר, שִׁבְעָה, תִּשְׁעָה*, for which we should (according to § 93, 6) expect *עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים*, are found but very seldom elsewhere as in *עֲשָׂרִים* *mulberry-trees* and *עֲשָׂרִים* *viscera* from *עֶשֶׂה*.

² Acc. to *Delitzsch* (Comm. on Ps. 68, 18) this "is a dual from *רִבּוֹת*, and

Rem. 1. The dual form occurs in some of the units, with the effect of our ending *-fold*, as in אַרְבַּעַיִם *fourfold* 2 Sam. 12, 6, שִׁבְעִיָּים *sevenfold* Gen. 4, 15, 24, Ps. 79, 12. Besides its use for the *tens*, we find the plural also in אֲחֵרִים [comp. Ger. *einige*, W. *ychedig*] *some, a few*, also *the same* (*idem*), and in עֶשְׂרִית *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21, 25.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with nouns, prop. genitives of the pronoun, though we translate them as in nominative or acc., as שְׁלֹשָׁה *you three*, prop. *your triad*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98.

NUMERALS. II. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination ׀ (§ 86, No. 5), besides which another ׀ also is mostly inserted between the second and third stem consonant. They are as follows, שְׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי and חֲמִישִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי, עֶשְׂרִי, חֲמִישִׁי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רִאשׁוֹן for רִאשׁוֹן, from ראש *head, beginning*, with the ending ׀ (§ 86, 2, No. 4). The feminine forms have the ending ׀, more rarely ׀, and are employed also for the expression of *fractions* or *parts*, as חֲמִישִׁת׀ *fifth part*, עֶשְׂרִית׀ and עֶשְׂרִית׀ *tenth part*. The same meaning is found also in forms like חֲמִישׁ׀ *fifth part*, רְבִיע׀ and רְבִיע׀ *fourth part*; they are abstracts derived from cardinals

For the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no separate forms, see in the Syntax, § 120.

this is either an abstract noun equivalent to רִבְיָה (from which comes the apoc. רִבְיָה=רְבִי) *a myriad*, consequently רִבְיָהּ *two myriads* or a contracted plural out of רִבְיָהּ Ezra 2, 69 therefore the dual of a plural". This as *Perowne* suggests would signify *two series* of myriads, as חֲמִישִׁת׀ *the double line of walls*, לִתְהִיָּה *the double series of planks of a ship*.—Ed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARTICLES.

§ 99.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, and the closer relation of the words or clauses and sentences to each other, are for the most part borrowed or derived from nouns, but a few also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30, 4); on the other hand (asid  from a few demonstrative forms, § 100, 4) only in the sense defined in § 81 can any be taken for *primitives*.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be determined with certainty, they are,—1) either *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the verb, noun, or pronoun, are employed as particles, retaining more or less of their original signification, like the Lat. *certo, falso, partim, verum, causa*, and the Eng. *except, instead, away*; or—2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either—*a*) by the *addition of formative syllables*, like יוֹמָם *by day*, from יוֹם (§ 100, 3); or most commonly—*b*) by *abbreviation*, effected in various ways, the degree of mutilation being proportioned to the frequency of their use, so that the original form of some has become entirely unrecognizable.

Compare in Ger., *gen* from *gegen, Gegend*; *seit* from *Seite*; *weil* (orig. a particle of time) from *Weile*=our *while*; in Eng. *sith* and *since* (old Eng. *sithence*).

Such words suffer still greater changes in the Greek and the Latin, and in the languages derived from the latter, as in ἀπό, *ab, a*; ἐξ, *ex, e*; ad, Fr. *à*; aut, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; super, Ital. *su*.¹

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one word, e. g. German *swear* from *es ist wahr* (*il est vrai*), Lat. *forsitan* from *fors sit an*, δηλονότι, δηλαδ , Fr. *peut- tre*, E. *prith e* from *I pray thee*. In the Chinese, most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g.    (to give), employed as a sign of the dative;   (to make use of), hence *for*;     (the interior), hence *in*.

The greatest curtailing of the particle occurs when, having ceased to be an independent word, it has been reduced to a single letter with, in most cases, a very short vowel sound. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26, 4) such particles cannot stand independently but are *prefixed* to the following word (as in the case with the preformatives of the Imperfect, § 47, 1, 2), e. g. the prefix ל from אל (§ 102).

That this shortening of a whole word to a single letter has actually taken place, and is to be regarded as a part of the process in the formation of the language, is evident from the fact, that in the subsequent stages of this process, as exhibited in the later Hebrew, the Aramæan, and all the Semitic dialects such abbreviations become more and more striking and frequent. Thus אשר was shortened into אש in Phœn and in Hebr to ש, ש and even ש, which prefix forms became more and more customary among the Rabbins the י of the Biblical Aram at a later period became י, in modern Arabic we have *hallaq* (now) from *hâlhaqt, kîsh* (why?) from *h ayyin-shawn*, and many others. This view derives confirmation from the analogy of the Western languages. Yet the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest epochs of the Hebrew language, or at least to the earliest documents in our possession.

3. Particles are formed, less frequently, by *composition* as in מרוע (for מה־רוע *what known?* וט, αὐτῶν,) *wherefore?* בלעני (from בל and עני) *besides*, מלמעלה (from מן, ל, מעלה) *from above*

More frequent is the combination of two words without being contracted into one, as בי־על־כן, אִם־כִּי, אִם־יִיָּהּ, אִם־יִיָּהּ.

§ 100.

ADVERBS

1. Of obscure origin though undoubtedly the remainder of some noun is the negative לא *not*, and some particles of place and time, as שם *there*.

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which, without any farther change, are used *adverbially*, are—

a) Substantives with prepositions, as במאד (prop *in strength*) *very, greatly*; לבד *alone* (prop *in separation* Fr. *a part*

- =E. *apart*), with suff. לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִפִּיחַ (prop. *from house*) *within*; כָּאֶחָד (prop. *as one*) *together*.
- b) Substantives in the accusative (the *adverbial case* of the Shemites, see § 118, comp. ἄρχην, δωρεάν), as מָאֵד (*strength*) *very, greatly*; אָפֶס (*cessation*) *no more*; הַיּוֹם (this day) *to-day*; יָחַד (*union*) *together*. Many of these substantives are but seldom used as such e. g. סָבִיב and in plur. form סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת (*circuit*), as adv. *around*; others not at all, as כָּבֵד (*length*) *long ago*; עוֹד (*repetition, duration*) *again, further, longer*.
- c) Adjectives, especially in the *feminine* (answering to the Indo-Germ. *neuter*), as ראשונה (*primum*) *at first, formerly* (often 'בראש', also 'לראש'); רַבָּה and רַבַּת (*multum*) *much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת (prop. *mirabilibus* sc. *modis*) *wonderfully*; יהודית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish tongue.
- d) Verbs in the *Infinitive absolute*, especially in *Hiph'il*, which are also to be regarded as accusatives (§ 131, 2); e. g. הָרַבָּה (prop. *to do much*) *much, להרבה in quantity*.
- e) Pronouns and numerals, as זֶה (prop. *there*=*at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither*, אַחַת, שֶׁבַע, שִׁמֹּנִים, מָאָה *once, twice, seven-times, 100-times*, שֵׁנִית *a second time, again* Lev. 13, 5.

See a list of the adverbs most in use, classified according to their meanings, in § 150.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of the formative syllable ׀ to substantives, as אֱמֵנָם and אֱמֵנָם *truly* (from אֱמֵן *truth*); חֵנָּם (*by favor*) *gratis*, (from חֵן *favor*); רִיקָם *vainly* (from רִיק *empty*); יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם); פְּחָאָם *for* פְּחָעָם (from פָּחַע *twinkling*) *in a twinkling, suddenly*.

The termination ׀ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סֻלָּם *ladder* (from סָלַל) so that ׀, ׀, ׀ are like ׀, ׀ (§ 84, No. 15), e. g. סְדִיּוֹן and סְדִיּוֹן *ransom*, λύτρον; בִּפְחָאָם (with prep.) *in a twinkling* 2 Ch. 20, 36; hence these forms may be regarded as denominative nouns used adverbially. But others think that the ׀ is nothing else than an obsolete plural-ending of the noun (see § 87, 1, d), and that these adverbs are properly nouns in the accusative plural, hence אֱמֵנָם like מִיִּשְׁרִים as adv. in Ps. 58, 2, חֵנָּם like Lat. *gratis* i. e. *gratis*.

4. Those forms which are very closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun may most naturally be regarded as *primitive adverbs*, having sprung from a combination of so-called demonstrative sounds. Some of these have since suffered great mutilations, whose extent however can nowhere be determined with certainty. Here belong e. g. **אָז** *then*, **כֵּן** *so*, **אָזְנִי** *only*, **אֲנִי** *truly* (on all these adverbs v. Davies' Heb. Lex.), but especially the *interrogative* **הִי**, e. g. **הֲלֹא** *nonne?* **הֲנִי** *num etiam?* This **הִי** as well as the kindred article **הִי** (v. § 35, Rem. 1) comes undoubtedly from **הָל**, as still used in Arabic and perhaps also meant in Heb. in Deut. 32, 6.

This *interrogative* **הִי** receives,—1) before non gutturals with firm vowel generally *Châṭēph-pā'thäch*, as **הֲשֵׁטָהְךָ** *hast thou set?* see examples in § 153, 2 (except **הֲיִיטֵב** in Lev. 10, 19),—2) usually with *Pā'thäch* and *Dāghēsh fortè* (according to the original form **הָל**, and hence like the article) before a letter that has *Sh'wā*, as **הֲבָרִיךָ** *num in via* Ez. 20, 30, **הֲבִיבֶךָ** Gen. 17, 18, 21, 27, 32, or also with the *Pā'thäch* only, as in **הֲבִיבֶכָּ** Gen. 30, 15, 27, 38,—3) with *Pā'thäch* (and *Dāghēsh f. implicitum*) before gutturals, as **הֲאֵלֶיךָ** *shall I go?* **הֲאַתָּה** (art) *thou?* **הֲאִם** *num si*; Judg. 6, 31, 12, 5, Neh. 6, 11 must be read **הֲאִתָּה** (not **הִתָּה**); with **הֲאִשׁ** Num. 16, 22 the Massora means the article. Comp. Deut. 20, 19, Eccl. 3, 21 and *Delitzsch* on the latter passage;—4) with *S'ghöl* before gutturals that have *Qā'mēṣ* or *Châṭēph Qā'mēṣ* as **הֲאֵנִי** *num ego?* **הֲהִיְיָהוּ** *was there?* The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs, involving a verbal idea, or at least (though really substantives) inclining to such an idea, admit also of *verbal suffixes*, especially those with *Nūn epenthetic* (§ 58, 4); e. g. **הֲיִשְׁכּוּ** *he (is) existing*; **אֵינִי** *I (am) not*, **אֵינָהּ** *he (is) not*, **עוֹדֵנִי** *he (is) yet*, **אֵיכָּה** *where art thou?* **אֵיךְ** *where (is) he?* The same applies to **הִנֵּן** and **הִנֵּה** *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*), with suffixes; as **הֲנִי** (in pause **הֲנִי** and **הֲנִי**) *behold me* (prop. *here I am*), **הֲנֵה**, **הֲנֵה** *behold him*, **הֲנֵה** *behold us* (in pause **הֲנֵה** and **הֲנֵה**), **הֲנֵה**, **הֲנֵה**.

§ 101.

PREPOSITIONS.

1. The words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, and properly:

- a) Substantives in the *accusative case* and in the *construct state*, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and it actually has in Arabic the genitive-ending (compare in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek τοῦτου χάριν, in Latin *hujus rei causa* or *gratia*, *montis instar*); as אַחֲרֵי (hinder part*) *behind, after*; אֵצֶל (side*) *close by*; בֵּין (intermediate space, midst*) *between*; בֵּעֵר, בְּעֵר (interval of space) *behind, about*; זֵרָה or with *Chireq compag.* זֵרָהּ (removal, want) *besides*; יֵצֵן (purpose) *on account of*; מִלְּ (front-side, from מִמֶּלֶךְ v. Ges. Lex. 8th ed.) but usually מִלְּ *before, over against*; מִן (part) *from, out of*; נֶגֶד (what is in front) *before, over against*; עַד (progress, duration*) *during, until*; עַל (upper part*) *upon, over*; עִם (connection, from the same stem עָמַם comes also לעִמָּה, עִמָּה) *with*; תַּחַת (under part*) *under, in place of*.
- b) Substantives in the *construct state* to be conceived however as standing in the genitive depending on *prefix prepositions* (espec. the inseparable): as לִפְנֵי (in the face of) *before*; לִפְי, כִּפְי (to the mouth of, i. e. the command*) *according to*; בְּגִלָּל (in the occasion of) *on account of*, לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

2. Substantives used adverbially, in this manner, are very apt to become prepositions; e. g. בְּבִלִּי, בְּאֵין, בְּאֵפֶס (with nought of) *without*; בְּעוֹרֵר (in duration of) *during*; כְּדֵרִי, כְּדֵרִי (for the requirement of) *for, according to measure of*.

§ 102.

PREFIX PREPOSITIONS.

1. Of the prepositions given in the preceding section מִן *from, out of*, is frequently written as a *prefix* (§ 99, 2), yet its *Nûn*, assimilated to the following consonant, is still represented by the *Dāghē'sh fortē* in that consonant, as in מִן־עֵר *from a forest*.

¹ In these examples, the signification of the noun is put in parenthesis, and marked with an asterisk when it is still in use.—On a similar use of substantives as prepositions in other languages, see *W. Von Humboldt über die Kavisprache*, Bd. III., p. 621.

Rem. The preposition *מן* is used as follows. It stands apart generally only before the article (and always with *Mäqq'êph*), as *מן־הָאָרֶץ*, also here and there before softer letters, as *מן־רָצוֹן* Jer. 44, 18, *מן־בְּנֵי* 1 Ch. 5, 18, and elsewhere in the later books (like the usage of the Aramæan); there is besides a poetical form *מִנִּי* (comp. § 90, 3, *a*) and *מִנִּי* Is. 30, 11 (comp. *מִנִּי* and *מִנִּי* § 103). Its form is mostly *מ* prefixed (as in *מִדָּם* from blood) by means of *Dāghē'sh fortè* which can be omitted only in letters that have *Shēwâ* (according to § 20, 3, *b*), with a following *י*; the *מ* is usually contracted into *מי* e. g. *מִי־רִיר*=*מִי־רִיר* or *מִי־רִיר*, before gutturals it becomes *מ* (according to § 22, 1), e. g. *מִצָּדָם*, *מִצָּדָם*; but also *מ* (w. *Dagh. f. impl.*) before *ח* and *ח*, as in *מִחוּץ*, *מִחוּץ*, *מִחוּץ* Gen. 14, 23; so sometimes before *ר* (§ 22, 5, Rem.).

2. There are also three other prepositions, the most common in the language, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99, 2) to a single prefix consonant with *Shēwâ*; viz.—

- ב* in, at, on, with,
- ל* towards, to, for, L. *ad*,
- כ* like, as, according to.¹

On the pointing of these (inseparable) prefixes it is to be observed that—

- a*) The *Shēwâ mobile* with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced has resulted from the disappearance of a short vowel, which therefore according to § 28, 1, 2 must return as soon as another *Shēwâ* follows. Before simple *Shēwâ* this vowel is *i*, but before *Châṭēph*, the vowel of the *Châṭēph* is taken e. g. *לִפְרִי* for fruit, *כַּאֲרִי* as a lion; and before feeble letters it follows the rules in § 23, 2, and § 24, 1, *a*, e. g. *לְאִמִּי* for *לְאִמִּי*, *לִירוּדָה*, *לְאִמִּי*.
- b*) Before the article they usually displace the *ה* and take its pointing, as *בְּהַיְוָה* in the garden. See full particulars in § 35, Rem. 2.
- c*) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and words of two syllables that have the tone on the penultima, they take also *Qā'mēṣ* (prob. as a lengthening of orig. *ā*, comp. § 26, 3), but only in the following cases,—*a*) *ל* before the Infinitives which have the above-mentioned form, as *לְתִתִּי* for to give, *לְדַיֵּן* for to judge,

¹ Contrary to Gesenius' and Rodiger's learned derivation of *כ* from *כִּי*, Aram. also *כִּי* (therefore really in the house. in) or from *כֵּין* between (Ewald,) Mühlau and Volk in the 8th ed. of the Lex., following Böttcher, have recommended, and without doubt rightly, to regard the *כ* (Arab. *li*) as a softening of the Arab. *fā* (in).—*ל* arises first from *לָא* and more remotely from a stem which means *appropinquavit, accessit* (Arab. *ulī*).—On *ב*, orig. a noun meaning amount, kind (instar) see Lex.

לָבִיחַ *for to bear*, except when another word closely follows the Inf (especially as its subject § 133, 2), placing it in a sort of *constr.* *st.* as in בִּנְשׁוּרָא Num 8, 19, לִבְכֹּר Gen 18, 3,—β) before many pronominal forms, בָּרוּךְ, לֵוִי, בָּרוּךְ, קָאֵלֶּה *like these*, but specially always בָּכֶם, לָכֶם, עִכְשָׁם, and בָּהֶם, לָהֶם, עִכְשָׁם (see § 103, 2),—γ) לְ before monosyllables or nouns accented on the first syllable, e. g. פֶּה לְפֶה *mouth to mouth* 2 K. 10, 21, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6, in both cases before the great pause observe in the instructive example in Deut 17, 8 that the punctuation לְ requires at least the small pause after it, in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לְ stands in the double repetition before the small and the smaller distinctives.—δ) in certain standing expressions, which have become adverbial as לְעֶד *to eternity*, לְרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּח *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to perpetuity*, but לְנֶצְחִים *to all eternity* Is 34, 10

- d) With the *interrogative* מָה בָּמָה *by what?* מַחְמָה *how much?* לָמָה (Job 7, 20 לָמָה, 1 Sam 1, 8, לָמָה, all *Mil'el* therefore *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ח, ע, לָמָה (*Mul'ā*) is used to avoid hiatus instead of לָמָה, but before the ו we find also לָמָה. Before non-gutturals is found לָמָה Ps 42, 10, 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem The divine name יהוה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יהוה), but those of יהוה (see Lexicon under the word), takes the *prefixes* also after the manner of יהוה, as לִיהוה, בִּיהוה, מִיהוה (because the Jews read in these cases יהוה, לא יהוה, מא יהוה).

§ 103.

PREPOSITIONS WITH SUFFIXES AND IN PLURAL FORM.

1. So far as all prepositions were originally nouns in the accusative (§ 101), they are also united with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91, 1, 2), as אֵצֶלִי (at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, בָּהֶם (in their place) *instead of them* (like *L. mea causa, on my account*).

Rem. 1. The preposition אֵצֶר *near, with* (from אֵצֶר v. Lex. s. v. אֵצֶר II.), is distinguished from אֵצֶר (the sign of the definite accusative, see § 117, 2) when suffixes are added, by the difference of pointing, the former making אֵצֶרִי, אֵצֶרְךָ, אֵצֶרָם, while the latter retains its original *o* before the so-called light suffixes as אֵצֶרִי *me*, אֵצֶרְךָ *thee*, אֵצֶר־לִי *him*, אֵצֶר־לָהּ *her*, אֵצֶר־לָנוּ *us*, but אֵצֶרְכֶּם, אֵצֶרְכֶּן, אֵצֶרָם and אֵצֶרָם *them*. Yet in later books, particularly in the books of Kings and in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this אֵצֶר *with* is at times incorrectly inflected אֵצֶרִי, אֵצֶרְךָ.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (st. עִמָּם) takes קִדְמָה (*prætonic*) before

כֹּם and כֹּם, in order that the doubling of the *Mēm* may be distinctly heard, as in עֲמָכֶם, עֲמָכֶם (for which however עֲמָם usually stands). In the first person, besides עִמִּי we find עִמָּדִי.

3. It is but seldom that prepositions take the verbal-suffixes, as רָחַמֶּי 2 Sam. 22, 37, 40, 48 (for which we find רָחַמִּי in Ps. 18, 37, 40, 48), רָחַמֶּי Gen. 2, 21, and בְּעָרָי Ps. 139, 11 (perh. for the sake of rhyming with יְשׁוּעָי). But in these cases the form of the suffix may perhaps be accounted for in this way, that the idea of *direction* *whither* is implied, so רָחַמֶּי *under-me-ward* 2 Sam. as above (also רָחַמֶּי *under me*), רָחַמֶּי *in its place* ('he put flesh in-to its place'), בְּעָרָי *hither around me*.

2. There is a tendency to obviate the extreme brevity and lightness of the forms resulting from the union of the prefix prepositions (§ 102) with the suffixes, especially with the shorter ones, by lengthening the preposition. Hence to כ is appended the syllable מִן, and מִן is doubled into מִמֶּן (for מִמֶּן, prop. L. *a parte*, from the side of—), and for ב and ל we have at least בָּ and לָּ with full vowel (§ 102, 2, *a* and *c*).

a) לָּ with suffixes:

Sing.

Plur.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. לִי <i>to me.</i> | לָנוּ <i>to us.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> לָהּ, לָהֶּ, in pause לָהֶּ } <i>to</i> | { לָכֶם, לָכֶן } <i>to you.</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> לָהּ } <i>thee.</i> | |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> לוֹ <i>to him.</i> | { לָהֶם, לָהֶּם, poet. לָהֶם } <i>to them.</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> לָהּ <i>to her.</i> | |

¹ לָהֶּ happens not to occur in the O. Testament.

² Even Rödiger denies altogether that לָנוּ may stand also for the sing. לוֹ. But this question must now be decidedly answered in the affirmative, since the Phœnician suffix of the 3. fem. sing. in ִם is generally recognized as analogous to the Hebrew suffixes in לוֹ (comp. Schröder Phöniz. Sprache p. 153 f. and p. 154, Schlottmann's explanation of this ִם). To be sure in places like Gen. 9, 28, ff. Deut. 33, 2, Is. 30, 5, Ps. 73, 10, לוֹ is better explained as *plural* (in reference to collective nouns); but in Is. 44, 15 and 53, 8 its explanation as *plural* would be an extremely forced one. Besides there would remain לוֹ Ps. 11, 7 and לוֹ as well as לוֹ, the latter occurring three times, Job 20, 23, 27, 23 (also לוֹ) and especially 22, 2. In all these places we can avoid the worst exegetic artifices by recognizing simply a singular suffix (= לוֹ, לוֹ, לוֹ).

³ The form לוֹ usually signifies *therefore*.

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the *3d person plur.* we have בָּהֶם, בְּהֶמָּה, also בָּם and the *fem.* בָּהֶּן also 15 times בָּהֶן; but only in 1 Sam. 30, 7, Is. 38. 16, Ezek. 42, 14 בָּהֶן.

b) בְּ with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. בְּמִנִּי ¹ as I.	בְּמֵנו as we.
2. { <i>m.</i> בְּמוֹהָ } as thou. <i>f.</i> — }	{ כָּכֶם, seldom כְּמוֹכֶם } as ye. — — — }
3. { <i>m.</i> בְּמוֹהוּ } as he. <i>f.</i> בְּמוֹהָ as she.	{ כָּהֶם [כְּהֶם] } as they. [כָּהֶן] כְּהֶנָּה }

c) מִן with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מִנִּי from me.	מִמֵּנו from us.
2. { <i>m.</i> מִמֶּה, in p. מִמֶּךָ } from thee. <i>f.</i> מִמֶּה }	{ מִכֶּם } from you. מִכָּן }
3. { <i>m.</i> מִמֶּנּוּ, poet. in pause מִנּוּ, [מִמֶּנּוּ or מִנּוּ] } from him. <i>f.</i> מִמֶּנָּה from her.	{ מִמֶּנָּה, poet מִנָּה } from. מִמֶּנָּה } them.

Rem. The syllable מִן (in Arabic *mā* مَا = Heb. מִן *what*) in קִמְנִי (prop. *according to what I* for *as I*), is in poetry appended to the three simple prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ, even without suffixes, so that בְּמִנִּי, כְּמִנִּי, לְמִנִּי appear as independent words equivalent to בְּ, כְּ, לְ. In this case, poetry distinguishes itself from prose by longer forms; in the case of מִן on the other hand it has adopted the shorter ones, resembling the Syriac.

The above bracketed form כָּהֶם stands only in 2 Kings 17, 15 (in *pause*); כָּהֶן (or כְּהֶן) only in Ez. 18, 14. Comp. *Freundsorff, Massora magna*, p. 234 ff.—For כָּכֶם (so formerly in this grammar) *as ye*, must be read כְּכֶם according to the express testimony of *Kimchi* (comp. also *Baer* on Job 16, 4).

The preposition מִן (see § 102, 1, Rem.) with *suff.* makes מִמֵּנו *from him*, which comes from מִמֶּנּוּ (according to § 19, 2), and is identical

¹ The use of מִנִּי for מִנִּי here is simply for euphony, (comp. above No. 1 Rem. 3). מִמֶּנִּי written defectively only in the Pentateuch.

in form with מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, which comes from מִמְּכֵנּוּ.¹—The form מִמֶּנּוּ always stands without *Mappiq*, and comes from מִמְּכֵנּוּ. The bracketed form מִמֶּנּוּ for which Baer after Kimchi et al. writes מִמֶּנּוּ is found only in Ps. 68, 24 and is perhaps rather a *substantive*=*share* (v. *Delitzsch* in loc.).—מִיָּדָה (in printed editions, in MSS. however מִיָּדָה) is found only Ez. 16, 47, 52.

3. Several of these prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are properly plural nouns, like the Germ. *wegen* or the Eng. *besides* (for the reason of this, see § 108, 2, a),² and are therefore joined with the pronominal suffixes, in the form of the plural construct state just like plural nouns (§ 91, 2). Such are—

אַחֵר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind*, *after*, with suff. always thus: אַחֲרַי *behind me*, אַחֲרֶיהָ *behind thee*, אַחֲרֵינוּ etc.

אֶל, poet. also אֵלַי (*regions, directions*) *towards, to*, with suff. always אֵלַי *to me*, אֵלֶיהָ, אֵלָיו, אֵלֵיהֶם, אֵלֵיהֶם (also *defect.* אֵלֵהֶם), for which latter also poet. אֵלֵינוּ (Ps. 2, 5).

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*, to which the suff. which have a singular sense are joined, thus: בֵּינִי, בֵּינָה, etc. (Gen. 16, 5 בֵּינָה but the second *I'ôdh* has been rendered critically doubtful by a dot; בֵּינִי occurs three times, but it is only Massoretic (*Qeri* for בֵּינִי, which is found e. g. Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand the suffixes that signify a plural are added to the plur. בֵּינִי or בֵּינֹתָ, thus בֵּינֵינוּ, בֵּינֵיכֶם, בֵּינֵיהֶם, also בֵּינֹתֵינוּ, בֵּינֹתֵיכֶם (— also sometimes elsewhere to the plur. noun to avoid too long forms).

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always in the plural form, partly *masculine* סָבִיבָה, סָבִיבָיו etc., partly, and more frequently *feminine* סָבִיבוֹת *surroundings* with suff. סָבִיבוֹתַי *around me*, סָבִיבוֹתֶיךָ etc.

¹ The Babylonian grammarians wanted to distinguish the last from the 3d sing. by writing it מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, but Ibn Ezra justly objected.

² Some of these words, which come from stems ל"ה, viz., אֵלַי, עָלַי, עָרַי, may certainly be traced back to singular forms like אֵלַי, עָלַי, עָרַי; but the analogy of the others makes it more probable that these also should be regarded as plurals.

עַד (*progress, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, plur., עָדִי (poet.), but with suff. even in prose always עָדִי, עָדֶיךָ, עָדָיו, עָדֶיהָ (with *Qā'mēṣ* in the secondary tone) Job 32, 12.

עַל *upon, over* (constr. st. of עָלָה *what is above*, from עָלָה *to go up*), plur. עָלֵי (poet.), but with suff. also in prose always עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, עָלָיו, עָלֶיהָ, עָלֵיהֶם, for which עָלֵמֶנּוּ is also often used in poetry. On the use of the latter in the *sing.* see above 2, a, Note ².

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*), in plur. with suff. תַּחְתָּי, תַּחְתֶּיךָ, תַּחְתָּיו, תַּחְתֵּיהֶם, תַּחְתֵּיהֶם (see בִּינְיָנָם above)

§ 104.

CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The conjunctions serve to connect words and sentences, and to express their relations to each other.—Such are

a) Original pronouns, as the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

b) Original substantives, which afterwards became pronouns or adverbs e. g. אֲשֶׁר (s. § 36), which serves partly as general expression of the idea of relation, partly as relative pronoun (= *qui, quae, quod*); farther אֵל (*nothing*) *that not*; כֵּן (perhaps literally *turning off*, from כָּנָה) *that, not, lest* (the Greek *μη* *prohibitivum*) etc. Also substantives used adverbially with prepositions e. g. בְּעֵדֶיךָ (in *not-yet*) *before that* (for which also מִפְּנֵי). On the combination of two conjunctions to express complicated ideas (e. g. אֲדָבָר *to this comes, that=yea more that*) v. § 155, 2.

c) Prepositions, which by the addition of the conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are reduced to the idea of one conjunction; e. g. אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵן אֲשֶׁר *because* (from יֵצֵן *account of*), prop. *on account that*, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר *after that*, כְּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (אֲשֶׁר and כִּי), עַקְבֵּי אֲשֶׁר and עַקְבֵּי אֲשֶׁר *(in consequence that) because*. The preposition may still be employed in this manner, even when the conjunction is omitted, e. g. עַל (for עַל אֲשֶׁר) *although*, Job 16, 17.

So at least according to the logic of our language; it would however be more correct to say that instead of the intermediate אֲשֶׁר the whole

following sentence has one substantive idea, governed directly by the preposition. In like manner, all prepositions prefixed to the Infinitive may be rendered in English as conjunctions (§ 132, 2) with the finite verb.

2. Even those little words which are no longer in use except as conjunctions, and which are in more or less of obscurity as to their formation, or original signification, may be considered throughout as remainders of original nouns, such as **או** (prop. *will, choice*, from **אָרַר** *to desire*, comp. Prov. 31, 4) or, like Lat. *vel, ve*, from *velle*; of doubtful origin are **כִּי** *when*, also *or* (before the second member of a double question) **הֲאִם** *also* and others. Even the only *prefix* conjunction **ו** (*and*) seems to have come from a stem meaning *to add or join*; comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. under **וּ**.

NB. The pointing of the conjunction **ו** is in many respects analogous to that of the *prefixes* **בְּ**, **כִּי**, **לְ**, (§ 102, 2), but as a feeble letter it has some peculiarities:—

- a) Usually it has simple *Sh'wâ* (**וַ**).
- b) Before words beginning with a guttural and a *composite Sh'wâ*, it takes the vowel with which the *Sh'wâ* is compounded (according to § 28, 2), as **וְהָיָה** *and be thou wise*, **וְעַבְדִּים** *and slaves*, **וְקוֹחַ** *and force*, **וְאָכַל** *and eat thou*, **וְחָלִי** *and sickness*. But **וְאֱלֹהִים** *God*, with **ו** is contracted into **וְאֱלֹהִים**, **וְאֶלְדִּיר** etc. In cases like **וְיִצְחָר** Job 4, 2 comp. § 28, 2.
- c) Before words whose first consonant has simple *Sh'wâ* (excepting the cases under d), *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū*, as **וְלָכֵל** *and to all*, and even before a *Châfēph* (under letters not guttural), as **וְיִרְחַב** Gen. 2, 12 (comp. § 10, 2, Rem. b). It is also sounded thus (yet with the exception of the cases under e) before its cognate labials **ב**, **מ**, **פ**; as **וּבְלִי**.
- d) Before **ו** *Wāw* takes *Chirēq*, as in **וְיָדִי** *and he was* (for **וְיָדִי**, according to § 24, 1, a); on the peculiar punctuation of **ו** copulative before forms with initial *Sh'wâ* from **וְיָדִי** *to be* and **וְיָדִי** *to live*, as **וְיָרִיחָם** Josh. 6, 4, **וְיָרִיחָם** Gen. 30, 7, comp. § 63, Rem. 5.
- e) Immediately before the tone-syllable, it often takes *Qāmēs*, like **בְּ**, **לְ**, (§ 102, 2, c), yet chiefly only at the end of a clause, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 (**וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*), Ruth 3, 3 (**וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*), Ps. 10, 15 (**וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*), 2 Sam. 13, 26 (**וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*), 1 Sam. 9, 4 (**וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*), Ez. 47, 9 (**וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*); comp. also (with *Tiphchā*) Gen. 33, 13, 2 Sam. 13, 12. Regularly the **ו** copulative stands with *Qāmēs*, when it serves to unite two nouns, which have the same generic idea, and thus in their combination present only one more comprehensive idea. It is also here however a condition that the **ו** shall stand immediately before the tone syllable, e. g. **וְהָיָה** *and he shall be*.

Gen. 1, 2, וְהָיָה יוֹם 8, 2? (see also examples above); Ex. 25, 3, כֹּה וְכֹה *so and so*, וְעַתָּה כִּי-יָבֹא Ps. 96, 7, 10, וְיָבֹא וְיָבֹא Ps. 76, 7; even וְיָבֹא וְיָבֹא וְיָבֹא G. 7, 13, אֱלֹהִים וְיָבֹא 1 K. 21, 10, אֱלֹהִים וְיָבֹא Esth. 1, 8 (at the end of the verse); also with 3 words as in וְיָבֹא וְיָבֹא וְיָבֹא Is. 24, 17. It is otherwise when the word stands in close connection with the following, e. g. וְיָבֹא וְיָבֹא Ps. 87, 5. From the same rhythmical reason the וְ (not וְ) stands with certain monosyllabic words, whose nature is to lean upon the following, as וְיָבֹא, וְיָבֹא, וְיָבֹא, וְיָבֹא and others.

§ 105.

INTERJECTIONS.

1. Among the interjections there are (as in all other languages) some merely natural sounds, or as it were, vocal movements, called forth by some impression, or sensation, as אָהָה, אָה, *ah!* הֹאֵה *ho!* אָהָה *aha!* הֹשׁ הֹשׁ *hush!* But הוֹי, *woe!* is an original noun and belongs therefore to No. 2.

2. Others, however, were borrowed from other parts of speech, and became interjections only by use in animated discourse, as הֵן or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); לֹא ¹ *lo!* (prop. *see*, Imp. of רָאָה); הֵבֵה, plur. הֵבֵי (prop. *give*, Imp. of רָהַב) for *come on! go to!* (L. *age, agite*); לָכֵה (also לָה in Judg. 19, 13), לָכֵי (prop. *go ye*, Imp. of הִלָּךְ) *go to! come on!*¹ הִלֵּילָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*), בִּי (for בְּעִי *entreaty*) *I beseech, pray!* (for *I pray thee*), נָא *now!* (cf. Ethiop. *ná'á*, prop. *hither*, but also *come on!*) a particle of incitement and entreaty (which is put after the expression it belongs to).²

¹ לָכֵה and הֵבֵה stand connected, in this form, also with the feminine and with the plural, which shows that they have quite assumed the nature of interjections.

² The particle נָא serves to express the most various shades of thought, which are exhibited in various places in the Syntax. A short statement must here suffice. נָא stands—*a*) after the Imp. in commanding as well as in entreating (§ 130, 1);—*b*) after the Impf. in the first as well as in the third person (§ 127, 3, *b*, and § 128, 1);—*c*) once after the Perf. (§ 126, 4 in foot Note);—*d*) after various particles, as וְהִנֵּה *behold now*, particularly with conjunctions, as וְאַל-נָא *no! pray (ne quaso)*. אִם-נָא *if now*, εἴποτε, *if*, with a courteous or modest hesitation.—In courteous discourse this particle is used in redundancy, as in Gen. 18, 3, 19, 7, 8, 19, 50, 17.

PART THIRD.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

§ 106.

EXPRESSION OF ADJECTIVES THROUGH SUBSTANTIVES,— THE ABSTRACT FOR THE CONCRETE.

In the Hebrew language, there is a want of adjectives in proportion to the substantives, and some classes of adjectives, such as those of *material*¹, are almost entirely wanting. This deficiency is supplied by substantives, especially in the following ways:—

1. The substantive expressing quality is placed in the genitive after the noun qualified. This is constantly the case in specifying the material, e. g. כְּסֵף כָּלִי כֶסֶף *vessels-of-silver*=*silver vessels*, עֵץ אֲרוֹן עֵץ *ark-of-wood*=*wooden ark*, like the Fr. *des vases d'or*; in like manner אֲחֻזַּת עוֹלָם *eternal possession* Gen. 17, 8, מְרֵי מִסְפָּר *men-of-number* i. e. that can be numbered = *few men* Gen. 34, 30, אֶבֶן חֵן *precious stone* Prov. 17, 8. So likewise even in cases where the language had a corresponding adjective, e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ *garments of holiness*=*the holy garments* Ex. 29, 29; for the use of the adjective קָדוֹשׁ is restricted

¹ A few adjectives of this kind, in the form of *passive participles*, are אֲרִיזָה (denom. from אֲרִי) *of cedar*, קָחוּשׁ *of copper*. On the form קָטוּל as expression of inherent qualities, v. § 50, 3, Rem. 2.

to the expression of certain combinations. Compare hence in the N. Test. $\delta \text{ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας}$ Luke 16, 8. Comp. Fr. *Un homme de bien*.

Rem. 1. Less frequently the substantive which expresses a quality precedes and the other noun follows it in the genitive, as בְּכֹרֵי עֵמְקָיו *the choice of thy valleys*, i. e. *thy chosen valleys* Is. 22, 7 (comp. 17, 4), 37, 24, Gen. 23, 6, Ex. 15, 4. This is the usual construction with the substantive כָּל *totality* used for the adj. *all, whole* (see § 111, 1).

2. Instead of an adjective, which ought to stand as the predicate of a sentence, a substantive is sometimes employed, e. g. Gen 1, 2, *the earth was desolation and emptiness*, Job 3, 4 *let that day be darkness*, Ps 25, 10, 35, 6, 38, 19, 110, 3, Is 5, 12, Job 23, 2, 26, 13, in a few of these cases the periphrasis with the aid of a substantive was necessary, as there existed no corresponding adjective. But in all cases the idea of quality is more strongly expressed by a substantive than by an adjective or verb. The same may be said of the examples where the predicate has been expressed by a substantive with a preposition, as in Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is בְּכֹחַ with power* i. e. *powerful*.

2. Especially, adjectival ideas, denoting the possession of a thing, quality or condition, and the like, are frequently expressed by circumlocution, viz. by substantives (like *man, lord, son, daughter*) with the genitive of the thing, attribute, etc., in the following manner:—

a) אִישׁ *man*, e. g. אִישׁ דְּבָרִים (prop. *man of words*) *eloquent man* Ex 4, 10; אִישׁ דָּעַיָה (prop. *man of knowledge*) *intelligent man* Prov. 24, 5, אִישׁ חֶמֶד *wrathfull man* Prov. 15, 18. — b) בָּעַל *master, owner*, e. g. בָּעַל שָׁעַר *hairly* 2 K. 1, 8, בָּעַל חֲלֻמֹּת *the dreamer* Gen. 37, 19. — c) בֶּן *son* and בִּת *daughter*, e. g. בֶּן דָּוִד *valiant man* 1 K. 1, 52; בֶּן עֹרֵם *an oriental* Gen. 29, 1; בֶּן שָׁנָה *one year old* Ex. 12, 5; בִּת מוֹת *doomed to death = a child of death* 1 Sam. 20, 31; בִּת לֵוִי *worthless woman* 1 Sam. 1, 16; poet. also of a thing without life, as in Is. 5, 1 בְּרִשְׁתָּן *fat ground* (of a fruitful hill); comp. בֶּן לֵוִי Jonah 4, 10.

A bolder construction, and merely poetic, is the use of the simple abstract in place of the concrete, as קִלְעֵל *worthlessness* for בְּרִיךְ or אִישׁ רָע *worthless*, like L. *scelus* for *scelestissimus*. Comp. § 83, Rem. 1.

Rem. On the contrary, forms of adjectives or concretes, especially in the feminine, often take the abstract signification, as has been shown in § 84, 1, 3, 12, etc., comp. § 107, 3, b.

We here remark, also, that the poets employ certain *epitheta ornantia* alone instead of the substantive to which the attribute belongs; e. g. אֱמִיר *the Strong*, i. e. *God*; אֱמִיר *strong*, i. e. *the ox*, in Jeremiah *the horse*, רָעַן *majestic, august*, for *the prince* (comp. קָטָא *elatus*, with the same signification); לְבָנָה *white*, i. e. *the moon*. So also רֹבֵץ *lurking*

i. e. *the lurker*, for a *lurking lion* Gen. 4, 7. In Arabic this use of adjectives and participles for substantives is even far more common. Comp. L. *merum* for *vinum*, ὕγρη i. e. *the sea* in Odyss. 1, 97.

§ 107.

INDICATION OF THE GENDERS OF THE NOUNS.

Whether the Hebrew regarded a substantive as feminine is known partly from its feminine termination in the singular (§ 80, 1, 2), and from the feminine ending of the plural (see however § 87, 4) and partly merely from its construction with a feminine predicate. On the indication or non-indication of the gender, and also on the peculiar Hebrew conception of genders, the following has to be noted in particular.

1. The most natural use of it was the express indication of gender in cases where the physical sex of man or beast comes into consideration. Language shows, however, several gradations, according as this natural distinction is more or less prominent in the mind's view. The former is principally the case—

- a) when the female is designated by an entirely distinct word, which, of course, requires no feminine-ending, as *father*, *mother*, in Heb. אָב, אִמָּה; אֵיל *ram*, רֵחַל *ewe*; חֲמֹר *he-ass*, אֲרוֹן *she-ass*;
- b) when the female is indicated only by the addition of the feminine-ending, as אָח *brother*, אֲחֻיָּה *sister*; צָעַן *young man*, צִלְמָה *young woman*; פָּר *ox*, פָּרָה *heifer*; עֵגֶל *he-calf*, עֵגְלָה *she-calf*; the gender is less emphatically distinguished:—
- c) when the feminine gender is shown only by the construction (*communia*), like δ, ἡ βοῦς, δ, ἡ παῖς, as נָמֵל *camel*, *masc.* in Gen. 24, 63, but *fem.* in 32, 16; בָּקָר *masc.* for *male cattle* in Ex. 21, 37, but *fem.* for *female cattle* in Job. 1, 14;
- d) when, without regard to the natural distinction of the sexes, only one form is employed in the same gender to designate both (*epicœna*), as in δ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν; e. g. יָבֵט *he* *masc.*, *a bear robbed of his young* Hos 13, 8 (yet

it is construed as feminine in 2 K. 2, 24, Is. 11, 7); אֵלֶּיָּהּ *fem.*, *ox* in Ps. 144, 14, where however the *con* is intended.

In cases under a, b, c, the more definite designations of the *fem* gender, although existing in the language are often replaced by more general expressions which are used elsewhere only for the masculine, e. g. חַמִּיר as *fem.* for אֶחָיו 2 Sam. 19, 27, and אֵלֶּיָּהּ for אֵלֶּיָּהּ Ps. 42, 2. Compare in German *Gemahl* for *Gemahlin*; on the other hand in Arabic, where the more ancient style avoids the feminine forms e. g. *ba'la mistress*, *arûsa bride*, which become more and more common in later usage. On the other hand בֶּן־נָעַר *boy, youth* being employed also for נַעֲרָה in the Pentateuch, comes from the originally epicene use of נָעַר. But if in Job 1, 19, Ruth 2, 21, נַעֲרִים is used for young people (of both sexes) it is because the idea of the male sex, as the nobler one, predominated and included at the same time, the female sex; comp. *Arab.* 'abawāni, *the two fathers*, i. e. *parents*.

The same sparing use of the designation of sex appears also in other examples; viz. אֲמִנִּי *m. artificer* Prov. 8, 30 (where *wisdom* חֵכֶּמָה *f.* is meant, like *artifex omnium natura* in Plin. 2. 1); מֵת *m. a dead body*, spoken of the corpse of a woman Gen. 23, 4; אֶלֶּיָּהּ for a goddess 1 K. 11, 5; comp. Eng. *friend, teacher*, also Lat. *auctor, martyr*.

Among *epicæne* nouns are found names of whole species of animals, which were regarded as masculine or feminine according as they appeared strong and powerful, or weak and timid; e. g. *m.* בֶּלֶב *dog*, זָאֵב *wolf*; *f.* יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, בֶּרֶךְ *ostrich*, אֶרְנָב *hare*.

2. The use of the feminine-ending for denoting the feminine gender, is most constant in the adjectives and participles. See § 87, 5.

3. Besides objects properly feminine, there are others (nearly the same as those which in Greek and Latin are *neuter*) indicated in Hebrew by the feminine form viz.—

a) *Things without life*, for which the feminine, as the weaker, seemed to be the most suitable designation, as חֶדֶר *side* (of the body), חֶדֶר *side* (of a country), *region, rear* (of a dwelling), קֶדֶח *front or forehead*, בֶּרֶךְ *greave* (from some resemblance). As in the two last examples, so the feminine is often used to transfer the signification of an animate object to a kindred inanimate object (especially of art).

b) Hence *abstract ideas*, which decidedly prefer the feminine form, even when the masculine is also in use; as נִקְמָה *vengeance*, עֲזָרָה *help* (§ 84, 11, 12). Adjectives when used substantively in a *neuter* sense (like τὸ καλόν), commonly take the *fem.* form, as יְדִינָה *right* in

Ps. 5, 10; רָעָה *evil*, *ill-luck*; so also in the plur. fem. גְּדִלוֹת *great things* Ps. 12, 4; נִסְלֵאוֹת (Part. Niph. *wonderful thing*).

c) At times the feminine form is applied, when a *dignity* or *office* is designated, as קְנוֹיִת (prop. *surnames, equally named*) *colleagues*, קְרָנִיר *princes* (like our *highnesses*). Considered more closely, these feminine forms express really abstract ideas, which afterwards had been transferred to concrete individual persons. Undoubtedly the same is the case with אָבוֹת *fathers* (more exactly something like *paternitas*, indicating dignity). Of a somewhat different kind are cases like קֹהֵל *concionator* (designation of *King Solomon* as the preaching wisdom) where the fem. ending serves in a manner to designate the so named personality as being active in that particular direction; comp. סָפֵר as a man's name in Neh. 7, 57, Ezra 2, 55. These words are, however, agreeably to their signification construed with the *masc.* This use of words prevails more extensively in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramæan, e. g. in *Chalīpha* (fem. of *chalīph*, *successor, representative*) Compare in Lat. *magistratus*, Ger. *Herrschaft* (Eng. *lordship*) for *Herr* (Eng. *lord*), *Obrigkeit* for *Oberer*; *Majesty*, *Excellency*, Ital. *podestà*¹, etc.

d) *Collectives*, as אֲרֵיב *wanderer, traveller*, אֲרֵיבָה *caravan* (prop. *that which wanders* for *wanderers*); גִּילָה (from masc. גִּילָה) *a company of exiles*; יִשְׁבֵּי I. 12, 6, Mic. 1, 11, 12, prop. *that which inhabits* for *inhabitants*; אֲרֵיב for *enemies* Mic. 7, 8, 10. So in Arabic often. Comp. the poetic צֶרַח for בְּנֵי צֶר *sons* (= *inhabitants*) of Tyre Ps. 45, 13, צֶמֶר צֶמֶרֶת *my countrymen*. Comp. τὸ ἵπτικόν and ἡ ἵππος for *the cavalry*, ἡ κάμηλος (Herodotus I. 80).

e) But on the contrary the feminine, as the *nomen unitatis* in Arabic, now and then denotes *an individual of a class*, when the masculine is used of the whole class, e. g. סִפִּי *ships, fleet* (1 K. 9, 26, comp. 2 Ch. 6, 18), סִפָּה *single ship* (Jon. 1, 3); שֵׁנִי *hair* (collectively), שֵׁנִיָּה *a hair* (see Judg. 20, 16, 1 Sam. 14, 45, Ps. 40, 13), שִׁיר *song* (mostly collective), שִׁירָה *a song*, so also רֵאקָה *a fig*, נֶפֶחַ *a blossom* (besides the collective נֶפֶחַ Gen. 40, 10), שִׁישָׁה *a lily* (besides שִׁישָׁן), לֶבֶנָה *a brick* Ez. 4, 1 (Arabic *labīna*, also collect. *labīn*), and other instances, although the difference is partly lost sight of in the Hebrew.

4. Many words (besides certain names of objects properly feminine, No. 1, a—d in this section) are more or less regarded as feminine, without having the appropriate ending, but taking the syntactical construction, as if feminine. They belong chiefly to the following classes:

¹ So פָּשָׁה (= *pasha*) is *fem.* in form and inflection, but *mas.* in sense and construction.—Tr.

a) Names of countries and towns, contemplated as mothers¹, or nurses (as it were), of the inhabitants e. g. אַשּׁוּר *f. Assyria*, אִדּוּמָא *f. Idumaea*, צָר *Tyre*; so also the appellative nouns which denote country, city or any locality, or limited space, as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, רֶכֶּל *the world*, עִיר *city*, וָדָר and אֶרֶב *way*, הַחֲצֵר *court*, מַחֲנֶה *camp*, שָׂמַל *the grave*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *north*, דָּרֹם *south*, etc.; at times even מָקוֹם (*place*) is *fem.*, as in Gen. 18, 24 (referring to Sodom), and 2 Sam. 17, 12 in *Kethibh* (where the *Qeri* gives the *masc.*).²

As names of people are commonly masculine, it often happens that the same word is used as *masc.* for the people, and as *fem.* for the country, e. g. יְהוּדָה *m. Jews* Is. 3, 8, *f. Judaea* Lam. 1, 3, אִדּוּמָא *m. Idumeans* Num. 20, 20 and *f. Idumea* Jer. 49, 17.

But names are also construed as *fem.*, even when intended for the people, by a metaphorical use (like the German *die Türkei schließt Frieden*) Job 1, 15, 1 Sam. 17, 21, Is. 7, 2, 21, 2³

b) Many members and parts of the body in man or beast, יָד and כַּף *hand*, אֶצְבַּע *finger*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בֵּרֶךְ *knee*, כַּתֵּף *shoulder*, לֵוֶן *loin*, שׁוֹק *leg*, עֵין *eye*, אוֹז *ear*, זְרוֹעַ *arm*, לָשׁוֹן *tongue*, כְּנָף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*, בֶּטֶן *womb*, probably with reference to their subserviency as mere instruments⁴; and hence also words for *inanimate instruments and utensils*, as חֶרֶב *sword*, יָרֵךְ *peg*, אָרוֹן *ark or chest* (but also *masc.*), בַּד *bucket*, מִטָּה *bed*, נֶעֱל *sandal*, כּוֹס *cup*, also אֶבֶן *stone*, and many others.

c) *Fem.* too are the words for *light, fire*, and other powers of nature, as שֶׁשֶׁשׁ *sun* (also *masc.*), אֵשׁ *fire* (Eth. *Esät*), אֵר *light* Job 38, 32 elsewhere *masc.*), נֹגַהּ *brightness*, also רֵיחַ *wind and spirit*, נְשָׁמָה *breath* and *soul* (both, but rarely, *masc.*), etc.⁵

¹ Thus אִמָּה in 2 Sam. 20, 19, and on Phœnician coins, stands for *mother-city*, *μῆτηρ πόλις* (comp. *μητέρα, mater*), and by the same figure the inhabitants were called *sons of the country*, as *sons of Zion* Ps. 149, 2, *sons of Babylon* Ez. 28, 15 (like *son of the house, son of the womb*).

² As this word מָקוֹם is *masc.* everywhere else, so we find also in the others more or less fluctuation in the gender.

³ Thus applies also to the poetical personification of nations, countries and cities as female beings e. g. Is. 47, 1, 50, 1, 54, 1 seq., Ez. 16, 3, Lam. 1, 1. Therefore also בְּרִידָבָר, בְּרִידָצִין used for a city and its people (see above in No. 3, d), and the styling of a smaller place in dependence on a city as its daughter, as in Josh. 15, 45.

⁴ The *masc.* gender also is found in these nouns in a few cases, as יָרֵךְ Is. 17, 5, שׁוֹק Ex. 29, 27, לָשׁוֹן Zech. 4, 10, כַּתֵּף Ps. 33, 16. Only as *masculine* do we find אָף *nose*, מִצְחָה *front*, צְוֵנוֹ *neck*, עֲרֵב *nape of the neck*, פִּי *mouth*, קָדָם *heel*, זָנָב *tail*.

⁵ The particulars are to be found in the Lexicons. Some of these words have the feminine-ending, as בְּרָשָׁה *brass*, בֶּשֶׂה *beast* (from the root בָּשָׂה *to be time* (for בָּרָה), and yet are now and then construed as masculine, from a misconception as to their origin, taking the פ for a stem consonant.

§ 108.

OF THE PLURAL AND COLLECTIVE NOUNS.

1. Besides the proper plural-endings (§ 87, 1, 2), the language employs some other means for the expression of plurality, viz.—*a*) certain words, with a *collective* signification, which have their corresponding *nomina unitatis*, i. e. nouns which designate an individual of the class, as שׁוֹר *an ox*, בָּקָר *oxen*, e. g. חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *five oxen* Ex. 21, 37, צֹאן *small cattle*, viz. *sheep or goats* (μῆλα), שֶׁה *a single head of the sheep or goats*;—*b*) the feminine-ending (§ 107, 3, *d*);—*c*) nouns which have the proper signification of the singular, but which are also used as collectives, e. g. אָדָם (never pl.) *man, the human race*, אִישׁ *a man*, for *men*, אֹיֵב *enemy* for *enemies*, עֵץ *tree* for *trees*. These words take the article, when all the individuals of the class are included (§ 109, 1). Comp. also § 108, 4, Rem. 1 on the special signification of the plural of certain collectives.

2. On the other hand, the terminations which properly express *plurality* are employed in the expression of other kindred ideas, so that the Hebrew at times uses plural forms where other languages employ the singular. The plural is thus used to denote:—

a) *Extension of space or time*; hence the frequent use of it to express *portions of space, regions or surfaces*, their unity being considered as the compound of an immense number of single particles or dots (comp. L. *loca*), שָׁמַיִם *heavens* (§ 88, Rem. 2), מְרוֹמִים *heights* (of heaven) Job 16, 19, מַיִם *water*, יָמִים *poet. for יָם sea* (as it were the vast surface of the sea), מְקוֹלֵי *place at the feet*, מְקוֹמֵי *place at the head*; *certain portions of the body*, which are parts of its extension,¹ פְּנִים *face* (also *surface, front* in general), צַוְאָרִים *neck*; *spaces of time*, as יָמִים *life*, נְעֻרִים *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*. These latter plurals, however, may perhaps be better explained as intensively expressing the qualities and conditions inhering in the idea of the stem, so that זְקֵנִים expresses really the totality of the conditions of a זָקֵן. Such a comprehension into an abstract idea certainly takes place in cases like בְּתוּלִים *virginity*, פְּעֻזִּים *perverseness*, שְׁבִלִים *childlessness*, סְנֵינִים *blindness*. Comp. the prepositions of space and time in pl. form, § 103, 3.

¹ Comp. the same use of the *plur.* in τὰ στέρνα, τὰ ὠτα, τὰ πράχνηλα, *præcordia, cervices, fauces*.

b) Might, power and greatness. These so-called *plurales excellentiæ* are analogous to the intensive plural treated in *a*); here the plural serves first to form abstract nouns which express the fundamental idea, raised to a higher power (interiorly multiplied). Of this sort particularly is the plural (of אֱלֹהִים) *God*. Even supposing that the use of this plural originated in a polytheistic view, in the language of the Old Testament it has become completely stripped of numerical multiplicity (so far at least as Elohîm is used of *one* God) and retains only the conception of a being, who is in the highest degree an object of awe and reverence. So too a few times קדושים *the most Holy* (God) Hos. 12, 1, Prov. 9, 10, 30, 3 (comp. Josh. 24, 19 and Aram. עֲלִיּוֹתָי *the Highest* Dan. 7, 18), and תְּפִלָּה L. *penates* always in the plural (even when only one image is meant) 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16. Also most frequently אֲדֹנָי=*lord*, e. g. אֲדֹנָיִם קָשָׁה *a severe lord* Is. 19, 4, אֲדֹנָי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land* Gen. 42, 30, 39, 20, specially with *suff.* of 2d and 3d person, as אֲדֹנֶיךָ *thy lord*, אֲדֹנָי *his lord* (but אֲדֹנִי *my lord*, אֲדֹנִי *the Lord*, God's name, § 121, Rem. 4); so also בָּעַל *master*, with *suff.* often בָּעַלִּי *his master* Is. 1, 3, בָּעַלְיָהּ *her master*. Comp. also עֹשֶׂה *creator* (always with suffix) Is. 22, 11, 54, 5 (with בָּעַלְיָהּ) Ps. 149, 2, Job 35, 10.¹

Rem. 1. This use of the plural, according to letter *b*, is very limited, and very seldom extends beyond the above words, which (except תְּפִלָּה) are used in the singular as well. On the construction of these plurals with adjectives, see § 112, 1, Rem. 3; with verbs, in § 146, 2.

2. The plurals under *a* are also limited in common prose to few words, but in the language of the poets and prophets they are somewhat more frequent, e. g. חֹשֶׁכִּים *tenebræ* (used like our *shades* for dark places), עֲנָנִים and תְּעֵנָנִים *delights*, אֱמוּנָה *faithfulness*, and many others.

3. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and this compound idea is to be expressed in the plural, it is done—*a*) most naturally by the plural form in the governing noun (§ 89, 1), as גִּבְרֵי חַיִּל *valiant heroes* (prop. *heroes of valour*) 1 Ch. 7, 2, 9; so also in compounds, as בְּנֵי־מִינִי *Benjaminite, plur.*

¹ Somewhat similar is the use of *we* by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. 1 Mac. 10, 19, 11, 31); but the plurals in the mouth of God (Gen. 1, 26, 11, 7, Is. 6, 8) are to be explained either as collectives (including the surrounding angels) or, and perhaps more justly, as plurals of reflection (self counsel). The Jewish grammarians call such a plural רְבִיּוּת (plurality *virium* or *virtutum*); the moderns call it *plurales excellentiæ* or *plurales majestaticus*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address, as modern languages have it, is rather remote from the Hebrew usage.

נְבָרֵי חִילִים 1 Ch. 22, 7;—*b*) in *both* nouns, as נְבָרֵי חִילִים 1 Ch. 22, 7, 5, בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *prison-houses* Is. 42, 22, and so בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *sons of God* (not *sons of gods*) Ps. 29, 1;—*c*) also in the *governed* noun only, as בֵּית אָב *father's house, family*, בֵּית אֲבוֹת *families* Num. 1, 2 foll., בֵּית הַבְּמוֹת *the houses of the heights* 2 K. 17, 29, also בְּנֵי הַבָּיִת in 23, 19, בֵּית עֲצֻבֵיהֶם *their idol-houses* 1 Sam. 31, 9. As to this remark, formerly overlooked by the grammarians, compare also Judg. 7, 25 (*the head of Oreb and Zeeb for the heads*). Here the two words, by which the compound idea is expressed, are treated just as a compound noun.¹

When a substantive with suffix is related to a plural, the singular form of the substantive is sufficient because the relation to plurality is sufficiently expressed by the suffix, as פִּימֹו *their mouth for their mouths* Ps. 17, 10, יְמִינֶם Ps. 144, 8, where we also can say *their mouth, their right hand*.

4. To the modes of expressing plurality belongs also the *repetition* of a noun, with or without the conjunction. By this is chiefly indicated *the whole, all, every*, as יוֹם יוֹם *day by day, every day*, אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man*, also אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, יוֹם וְיוֹם Est. 3, 4, דּוֹר וְדּוֹר *every generation* Deut. 32, 7; elsewhere *distributively*, as עֹדֵר לְבָדּוֹ *each flock by itself* Gen. 32, 17, Num. 31, 4; also *a multitude* (in groups), even with the plural form, 2 K. 3, 16, נָבִים נְבִים *ditches in abundance* Joel 4, 14, Ex. 8, 10, also in *constr. st.* with a following genitive, as in Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֲרוֹת הַמֶּרְבַּח *nothing but asphalt-pits*, Judg. 5, 22 (comp. Mark. 6, 39, 40); finally (*with the conjunction וְ*) *diversity, of more than one kind*, just as כָּל signifies *all and of every kind*, e. g. אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *diverse (two) kinds of weights* Deut. 25, 13, Prov. 20, 10; לֵב וְלֵב *a double heart* Ps. 12, 3, 1 Ch. 12, 33.

Not here, but to rhetoric, belongs impassioned repetition of the same noun in exclamations (e. g. Jer. 22, 29, Lam. 1, 16, Ez. 21, 32; also of an adjective, Is. 6, 3), in order to give value, as it were, to its idea in all directions.

¹ All the three methods occur also in Syriac and Ethiopic. See Hoffmanni, Gramm. Syriaca, p. 254; Ludolfi, Gram. Ethiopica, p. 139; Dillmann, Gram. d. Äthiop. Spr., S. 364.

Rem. 1. Coherent substances, materials, etc., are mostly regarded as a *unity*, and therefore occur almost exclusively in the singular, as **בזהב** *gold*, **כסף** *silver*, **עץ** *wood*, **יין** *wine* (yet **מים** *water* is expressed by the plural, acc. to 2 *a*, but in Arabic it is singular). But when the word is used to express *portions*, separated from the totality, then of course the plur. is used, as **כסף** *pieces of silver* Gen. 42, 25, comp. verse 35; **לigna** (*timbers* for building or *sticks* for burning) also pl. *trees*. So of grain, as **חטה** *wheat* (on the stalk), **חטים** *wheat* (in the grain); the same, **שעורה** and **שעירים** *barley*; **דם** *blood* (as organic unity, therefore also the blood of sacrifices collected in a vessel) **דמים** *spilled blood*, revealing itself by a multitude of blood spots (*Pluralis extensus*); however, the use of the plural (e. g. Gen. 10, 4) seems to have been limited to express simply *blood violently spilled* and therefore signifies directly *caedes* or *murder*.

2. In cases where the plural is regarded as poetic, the idea of *plurality* or *extension* is not excluded, e. g. Job 17, 1 *the graves are my portion* (that is *the grave-yard*, where many graves are together), comp. 21, 32, 2 Chr. 16, 14.

3. In some cases the plural designates an indefinite unity; as certainly in Judges 12, 7: **בְּקָדְרֵי גִלְעָד** *in one of the cities of Gilead*; probably also Gen. 8, 4; 13, 12, 19, 29.

§ 109.

USE OF THE ARTICLE.

The article (**ה**, **הַ**, **הָ**, § 35) was originally a demonstrative pronoun (as in other languages, e. g. the Romance, comp. **ὁ**, **ἡ**, **τό** in Homer); yet its force is so slight at least in the language now before us, that it is used almost exclusively as a prefix to the noun

Rem. The stronger demonstrative force of **הַ** (*this*) is still found in some connections, as **הַיּוֹם** (L. *hodie*) *this day, to-day* (in Scotch *the day*), **הַלַּיְלָה** *this night, to-night*, **הַעַתָּה** *this time*. To this demonstrative sense is to be referred in particular,—*a*) the fact, that sometimes it stands for the relative before the verb, e. g. **הַנִּמְצְאוּ** *that are found* 1 Ch. 29, 17, 26, 28, Josh. 10, 24, Ezra 8, 25; likewise according to the view of the Massora Gen. 18, 21, 46, 27, Ruth 1, 22, 4, 3, Is. 51, 10; Job 2, 11; comp. also **הַעֲשֵׂה־הַעֲשֵׂה** 1 Sam. 9, 24;—*b*) the case where it is employed, mostly before a participle, to connect and to point back to a subject noun, in order to make it again prominent, as in Ps. 19, 10 *the laws of the Lord are truth* ver. 11, **הַחֲסִידִים** *they, that are precious*: here the article has nearly the force of **αὐτοί**. Comp. with this Ps. 104, 3 (three times), Is. 40, 22, 23, 46, 6, Gen. 49, 21, Job 5, 10,

41, 25, etc.; further before a participle with a verbal suffix in Ps. 18, 33 הָאֵל הַמְצַחֵנִי *the God that girds me with strength*; comp. ver. 48, Jer. 19, 13, Neh. 10, 38. The attitle is found with like emphasis before substantives in the absolute: Deut 32, 4, Ps. 18, 31 (= *he, the God whose*, etc.).

The article is used with a noun to define its application in nearly the same cases as in Greek, German and English, viz., only when a definite object, i. e. one previously mentioned, is the subject of discourse, e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *God said, Let there be light* (אור), ver. 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאֹר); 1 K. 3, 24 *Bring me a sword* (חֶרֶב), *and they brought the sword* (הַחֶרֶב), comp. Ec. 9, 15; or one regarded as already known, as הַמֶּלֶךְ *the king Solomon*; or the only one of its kind, as הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*. The article is not used when the object is thought of as something indefinite, general or yet unknown, e. g. (besides אור and חֶרֶב above) in Ec. 1, 12 *I was king* (מֶלֶךְ) *over Israel in Jerusalem*.

In *poetry* only, where the article is much less used than in prose, even the definite nouns (as above) may dispense with it, e. g. מִלֶּךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ Ps. 21, 2, אֶרֶץ for הָאֶרֶץ Ps. 2, 2.¹ In all the cases however where the ה of the article is syn-copated after a prefix (§ 35, Rem. 2) the vowel required for the article is in poetry also usually placed after the prefix. Ps 2. 4 al.

Special cases in which the article is usually employed are—

1. When a generic word is used collectively to denote all the individuals belonging to it, as *the righteous*, *the unrighteous* Ec. 3, 17, *the woman* for *the female sex* Ec. 7, 26, *the Canaanite* Gen. 13, 7, 15, 19, 20, just as we say *the Russian*, *the Turk*; so among the Attics ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης.

2. When a generic word is applied by way of *eminence* to a *particular* object and thus becomes a kind of *proper name*, like ὁ ποιητής (Homer), as שׂטן *adversary*, הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary, Satan*; בָּעַל *lord*, הַבָּעַל (prop. name of the idol) *Baal*; הָאָדָם *the (first) man, Adam*; הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ Θεός, *the*

¹ Certain old words, mostly used by the poets, stand always without the article, as *חַיִּים*, *שָׁמַיִל*, *חֶבֶל*, *חֹשֶׁת*, *שֶׁרִי*, *שָׁרִי*, *רֶזֶן*, *אֶלֶף*.

only, true God = יהוה (yet אלהים is often used thus without the article, because it approaches the nature of a *proper name*, § 110, 1). So too הַנָּהָר *the river*, i. e. *the Euphrates*; הַנָּחַל *the circuit*, viz. of the Jordan.

3. Hence it is used also with actual proper names of *rivers, mountains*, and of many *towns*, with reference to their original appellative signification (comp. *the Hague, le Havre*; also our names *the Nore* and *the Nase* = *the nose* i. e. the head-land), as הַיָּאֵר *the Nile* (prop. *the stream*), הַלְבָנוֹן *Lebanon* (prop. *the white*, i. e. mountain), הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (prop. *the descent*, i. e. rapid current). But its use in connection with names of towns is rare, comp. הָעִיר *the town Ai* (prop. *the ruins*), הַגְּבִיעָה lit. *the hill*, הַרְמָה *the height* etc. and in poetry is generally omitted. (Comp. § 110, 1).

Rem. 1. If the Hebrew article ever stands for our *indefinite* article, it is because the Hebrews conceived and expressed many ideas definitely, which we are accustomed to put indefinitely. This is most common in the following cases:—

a) *In comparisons*, where the compared object is not conceived of as individual but as generic (see above No. 1), e. g. *white as the wool, as the snow, red as the scarlet* Is. 1, 18, *as the cattle* Ps. 49, 15, *he flings thee like the ball* Is. 22, 18, *the heavens are rolled up like the scroll* Is. 34, 4, comp. Is. 10, 14, 24, 20, 27, 10, 28, 8, 53, 6, Ps. 33, 7, Judg. 14, 6, 18, 9. Yet where the noun compared is already made definite by an adjective, the article does not stand any more than when a genitive follows, e. g. פָּקֶן Is. 10, 14, but כֶּקֶן מִשְׁלֵחַ 16, 2, Job 30, 14, comp. Ps. 1, 4 with Is. 29, 5. Exceptions to the above usage are rare, as כִּנְבִיר Job 16, 14, קָצֵב 31, 18.

b) *In the names of classes or of materials which are generally known*, e. g. *the gold, the silver, the cattle, the water*. Hence Gen. 13, 2 *Abraham was very rich in the cattle, the silver, and the gold* (where other languages would omit the article). Comp. Gen. 41, 42, Ex. 31, 4, 35, 32, Is. 1, 22. So שָׂרָה בָאֵשׁ to burn in the fire.

c) Often also in the expression of abstract ideas (like τὸ ἁπλοῦς, *la modestie*), hence of physical and moral evils, as *the blindness* Gen. 19, 11, *the darkness* Is. 60, 2, *the falsehood* Is. 29, 21.

On these principles, it is easy to explain the use of the article in special cases, as in הַלֵּוֹי *the lion* 1 K. 20, 36 (comp. 1 Sam. 17, 34, Amos 3, 12 and τὸν λύκον in John 10, 12), Gen. 8, 7, 8, 14, 18, 2 Sam. 15, 3. The frequent הַיּוֹם does not stand simply as referring back to what has been related before (= *the same day*), but also directly for our *one day* (probably on the particular day in which it happened = *a certain day*) 2 K. 4, 18, Job 1, 6, 13.

2. The *vocative* also admits the *article* (as in Greek), and for the most part in those cases where it would usually stand; e.g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 *הַמֶּלֶךְ הַזֶּה* *save, O King* (in the Sept. *σῶσον, ὁ βασιλεὺς, σῶσον*, cf. *χαίρε, ὁ βασιλεὺς* in John 19, 3), *הַיְהוָה הַגָּדֹל* *O Joshua, the high priest* Zech. 3, 8, 1 Sam. 24, 9.

§ 110.

The article is regularly *omitted*¹—

1. Before the *proper name* of a *person* or a *country* (יְרֵד, מצרים), and also of a *people*, when it coincides with the name of the founder of the race or the name of the country (יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲרָם). On the contrary, *gentilic* (p. 211) nouns admit it both in the sing. and plur., as הֶעֱבֵרִים *the Hebrews* 1 Sam. 13, 3, הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite* (collect. § 109, 1).

2. Before substantives, rendered definite by a following genitive or a suffix (§ 111, 1), which renders the use of the article unnecessary; e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *God's word*, אָבִי *my father*.

The exceptions, in which the article stands before the *Nomen regens* (constr. state) or before a noun combined with a suffix, are either only apparent and are removed by a right syntactical analysis or there may be reasonable doubt whether the Massoretic vocalization be correct. Generally are counted here:

a) The cases, where it is alleged that the demonstrative force of the article should be rendered more prominent. This explanation seems admissible in 2 K. 23, 17, yet even there הַקֶּבֶר is not in *constr. state*, but must be explained: *this grave is* (the grave) *of the man of God*, therefore the same breviloquence (for הַקֶּבֶר קִבְרֵי אֵל) as in examples below, *letter c.*—Also Ps. 123, 4 can be explained *Our soul is filled with such scorning* (the scorning) *of those that are at ease*; comp. also Ez. 17, 15, Ezr. 8, 29, 2 Chr. 8, 16. Very doubtful are however: Josh. 8, 33; הַחֲצִי *the (other) half of it* (?), preceded by חֲצִי; Judges 16, 14, where הַיָּד apparently should be read הָיָד; 1 K. 14, 24 where the article which stands usually after כֹּל has been placed erroneously before הַיָּעֶבֶר (comp. Jer. 25, 26); in 2 K. 9, 4 the second הַיָּעֶבֶר has been

¹ In these particulars (relating to the omission of the definite article, viz., before proper names, before nouns in construction with a genitive or with a possessive pronoun, and before predicates), the usage of our language corresponds to that of the Hebrew. The same is true of the Keltic tongues. In Greek it is quite otherwise, the article being freely used in all these cases, except the last.—*Tr.*

caused by the preceding one; in 1 Chr. 15, 27 the text is evidently corrupt. Jer. 32, 12. הַמִּקְדָּשׁ is epexegetis (not genitive) to the absolute אֶת־הַיְּהוֹשֵׁפֶר and in cases like הַמִּנְחָה Is. 9, 12 we have a verbal suffix, therefore accusative. The articles in the following examples may perhaps be considered as syntactical impossibilities: הָאֶחָד Josh. 7, 21, הַנֶּחֱרָה (perhaps a dittography of the *Kaph*), Lev. 27, 23, הַדְּבָרִי Micah 2, 12 (evidently the *v* as copulative to be drawn to the following) לְבָנֶיךָ Prov. 18, 4.

b) When the genitive is a *proper name* which does not admit the article (according to No. 1), as בֵּית־אֵל the altar of Bethel 2 K. 23, 17, אֱלֹהֵי בֵּית־אֵל the God of Bethel Gen. 31, 13, הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר the king of Assyria Is. 36, 16 (but not in the parallel passage 2 K. 18, 31); comp. Gen. 24 67. Jer. 48, 32, Ezek. 47, 15 (comp. 48, 1), so also in the *vocative*, as in הַבָּתּוּלָה O daughter of Jerusalem Lam. 2, 13. According to the first example (2 K. 23, 17) the Massora seems to have adopted everywhere the union of the article with the construct state. But here also it may perhaps be more correct to conceive the nouns with the article as *absolutes*, to which the genitive has been added in a loose connection, whilst, in reality, the *nomen regens* should be repeated without the article e. g. בֵּית־אֵל (אֵל). This is certainly true of cases

c) When the connection between the noun and the following genitive is somewhat loose, so that the first forms a perfect idea by itself, while the second conveys only a supplemental qualification, relating chiefly to the material, as הָאֵבֶן הַבְּרִילִי the weight, the leaden one Zech. 4, 10, הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת the altar of copper 2 K. 16, 14. But in verse 17 even the Massora seems to recognize such a relation of apposition (v. § 113 and § 116, 5) by vocalizing הַבְּרִיקָר, the same in הָאֵרֶן הַבְּרִירִי Josh. 3, 14.

4. Before the predicate, which from its nature is indeterminate, as in Gen. 29, 7 עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *yet is the day great*, i. e. *it is yet high day* 33, 13, 40, 18, 41, 26, Is. 5, 20 הָאֲמָרִים הַטּוֹבִים *who call the good evil*, Is. 66, 3.

Yet there are cases where the nature of the predicate requires the article, as in Gen. 2, 11 הוּא הַסֹּכֵב *it is the encompassing*, i. e. *that which encompasses*; 45, 12 בִּי־פִי הַדֹּבֵר *that my mouth (is) the speaking* = *it is my mouth that speaketh* Gen. 42, 6, Ex. 9, 27. See another case where the article stands before the predicate in § 109, beginning.

§ 111.

1. When a compound idea, expressed by a noun in the *constr. st.* followed by another in the genitive (§ 106), is to be made definite, it is done by prefixing the article to the

second noun; as מלחמה איש *man-of-war* Josh. 17, 1, but אנשי המלחמה *the men-of-war* Num. 31, 49; דבר שקר *word-of-falsehood* Prov. 29, 12, דבר הנביא *the prophet's word* Jer. 28, 9.

Rem. 1. The article is sometimes put in the same way when only the genitive, and not the *nomen regens*, is definite, as חלקה השדה *a part of the field* 2 Sam. 23, 11 (see on the contrary Josh. 24, 2, Gen. 33, 19), האדמה איש *a husbandman* (if not appositional, v. Delitzsch in loc.), Gen. 9, 20 (comp. on the other hand ארש שדה Gen. 25, 27). Yet in this case we usually find another construction chosen in order to avoid ambiguity, see § 115.

2. This explains the use of the article after כל (prop. *totality, the whole*) The article is used after it to express definitely *all, whole* (like F. *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), and is omitted when it is used indefinitely for *of all kinds, any thing*, or distributively for *every (tout homme, à tout prix)*¹, e. g. כל-האדם *all men*, כל-הארץ *the whole earth*, prop. *the whole of men, the whole of earth*; but כל-אבן *stones of all kinds* 1 Ch. 29, 2, כל-דבר *any thing* Judg. 19, 19, בכל-יום *in every day* Ps. 7, 12. Yet also כל-חיה *every living thing*=*all living* Gen. 3, 20 (in the same way כל-עין, כל-עוף, etc.). In regard to the (appositional) placing behind of כל and the absolute use of הכל=*the collective all, everybody*, e. g. Gen. 16, 12, see Davies' Hebr. Lex.

3. Even compound proper names may be resolved again into two words, and then the second takes the article; e. g. בן-ימיני *a Ben-jaminite* (§ 86, 5), בן-יהימיני *the Benjamine* Judg. 3, 15, בית-הלחמי *the Bethlehemite* 1 Sam. 17, 58.

2. When the substantive has the article, or (what is equivalent) is made definite by a following genitive or a suffix, then the adjective belonging to it also (including the demonstrative pronoun זה, הוא, § 122, 1), takes the article; as העיר הגדולה *the great city* Gen. 10, 12; המקום ההוא *that place* 28, 19; ידה החזקה *thy strong hand* Deut. 3, 24; מעשה יהוה הגדול *the great work of God* Deut. 11, 7.

Not quite rare is the use of the article also—

- a) With the adjective alone, and it then serves to make the preceding noun definite, e. g. יום השישי *day the sixth*=*the sixth day* Gen. 1, 31 (on the contrary שני יום *a second day* 1, 8), 41, 26, 1 Sam. 19, 22, Is. 7, 20, Ps. 62, 4, 104, 18, Neh. 3, 6, 9, 35, Zech. 14, 10. On the other hand נשש Gen. 1, 21, 9, 10 has already been defined by כל. When the adjective is properly a participle, the omission of the article is the

¹ What is here said of כל applies also to its Greek equivalent, πᾶς; e. g. πᾶσα ἡ πόλις *the whole city* (Mat. 8, 34)=כל-העיר, but πᾶσα πόλις *every city* (Mat. 12, 25)=כל-עיר.—Tr.

general rule as in Jer. 46, 16 חֶרֶב דִּיּוּקָהּ *the sword that oppresses*; this omission is quite necessary in cases of inversion as Is. 11, 9. Rarely stands the article

- b) With the substantive alone, as in חַמֻּסִּים רַבִּים *the many nations* in Ez. 39, 27, 2 Sam. 6, 3 (where perhaps the article before חַמֻּסִּים has been dropped erroneously before חַ). Somewhat more frequently the article is wanting with the pronouns הוּא, הֵיאָה, which are sufficiently definite of themselves, and for the same reason always with זֶה; as הוּא הָיָה Gen. 19, 33, comp. 38, 21, זֶה הָיָה Ps. 12, 8, הוּא הָיָה 1 Sam. 2, 23, particularly when the noun is made definite only by a suffix, as in הוּא הָיָה 1 K. 10, 8, comp. Ez. 10, 1, Josh. 2, 20, Ez. 43, 12, Ps. 143, 10, Judg. 16, 5, 6, 15. Designedly indefinite is הָיָה *an evil report respecting them* Gen. 37, 2 (הָיָה הָיָה would be *their evil report*), compare Num 14, 37, 1 Sam. 2, 23; in Gen. 42, 19 אֶחָדְכֶם means *one of your brethren*, Gen. 43, 14.

§ 112.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

1. The adjective, which serves to qualify the substantive, stands *after* it, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number* (as אִשָּׁה יָפָה, אִישׁ גָּדוֹל). If the substantive is qualified by an intervening noun in the genitive (§ 114), then the adjective stands after such noun, e. g. עֲטֹרֶת זָהָב גְּדֹלָה *a great crown of gold* Est. 8, 15.—On the setting of the article in this construction, see § 111, 2.

Rem. 1. The cases in which an adjective (according to the usual explanation, on account of special emphasis) seems to stand before its substantive are based almost entirely rather upon an appositional relation; comp. Is. 10, 30 בְּנֵי אֲנָחִי *Oh! the wretch, Anathoth!* 28, 12: בְּתוּלַת בְּתֻרִי *thou disgraced one, virgin daughter of Zidon!* in 28, 21 וְנָקְרָא and נָקְרָא are predicates placed before; 53, 11: צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי *a righteous one, my servant*; Ps. 18, 4 מְזֻלָּה אֶתְהַלַּל *The praised one I call, Jehovah*. On the other hand רַבִּים *many*, is sometimes placed before the substantive in the way of a numeral without any seeming intention to indicate appositional relation; comp. Ps. 32, 10, 59, 15, Neh. 9, 28 (in Ps. 145, 7 רַב is a governing substantive).—Rare and mostly poetic is the form of expression הַבָּנִים הַנְּקִיִּים *smooth ones of stones* for *smooth stones* 1 Sam. 17, 40, Ez. 7, 24, Is. 35, 9, and with a collective noun instead of the plural, אֲנָשֵׁי אֲדָמָה *the poor of men* = *the poor* Is. 29, 19, Jer. 49, 20, Zech. 11, 7, Hos. 13, 2. Similar is the Lat. *canum degeneres*. However in all these cases the adjective treated as *nomen regens* has a great stress and amounts almost to a superlative.

2. When substantives of the feminine gender take *two* adjectives, the feminine form sometimes appears only in the one which stands nearest the substantive; as *תְּלֹאֲכָה נִמְכְּרָה וְנָמַס* 1 Sam. 15, 9, *רִתָּח גְּדִלָּהּ* 1 K. 19, 11, Ps. 63, 2. Comp. § 147, Rem. 1.

3. In regard to *number*, it is first to be noticed, that the nouns in the dual take the adjectives or participles in the plural, as *עֵינַיִם דְּמוּר* *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17, Ps. 18, 28, Job 4, 3, 4, Is. 35, 3. Comp. § 88, 1. Moreover, the *constructio ad sensum* is frequent; so that collectives are construed with the plural of the adjective or participle in 1 Sam. 18, 15, Is. 9, 1, Jer. 28, 4; but the *pluralis majestatis* (§ 108, 2, *b*) on the contrary with the singular, as *אֲלֹהִים צָרִיךְ* Ps. 7, 10, Is. 19, 4 (but with the *plur.* in 1 Sam. 17, 26).

2. An adjective often has its meaning more nearly defined by a substantive, which then follows it in the genitive case, as *יְפֹת־חַוָּר* *beautiful of form* Gen. 39, 6, *נְקִי כַפַּיִם* *pure of hands* Ps. 24, 4, *אֲנָמִי נֶשֶׁם* *sorrowful of spirit* Is. 19, 10 (comp. L. *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*). In the same manner are often construed the *participles* and *verbal adjectives*, if they are not accompanied by the accusative (as the case belonging to their verb); see § 135.

3. On the adjective as predicate of the sentence, see §§ 144—148.

§ 118.

APPPOSITION.

By this is meant the placing together of two substantives, so that one of them (commonly the second¹) serves to limit or qualify the other, as *אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה* *a woman (who is) a widow* 1 K. 7, 14, *נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה* *a damsel (who is) a virgin* Deut. 22, 28, *אֱמָרִים אֱמֶת* *words (which are) truth* Prov. 6, 12, 22, 21, Job 20, 29, 27, 13. On cases where the first of the two substantives (before a following *constr. st.*) has the form of the *constr. st.*, see § 116, 5. Elsewhere, substantives which might be expected to be in apposition, stand also in a relation of subordination, e. g. *פָּרָא אָדָם* *a wild ass of a man*; comp. Prov. 15, 20, 21, 20.

¹ The first only in certain formulas, as *דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ שְׁלֵמֹה*, *דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ* like the Ger. *der König David*, Eng. *the king David*, where the arrangement *דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ שְׁלֵמֹה* 2 Sam. 18, 39, is of rare occurrence.

Also two adjectives may stand in apposition, in which case the first modifies the sense of the second, as בְּהָרוֹת כְּחוֹת לְבָנוֹת *pale white spots* Lev. 13, 39, in verse 19 בְּהָרֹת לְבָנָה אֲרָמֶהֶמֶת *a white red (bright red) spot*.

See more on apposition in § 116, Rem. *b*, § 118, 3, § 120, 1, 2, § 121, *3*.

§ 114.

OF THE GENITIVE.

1. It has been shown above (in § 89), that the Hebrew regularly expresses the genitive-relation by making the noun in the genitive (*nomen rectum*) dependent upon, and closely connected with, the *nomen regens* in the *constr. st.* A genitive is regularly dependent upon only one governing noun.¹ The language avoids, also, letting a noun in the *constr. st.* be followed by several genitives connected by *and* (ו), and prefers in that case to repeat the *nomen regens*; e. g. Gen. 24, 3 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of the heavens and the God of the earth*, Jer. 8, 1. But there may be formed a chain of construct states by one governed noun becoming again the governing noun of a genitive depending on it. Even then the repetition of the *constr. st.* has indeed often been avoided by means of a circumlocution (see § 115), however comp. יְמֵי שָׁנִי הַיּוֹם אֲבוֹתַי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers* Gen. 47, 9 שְׂאֵר מִסְפַּר־קֶשֶׁת גְּבוּרֵי בְנֵי־קֶדָר *the residue of the number of the bows of the heroes of the sons of Kedar* Is. 21, 17.

In these examples (comp. also Is. 10, 12, Job 12, 24 and others) all the nouns except of course the last genitive are in the *construct state*. Yet we find also examples where a genitive in the midst of a chain stands in the absolute forming together with its governing noun a compound idea, from which (but principally from the governing noun) depends the following genitive. Thus, in Is. 28, 1 גֵּיא שְׁאֵנִים חֲלוּמֵי יַיִן *the fat valley (prop. valley of fatness) of the smitten of wine*, 1 Ch. 9, 18, Ps. 68, 22.

¹ It would be quite unusual to say בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד *the sons and daughters of David*, which ought to be expressed by בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנוֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters*. But see Ez. 81, 16, Is. 11, 2 *knowledge (of Jehovah) and fear of Jehovah* (compare the Biblical Greek in Mat. 6, 33 γῆρας βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φόβος κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτοῦ).

2. The governing noun may be followed not only by the so-called *subjective* genitive, indicating possessor, originator, etc., but also by the so-called *objective* genitive, e. g. Ez. 12, 19 חַמַּס הַשְּׁבִיִּים *the wrong which the inhabitants did*, but otherwise in Obad. verse 10 חַמַּס אָחִיךָ *the wrong against thy brother*¹ (comp. Gen. 16, 5, חַמַּסִּי *the wrong done to me*), Prov. 20, 2 אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ *the dread of a king*, יִרְאַת יְהוָה *the fear of the Lord*, זַעֲקַת סֹדֶם *the cry concerning Sodom* Gen. 18, 20, שְׁמַע צָר *the report about Tyre*, שָׁלַל אֵיבֶיךָ *the spoil of (taken from) thy foes* Deut. 20, 14; further, דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ *way of (i. e. to) the tree* Gen. 3, 24, Prov. 7, 27, Job 38, 20; דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם *way of (by) the sea* Is. 8, 23, זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים *sacrifices of (pleasing to) God* Ps. 51, 19, שְׁבָעַת יְהוָה *an oath of (i. e. sworn by the name of)* יְהוָה 1 K. 2, 43.

3. The genitive construction stands also frequently in place of apposition (§ 113), as נַהַר פָּרַת *river of Euphrates*; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן etc. see more in § 116, 5.

Rem. 1. Between the noun in the *constr. st.* and the following genitive an insertion of a word seems to occur in Hos. 14, 3 (חַיָּי after בָּל-), 2 Sam. 1, 9 and Job 27, 3 (עוֹר after בָּל-). In truth, however, in all these three examples the construct state has been abolished by *hypallage* (for עוֹר בָּל- etc.) and therefore 2 Sam. 1, 9 may for instance be explained thus: *for as a totality my soul is still in me = my whole soul*.

2. As the genitive always gives a closer definition of the noun standing in the construct state, proper nouns cannot really stand in *stat. constr.* because by nature they are already defined. Combinations in which nevertheless proper nouns stand in *constr. st.* are based on breviloquence which suppresses the appellative idea contained in the proper noun. So especially with geographical names, as in אֵי כַשְׂדִּים *Ur (city) of the Chaldees* Gen. 11 28, אֲרָם נַחֲרָיִם *Aram (the region) of the two rivers = Mesopotamia*; so also יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah of hosts* for אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah the God of hosts* (2 Sam. 5, 10 et al.) comp. § 116, Rem.

¹ In Latin the genitive is similarly used after *injuria* (Cæs. B. Gall. I, 30), *metus* (like *metus hostium*, *metus Pompei*), *spes*, and other words. Comp. Aul. Gell. 9, 12. In Greek compare εἴς τοις αὐτοῖς φίλων, πίστεως τοῦ θεοῦ, λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ 1 Cor. 1, 18.

§ 115

EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE BY CIRCUMLOCUTION.

Besides the indication of the genitive-relation by the *construct state* (see in § 89, and § 114), there are certain *periphrastic expressions*, chiefly by means of the preposition ל, which among others denotes the idea of *belonging to*, and this corresponds to the genitive relation. Accordingly, we find—

1. אשר, used principally for the genitive of *possession*, as רִמְיָאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ Gen 29, 9, 47, 4 *the flock of her father* (prop. *the flock which to her father belonged*), and also where there would be several successive genitives (to avoid the repetition of the *constr. st.*, but see § 114, 1), as אֲבִיר הָרָעִים אֲשֶׁר לְשָׂאוֹל *the chief of the herdsmen of Saul* 1 Sam. 21, 8, שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְסֹלֹמֹן *the song of songs of Solomon* Cant 1, 1 (an obvious effort to retain the usual juxtaposition of the two words שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים) 2 Sam 2, 8, 1 Chron 11, 10 and for reasons given § 114, Note, Gen 40, 5 (Hence came the Rabbinic sign of the genitive שְׁלֵ—של comp Cant 1, 6, 3 7, in Aramaic, the simple relative די or ד serves as sign of the genitive)

2. ל (without אשר), which also denotes the genitive of *belonging to* and of *possession*,¹ as לְשָׂאוֹל הַצִּיִּים *the scouts of Saul* 1 Sam. 14, 16. This is used particularly, — a) when the governing (or first) noun is expressly regarded as *indefinite*, e g בֶּן לִיֶּשֶׁי a son of Jesse 1 Sam 16, 18 (whereas בֶּן יֶשְׁעִי signifies *the son of Jesse*), בֶּרֶךְ לֹאֵל עֲלִיּוֹן a priest of the most high God Gen 14, 18, 41, 12, שְׁנֵי עֲבָדִים לְשִׁמְעִי two servants of Shimei 1 K 2, 39, אֹהֵב לְדָוִד a friend of David (was Hiram) 1 K. 5, 15, מִזְמֹר לְדָוִד a psalm of David (i. e. belonging to him as the author), and elliptically לְדָוִד of David Ps 11, 1, 14, 1, cases like לְדָוִד מְזֻמָּר (e. g. Ps. 24, 1) cannot be considered simply as an *hypallage*, but מ is an *epexegetis* to the generic word, omitted before 'לְדָוִד'. Altogether the introduction of the author, poet, etc by the so-called ל *auctoris* is also customary in the other Semitic dialects, especially in the Arabic. — b) when several genitives depend on one substantive, e. g. הַלְקָה הָאֲשֶׁרָה

¹ Philologically considered, the Gascon says no less correctly *la fille à Mr N.*, than the written language *la fille de* —, the former expresses the idea of *belonging*, the latter that of *descent*. The Arabians distinguish a two-fold genitive, viz. one which has the force of ל, and one which has that of מן. We have the latter conception of this relation in the *de* of modern languages, that are derived from the Latin (the Romance languages). In Greek we may compare the so-called *σχετικὰ Κοινωνιστικῶν*, e g. ἡ καφαλή τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (see Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88)

לְבִצֵּי *the portion of the field of Boaz* Ruth 2, 5, 2 K. 5, 9,
 לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel* 1 K. 15, 31,
 רָאשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת לְמִשְׁחוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Josh. 19, 51, where the sets of more
 closely-connected nouns which form one conception (*chronicles, kings*
of Israel, heads of families, etc.) are joined by means of the *constr. state*,
 while the ל stands between the sets to indicate a looser connection
 (yet comp. § 114, 1);—c) after specifications of number, e. g. בַּשְּׁבִיעִי
 וְעַשְׁרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the seven and twentieth day of the month* Gen.
 8, 14, 7, 11.

§ 116.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

The *construct state*, so far as it serves to put one noun in close connection with the following word or combination of words is, in the flow of speech, used not only for the genitive-relation, but also—

1) Before prepositions, particularly in the more elevated style, and oftenest when the governing word is a participle, e. g. before ב, as שִׂמְחָה בַּקְצִיר *the joy in the harvest* Is 9, 2 (v. also verse 1), 5, 11, 19, 8, Ps. 2, 12; before ל, as מִצְפוֹן לְעִיר *on the north of the city* Josh. 8, 13, אֶחָדִי לָנוּם Is 56, 10, 30, 18, Ez. 1, 27, Ps. 58, 5, Lam. 2, 18, Job 18, 2, 24, 5; before אַל Is. 14, 19; before מִן, as גְּמוּלִי מִחֶלֶב *weaned from milk* Is. 28, 9; before עַל in Judg. 5, 10; before the *Nota Accus.* Jer. 33, 22.

2) Before the relative pronoun (or more correctly in genitive relation with the whole phrase introduced by אֲשֶׁר, see No. 3), e. g. מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where*—Gen. 39, 20, 40, 3, Lev. 4, 24, 33, 2 Sam. 15, 21, 1 K. 21, 19, Jer. 22, 12.

3) Before relative clauses with the אֲשֶׁר understood, e. g. קִרְיָה הָיָה דָּוִד *the castle where David pitched his tent* Is. 29, 1, מְקוֹם לֹא יָדַע אֵל *the place of him who knows not God* Job 18, 21, 29, 2, 1 Sam. 25, 15, Ps. 90, 15. Comp. § 123, 3, Rem. 1.

4) Rarely even before *Wāw copul.*, as הַקְּמַחַת הָרֵעִת Is. 33, 6, 35, 2, 51, 21, Ez. 26, 10.

5) In appositions (viz., as far as an actual genitive-relation does not take place, as in § 114, 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁה מַעֲלַת אֵיבָר *a woman, mistress of a soothsaying spirit* (comp.

παῖδισα ἑξ ἑσσε πνεῦμα πύθωνος Acts 16, 16; so also in בַּת צִיּוֹן *virgin daughter of Zion* Is. 37, 22, comp. 19, 11; 23, 12, Gen. 14, 10; Deut. 33, 19, 2 Sam. 20, 19, 2 K. 10, 6, 17, 13 *Q'ri* Jer. 14, 17, 46, 9, Ps. 78, 9.

Partly at least those places may also be explained in the following manner. There exists a real genitival relation, but the first *constr. state* has been left in suspense, in consequence of the insertion of a permutation in its place; elsewhere (Ps. 68, 34, Job 20, 17) probably there takes place a direct leaning on the following construct state.

6) Also in other cases of closer connection in the expression; thus, at times (even with small distinctives) we have אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 17, 22, Zech. 11, 7, Gen. 48, 22, Is. 27, 12. Compare besides the *constr. st.* in the numerals from eleven to nineteen (§ 97, 2).

Rem. When in the above cases the *absolute st.* could in general stand quite as well as the *construct*, there are yet other constructions where the *constr. st.* might be expected rather than the *absolute*. Thus, for example—

- a) In geographical names like אָבֶל בֵּית מַצְכָּה *Abel Bêth-Ma'achâ*¹ (i. e. Abel of Beth-Ma^acha, to distinguish it from other places called Abel). Comp. on the contrary, § 114, Rem. 2.
- b) In some other cases, seemingly, where the connection is not close enough for the genitive-relation, so that the second noun must rather be considered as in apposition (§ 113) to the first. Here belongs Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן הַרְעֵלָה not *wine of reeling*, but rather *wine that causes, reeling*, Ez. 47, 4 מַיִם בְּרֵיכִים *water up to the knees*; Is. 30, 20 מַיִם לַחֲרִיץ *water of affliction*, i. e. *water in affliction* (in prison). Comp. 1 K. 22, 27, Is. 3, 24 and the thorough explanation of this specially Semitic locution by Fleischer in the treatise: „Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab. (Berichte über die Verhandl. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1862, S. 10 ff.).
- c) In the expression אֱלֹהִים צָבָאוֹת *God hosts*, elliptical for אֱלֹהִים אֲלֵהֶם *God (the God) of hosts*, אֲלֵהֶם having here the value of a proper noun; so also the same ellipsis in יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת (comp. § 114, 3, Rem. 2).

INDICATION OF THE OTHER CASES.

1. Since the Hebrew language has lost the living use of *case-endings* (§ 90), we must inquire what substitutes it

¹ So in English, *Bedford Street, Covent-garden*, for *near Covent-garden*. But in Latin the genitive is used in such cases, as *Augusta Vindelicorum*.

adopted for expressing the various case-relations of nouns in a sentence. The *nominative* is always to be known (as generally in English and always in Welsh) only from the syntactical construction. So also the *vocative*, which is really identical with it. On the modes of expressing the *genitive*, see §§ 114—116. Of the other cases for which the Indo-germanic languages have either throughout (as the Sanscrit) or at least in part, special forms of inflection, the *dative* is periphrastically indicated by ל (to),¹ the *ablative* by מן (from, out of), the *locative* and *instrumental* mostly by ב (in, at, by); but the Shemite regarded the nouns dependent on these prepositions as *genitives*, because the particles were themselves originally nouns; and in Arabic they have also the genitive-ending. Comp. § 101, 1.

On the use of the dative particle ל, so far as it serves to express also our genitive, see § 115, 1, 2.

2. The *accusative*, when expressing *direction* or *motion* to a place, has still frequently its ending ה־ (§ 90, 2). Else it is, like the *nominative*, to be known only from the structure of the sentence. Yet we may often know it by the אֶת or אַתָּה (before suffixes also אֶת or אֶתָּה), put before it, which, however, is used only when the noun in the accusative is made definite by the article, the construct state, a suffix, or otherwise (Gen. 6, 2, 2 Sam. 13, 17, 18, 18), or is a proper name. Such is the usage in prose, but not so much in poetry; e. g. Gen. 1, 1 אֶת הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם (on the contrary, אֶרֶץ הַשָּׁמַיִם Gen. 2, 4), 2, 24, 6, 10.²

¹ Just as the Lat. preposition *ad* in the Romance tongues (Ital. *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Span. *á*) and *to* in Eng. are used to indicate periphrastically the dative.

² אֶת or אַתָּה (this form prob. used only before the so-called light suffixes, § 103, 1, Rem. 1), אֶת (without the accent in close connection with the following word) and אַתָּה (with a tone-long ē), Phœnician אֶת (prob. *yath*, the Punic also pronounce *yth*), Arab. before suff. 'yayā, Aram. *yāth*, *yāth*, was originally a substantive, which signified *essence*, *substance*, *self* (like the Syr. ܐܬܐ, comp. Heb. אֶת a sign), but in construction with a following noun or suffix it stands for the pronoun *ipse*, αὐτός (comp. a similar usage in § 124, Rem. 3). But in common use it has so little stress, that it only points out a definite object. Its force is here as feeble as that of the oblique cases αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ, αὐτόν; *ipse*, *ipsum*; Germ. *derselben*, *demselden*, *denselben*; and the Hebrew אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν

Rem. The cases are rare in which **ל** stands before an indefinite noun, but more are found in the loftier style, where the article also may be omitted before a noun that is definite according to the sense (§ 109), as Prov. 13, 21 **לֹא-צִדִּיקִים**, Is. 50, 4, Job 13, 25, Ezek. 43, 10; very few occur in prose, like 1 Sam. 24, 6 (where, however, the noun is made definite by the context), Ex. 2, 1 where perhaps the proper name (Jokhèbed) has been dropped after **אִרְיָה**.

§ 118.

USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE.

The accusative is employed—1) as the object of the transitive verbs (§ 138); but serves also—2) for what are rather adverbial expressions, where it is no longer governed immediately by the verb.

The second of these usages is undoubtedly derived from the first, and to this still belong several constructions in which the accusative is commonly supposed to be used adverbially (§ 138, 1, Rem. 3). But we are not therefore authorised at all to reject the adverbial use of the accusative.

Accordingly, the accusative is employed—

1. In designations of *place* (*accusativus loci*);—a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion, as **יֵצֵא הָעָרָה** *let us go out into the field* 1 Sam. 20, 11, **לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ** *for to go to Tarshish* 2 Ch. 20, 36, Ps. 134, 2, Ex. 4, 9;¹—b) in

(comp. **αὐτὴν Χρυσήδα** Il. i. 143) *it, the heaven*, is not stronger than **τὸν οὐρανόν**.—That **ל** may denote also the nominative, is from its original signification (see above) not of itself inconceivable, and it seems to occur so in Hag. 2, 17, Dan. 9, 13 (hardly however Eccl. 4, 3). Elsewhere (1 Sam. 17, 34 *and with the bear*) the preposition **ל** with *is* rather meant, and in Josh. 22, 17, Neh. 9, 32 (both times after an idea of want) as well as 2 Sam. 11, 25, it may be considered as a loosely governed accusative, which it certainly indicates when connected with the passive (comp. 2 K. 18, 30) see § 143, 1, a.—The accusative actually precedes in Ez. 35, 10; 44, 3 (in both cases **ל** has the sense of the Lat. *quod attinet ad*).—In Ez. 47, 17, 19 (comp. 43, 7) **ל** stands for **לָא** and ought rather to be so emended in the text; comp. ver. 20; but the LXX already, which only in v. 18 have **ταῦτα**, know hardly any other reading than **ל**, and this, therefore, in all these cases has to be considered as *Nota accus.*, dependent on some word which must be supplied, as *ecce* (LXX 43, 7: **ἐδράμας**) 47, 17 ff. perhaps as much as: *there hast thou*.

¹ So in the Greek, but only poetically, Il. i, 317 **αἰσση δ' οὐρανὸν ἔχεν**; Lat. *rus ire, Romam profectus est*, and generally so in Sanskrit.

answer to the question *where?* after verbs of rest, as בֵּית אָבִיךָ *in the house of thy father* Gen. 38, 11, Is. 3, 6, פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל *in the door of the tent* Gen. 18, 1. Then also—*c*) with reference to *space and measure*, in answer to the question *how far?* Gen. 7, 20 *the water rose fifteen cubits*.

In the cases *a* and *b*, especially the first, the accusative-ending ׀ is often appended, on which see § 90, 2. The first relation may also be expressed by אֵל (as it commonly is with reference to persons), and the second by ב; but we are by no means to suppose that, where these particles are omitted, they must be supplied.

2. In designations of *time*;—*a*) in answer to the question *when?* as הַיּוֹם *the day* i. e. *on the day, then*; or *on this day, to-day* or *by day* (= יוֹמָם); עֶרֶב *at evening* (= לְעֶרֶב); לַיְלָה *by night*; צַהֲרָיִם *at noon* Ps. 91, 6; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׁעִירִים *at the beginning of barley harvest* 2 Sam. 21, 9 (*K^ethibh*);—*b*) in answer to the question *how long?* שְׁנָה שְׁנָה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנִים *twelve years (long)* Gen. 14, 4; שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים *six days (long)* Ex. 20, 9; עוֹלָמִים *for eternal ages* 1 K. 8, 13; also with the article and אֵת in Deut. 9, 25 הַלַּיְלָה אֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַלַּיְלָה *the 40 days and the 40 nights (long)*.

3. In other adverbial expressions, where we say *in regard* or *respect to*, etc. as Job 41, 7 *in the manner of a closed seal*, Gen. 41, 40 הַכֶּסֶּא אֲנִיךְ מִמֶּנִּי *only in respect to the throne will I be greater than thou* (accus. of measure); 2 Sam. 21, 20 *four and twenty* מִסְפָּר *in number* (comp. τρεῖς ἀριθμοί); Job 1, 5 *he brought burnt-offerings* כָּלֵם מִסְפָּר *according to the number of them all*; 1 K. 22, 13 אֶחָד פִּה *with one mouth* i. e. *with one voice* (acc. of instrument); comp. Zeph. 3, 9 *they served God* אֶחָד שִׁכְמָם *with one shoulder* i. e. *with one mind*; Job 24, 7 צָרוֹם *naked* (acc. of condition) *thy lodge*. With a following genitive, יִירָא מִתְּמָר *for fear of thorns* (accus. of cause) Is. 7, 25. Here belong also cases like מִשְׁנֵה-זָכָה *the double in money* Gen. 43, 15, שְׁנֵתָיִם יָמִים *two years' time* Gen. 41, 1; on the other hand אִיֶּפָה שְׁעִירִים *an ephah of barley* Ruth 2, 17 may rather be taken as a case of apposition (§ 113).

Similar cases of a more free use of the accusative in connection with verbs are explained in § 138 and § 139. By the same process, carried still farther, many substantives have come to be distinctly recognised as adverbs (§ 100, 2, *b*).

Rem. Similar reference to place, time, etc., may be denoted by a noun when it is connected with כִּי (*as, according to, after the manner of*), this prefix being originally a substantive, comp. the Lat. *instar*. Thus,—a) of place; כִּי בָרֶחֱלִים *as in their pasture* Is. 5, 17, 28, 21, כִּי לְבוּשׁ *as in attire* Job 38, 14; כִּי בְחֵלִים *as in a dream* Is. 29, 7, comp. 23, 15;—b) of time, especially in the forms כִּי יוֹם *as the day=as in the day* Is. 9, 3, Hos. 2, 5; כִּי יָמִי *as in the days of—*, Hos. 2, 17, 9, 9, 12, 10, Amos 9, 11, Is. 51, 9;—c) with another reference, as in Is. 1, 25 *I will purge away thy dross as with lye*; Job 28, 5 כִּי אֵשׁ *after the manner of fire=as by fire*; כִּי אֶבֶן *after the manner of the stone*, i. e. *as into stone* (the water is gathered in freezing) Job 38, 30; 29, 23 כִּי מָטָר *as for the rain* (they waited for me).

Rarely a preposition is used after such a כִּי, e. g. כִּי בְרֵאשִׁית Is. 1, 26, 1 Sam. 14, 14.

In all the above cited cases the כִּי must be considered as an adverbial accusative; however a substantive with כִּי may, by virtue of the substantive signification of the latter stand either for the accusative or for the nominative relation.

§ 119.

HOW TO EXPRESS THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.¹

1. The *comparative* is expressed by the adjective followed by the particle מִן (מִי) *from* prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 מְלִיחָה מִכָּל־הָעָם *taller than* (lit. *tall in distinction from*) *all the people*, Judg. 14, 18 מְחֹק מִחֹק מִדְּבַשׁ *sweeter than honey*; so also after verbs, especially those denoting an attribute, as וַיִּגְבֶּה מִכָּל־הָעָם *and he was taller than all the people* 1 Sam. 10, 23; אָהַב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו *he loved Joseph more than all his* (other) *sons* Gen. 37, 3, Job 4, 17, 7, 6.

Upon the same signification of מִן (referring originally to space indicating the starting point, and a separation from something) is

¹ There exists in Arabic a special form of the adjective for the comparative and superlative, which would be like أَكْثَل. Perhaps of this origin are أَكْثَرُ *cruel*, أَكْثَرُ *deceptive* (of a drying up brook), and its opposite أَثَرُ (contr. from 'aithan) *constant, perennial*. However these forms are also used without any perceptible emphasis and might, at most pass for isolated remainders of a former comparative and superlative formation, in the same way as the Lat. comparative disappears in the Italian, and still more in French, and its place is supplied by circumlocution (with *più, plus*).

based also its use in expressions like *בְּתָר מִן* Job 7, 15, *מן eminence over* Ec. 2, 13; comp. Deut. 14, 2, which the Hebrew conceived as a separating *from*, marking *out*. (Compare the Latin ablative with the comparative, also the etymology of the Latin words *eximius*, *egregius*, and in Homer *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα* Il. iv. 96, and simply *ἐκ πασέων* xviii. 431). Hence the signification *more than* connects itself with the fundamental signification-*out from*.

The adjective upon which *מן* logically depends must sometimes, by virtue of a pregnant use of the *מן*, be supplied from the connection, e. g. Is. 10, 10 *פְּסִילֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַם* *their idols are more numerous (mightier) than those in Jerusalem*, Micah 7, 4 *מִפְּסִיכָהּ* (sharper) *than a thornhedge*, Job 11, 17 *מִצְהָרִים* *clearer than noon*.

The correlative comparatives, such as *greater*, *less*, are expressed simply by *great*, *little*, Gen. 1, 16.

2. The several modes of expressing the *superlative*, amount all to this, that, in all of them the *positive form*, by means of the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive, is made to designate an *individual* as preeminently *the* possessor of the quality expressed (comp. Fr. *le plus grand*); e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 (*הַצֶּעֱרָה*), 17, 14 *and David was הַקָּטָן the small (one)*, i. e. *the smallest*, and *the three great (ones)*, i. e. *the greatest*, etc., Gen. 42, 13, Jon. 3, 5, *מִגְדֹּלָם וְעַד קָטָנָם* *from the greatest among them*. (lit. *their great one*), *even unto the least among them* (lit. *their little one*), 2 Ch. 21, 17 *קָטָן בְּנֵי קִטָּן the youngest of his sons*; prob. also Gen. 9, 24.

Rem. To the periphrasis of the superlative belongs also the connecting of a noun with the following partitive genitive of the same word in the plural as: *כָּדֵשׁ קִדְשִׁים* *the holiest of all*, prop. *holiness of holinesses*; *שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים* *the song of songs (the choicest song i. e. the Canticles)*. Comp. Gen. 9, 25 (*the lowest servant*) Num. 3, 32 the same with a participle Jer. 6, 28 and with the gen. sing. Hos. 10, 15. So sometimes an adjective combined with a partitive genitive has a superlative signification; comp. Judges 5, 29, 1 Sam. 9, 21, Job 30, 6 (= *in the most frightful valleys*) 41, 22. Comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 1.—Finally belongs here the placing together of two substantives, being related either etymologically, or at least by sound, as Ez. 6, 14; 33, 29, Nah. 2, 11, Zeph. 1, 15, Job 30, 3.

§ 120.

SYNTAX OF THE NUMERALS.

1. The numerals from 2 to 10 (originally abstract substantives, § 97, 1), may be connected with substantives in three different ways. They may stand either,—*a*) in the *constr. st. before* the substantive (the object numbered being accordingly in the genitive), *שְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים* *three days*, prop. *triad of days*, *שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים* *the two men*; or—*b*) in the *absol. st. before it* (the thing numbered being then considered as in apposition), *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים* *three sons* (prop. *a triad viz. sons*), *שְׁנַיִם אָנָשִׁים* *two men*; or—*c*) in the *absol. st. after it*, as in apposition with the object numbered e. g. *בָּנוּת שְׁלוֹשׁ* *three daughters* 1 Ch. 25, 5; the latter especially in the later books, because the substantive conception of the numeral yielded more and more to the adjective.

Accordingly, the constructions *מֵאָה שָׁנָה* (Gen. 17, 17) and *מֵאָה שָׁנָה* (25, 7, 17) *hundred years*, are equally common.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 are joined, with very few exceptions (e. g. 2 K. 22, 1) with the plural. But the tens (from 20 to 90) when they precede the substantive, are generally joined with the singular (in the accusative), and when they follow it in apposition, they take the plural, e. g. Judg. 11, 33 *עֶשְׂרִים עָרִים* *twenty cities*; on the contrary, *אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים* *twenty cubits* 2 Ch. 3, 3, seq. The plural *may* be used in the first case (Ex. 36, 24, 25), but the singular never occurs in the second case, which is altogether rarer.

Rem. The numerals from 11 to 19 are generally joined to the singular form (in the accusative) only with certain substantives, which there is frequent occasion to number, as *יּוֹם* *day*, *שָׁנָה* *year*, *אִישׁ* *man*, *שִׁבְט* *tribe*, also *בָּקָר* *collective cattle*, etc. (comp. our *four year old, a thousand man strong*); e. g. *אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יּוֹם* prop. *fourteen day* Ex. 12, 6 (comp. however Deut. 1, 23, Josh. 4, 2). With this exception, they are joined to the plural; and then, especially in the later books they stand after the substantive (Num. 7, 87, 1 Ch. 4, 27, 25, 5).

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21 or 62) take the object numbered either after them in the singular (in the accusative), as *שְׁנַיִם וְשֵׁשִׁים שָׁנָה* *two and sixty years*

Gen. 5, 20 (according to No. 2, שָׁנָה having special reference to the preceding *tens*); or before them in the plural, as especially in the later books (Dan. 9, 26); or the object is repeated, with the units in the plural (acc. to No. 1), with the *tens* (acc. to No. 2) and hundreds in the singular, as in Gen. 12, 4 מֵאָה שָׁנָה seventy-five years, Gen. 23, 1 מֵאָה שָׁנָה one hundred and twenty-seven years; comp. Gen. 5, 6.

4. The *ordinals* beyond 10 have no peculiar forms, but are expressed by those of the cardinals, which then stand either before the object numbered, or after it, as בשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם on the seventeenth day Gen. 7, 11; בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה in the 40th year Deut. 1, 3, 2 K. 25, 27 with the repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K. 6, 1, or בְּשָׁנָה עָשָׂרִים וְשֶׁבַע in the year twenty-seven 1 K. 16, 10. In the latter case, the word שָׁנָה is likewise frequently repeated, as in Gen. 7, 11, 2 K. 13, 10.—In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are used frequently also instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בְּשָׁנָה שְׁנַיִם in the year two, בְּשָׁנָה שְׁלוֹשׁ in the year three 1 K. 15, 25, 2 K. 18, 1 בְּחֹשֶׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ on the ninth of the month, בְּאוֹרֵךְ לַחֹדֶשׁ on the first of the month Lev. 23, 32, Gen. 8, 13.

Rem. 1. The numerals take the article when they stand without immediate connection with the thing numbered, referring back to a preceding substantive, as הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה the three 1 Ch. 11, 20, 21 comp. 25, 19 the twelve; (with the *tens*) Gen. 18, 29, 31, 32. Such a case as שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים the seven days (Judg. 14, 17) is to be explained on the principle stated in § 111, 1.

2. Certain substantives employed in designations of *weight*, *measure*, or of *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals; e. g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלֶף בָּהָם a thousand (*shekels*) of silver; so also, before זָהָב gold 1 K. 10, 16; Ruth 3, 15 שֵׁשׁ עֲלִירִים six (*Ephah*) of barley; 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֲשָׂרָה לֶחֶם ten (*loaves*) of bread. Thus יוֹם is omitted in Gen. 8, 5, and חֹדֶשׁ in 8, 13.—The number of *cubits* is often stated thus, מֵאָה בְּאַמָּה a hundred cubits, prop. a hundred by the cubit Ex. 27, 18.

5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinals, as שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר two by two Gen. 7, 9, 15. Comp. שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ six by six 2 Sam. 21, 20 or periphrastically by a following לְ, אֶחָד Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 (לְאַחַד after the

repetition of the words *six wings*). *One time, once*, is expressed by **פַּעַם אֶחָד** (prop. *a tread*), comp. **הַפַּעַם** *this time*, **פַּעַמַּיִם** *two times, twice*, **שְׁלוֹשׁ פַּעַמִּים** *thrice* (also **שְׁלוֹשׁ רַגְלִים** *three times* Num. 22, 32). The same may be denoted also by merely the *fem.* forms of the cardinals, as **אַחַת** *once*, **שְׁתַּיִם** *twice*, **שִׁבְעַ** *seven times*, comp. also **בְּאַחַת** *once* Num. 10, 4. The ordinals too are employed in the same way, as **שְׁנִי** *second time* Gen. 22, 15, Jer. 13, 3. Comp. L. *tertium consul*.

CHAPTER II.

SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 121.

USE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.

1. When a personal pronoun is the subject of a sentence, like a noun in the same position, it does not require for its union with the predicate a distinct word for the copula (§ 144), e. g. **אֶלְכִי הָרְאָה** *I (am) the seer* 1 Sam. 9, 19, **נָקִים אֲנַחְנִי** *honest (are) we* Gen. 42, 11, **אַחַת הָיִיתָ** *upright (wast) thou* Ez. 28, 15, **הֵם עֲרֻמִּים כִּי** *that naked they (were)* Gen. 3, 7, **אֶחָד הוּא** *one dream it (is)* Gen. 41, 26.

2. The pronoun of the *third* person frequently serves to connect subject and predicate, and is then a sort of *substitute* for the copula; to speak more exactly: the predicate is joined in the form of an independant nominal sentence (§ 144, a), e. g. Gen. 41, 26 **הַשֶּׁבַע שָׁנִים הָזֶה** *seven years (are) they*, Ec. 5, 18 **זֶה מַתָּה אֱלֹהִים הוּא** *this a gift of God it (is)*. Sometimes such a pronoun in the *third* person refers to a subject which is of the *first* or *second* person, e. g. Deut. 32, 39: **כִּי אֲנִי הוּא** *that I, I (am) he*; Ps. 102, 28 **אַתָּה אַרְט הַשָּׁמַיִם** *(thou art the same)*; 1 Chron. 21, 17; comp. the French: *c'est moi, c'est vous*. Of a different kind however are cases like: **אַתָּה**

תְּהָיָה מֶלֶכִּי *thou art my king* Ps. 44, 5, where הָיָה at the same time points to the predicate and makes it prominent (prop. *thou art he, my king*); comp. Is. 43, 25, Neh. 9, 6, 7, and in Aram. Ezr. 5, 11.

3. To the general rule (§ 33, 1), that the *separate pronouns* are in the *nominative* and the *suffixes* in the *oblique cases*, there is but one seeming exception, viz. when the personal pronoun in an oblique case is to be repeated for the sake of emphasis (*me, me; thy, thy*), it is expressed the second time by the separate form of the same person. But this stands by no means in the oblique case, but is to be considered as the subject of an independent phrase, whose predicate may be completed from the connection. Thus to strengthen the *accusative* suffix of the verb, Gen. 27, 34 בְּרַכְנִי גַם אֲנִי *bless me, even me, really: also I want to be blest*, comp. Zech. 7, 4, Prov. 22, 19; and even by placing the separate pronoun before, Gen. 49, 8; more frequently to strengthen the *genitive* suffix of the noun, e. g. אֶת־דָּמָךְ גַּם אֶתָּה 1 K. 21, 19 *thy blood, yea thine* (prop. *sanguinem tuum, utique tui*), Num. 14, 32, 1 Sam. 20, 42, Ez. 34, 11, Prov. 23, 15, Ps. 9, 7. In the same way the separate pronoun may strengthen a suffix which is governed by a preposition (i. e. standing in the genitive, according to § 101, 1), as Hag. 1, 4 אֲתָם לָכֶם *for you, you*, 1 Sam. 25, 24 בִּי אֲנִי *in me, me*, 1 Sam. 19, 23 הָיָה גַם עָלָיו *also on him*; 2 Chr. 35, 21 אֶתָּה *not against thee*. On the same principle is to be explained Gen. 4, 26 הָיָה גַם לְשֵׁת *to Seth, even to him*, (not גַּם־לֵךְ) Gen. 10, 21.

4. The *suffix to the verb* is properly always in the *accusative* (§ 33, 2, a, § 57), and is the most common form of expressing the accusative of the pronoun governed by a verb (see however Rem. below). In certain cases, however, it is used through an almost inaccurate brevity of expression for the *dative*, as Zech. 7, 5 הִצַּמְתִּי *did ye fast for me?* i. e. to my advantage, for לִי הִצַּמְתֶּם; Job 31, 18 כָּאֵב *he (the fatherless) grew up to me as to a father*, Is. 44, 21, Ez. 29, 3, comp. verse 9.

Rem. The accusative of the pronoun *must* be indicated by אֲנִי (§ 117, 2),—a) when the pronoun, for the sake of emphasis, precedes

the verb, as אֶתְּךָ הָרַגְתִּי *thee had I killed* Num. 22, 33;—b) when the verb has two pronouns in the accusative, only one of which can be a verbal suffix, as וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will make me see it* 2 Sam. 15, 25; it is found, also in other cases, as in Gen. 4, 14, (where וְיָבוֹאוּ alone might signify: *that he might not smite*) 15, 13.

5. The suffix to nouns, which are properly *genitives* (§ 33, 2, b) and supply the place of *possessive pronouns*¹, express, like nouns in the genitive (§ 114, 2), not only the subject but also the object; e. g. הָמַסִּי *my wrong* (i. e. done to me) Jer. 51, 35, Gen. 16, 5, Job 20, 29, 23, 14 and 34, 6, יִרְאַתּוֹ *his fear* (i. e. caused by him) Ex. 20, 20.

6. When one noun in the *constr. st.* is so connected with another in the genitive, as together to express periphrastically an adjective by means of the second substantive (§ 106, 1) then the suffix which really refers to this complex idea is appended to the second of the two nouns (compare the analogous position of the article, § 111, 1), e. g. הַר קָדְשִׁי *the mount of my holiness*, i. e. *my holy mount*, עִיר קְדְשָׁהּ *the city of thy holiness* (i. e. *thy holy city*) Dan. 9, 24, אֱלֹהֵי כְסָפּוֹ *his silver idols* Is. 2, 20, 31, 7, צַעֲדֵי אֹתִי *his firm steps* Job 18, 7.

Only seeming exceptions are constructions like מְהֻרָּקְךָ זִמָּה in Ez. 16, 27 *thy conduct*, (thy) *lewdness*, or *thy conduct in lewdness* (זִמָּה being in apposition or in adverbial accusative), Ps. 35, 19 אֹיְבֵי שִׁקְרִי *my enemies for a falsehood* i. e. *without real cause* שִׁקְרִי adverb. acc., cf. סִנְיַי חֲנָם in parallel clause). Comp. Ps. 71, 7, 2 Sam. 22, 33, Prov. 23, 29.

Rem. 1. Through a certain inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language to that of books, *masculine* pronouns are sometimes used in reference to *feminine* substantives, Gen. 31, 9; 32, 16; 41, 23, Exod. 1, 21; Amos 4, 1 (comp. in regard to the masc. as the more common gender, § 107, 1, Rem.).

2. The accusative of the pronoun, as object of the verb, is often omitted, where it can be easily supplied from the context, specially the accusative *it*, after verbs of saying as נִיָּקַד *and he told (it)* Gen. 9, 22; but also after other verbs, e. g. Gen. 38, 17 *till thou send (it)*, 24, 12 *let (it) meet me*.

¹ The possessive pronoun may be expressed by circumlocution, after the manner of the Aramæan, as in Ruth 2, 21 לִי הַנְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי *the youths who (are) to me*, i. e. *my servants*; especially after a substantive, which is followed by another in the genitive, as in 1 Sam. 17, 40 (comp. the analogous circumlocution for the genitive, § 115).—In this case there is sometimes a pleonastic use of the suffix, as מִצְנֻן מִצְנֻנָּהּ שֶׁלֹּאֲשֶׁלֶּמֶךָ prop. *his palanquin, Solomon's*, Cant. 3, 7, comp. 1. 6.

3. There is, on the contrary, a redundancy of expression, when the noun, for which the pronoun stands, is itself employed in apposition after it, e. g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the child*, 1 Sam. 21, 14, Prov. 5, 22. Similar are the cases in which, to a nominal suffix is joined its corresponding substantive (with or without the article) as an explaining permutative, e. g. Ez. 10, 3 בָּבֶלֶיךָ הָאֵלֶּים *when he went in, the man*, Is. 17, 6, Prov. 13, 4; 14, 13. So also Gen. 2, 19 נָשָׁם חַיִּים . . . לֵי *to them, the living creatures*; and with repetition of the preposition Josh. 1, 2. Of another kind are the cases where the permutative with its own suffix is, in a certain way, a correction to the preceding suffix, e. g. Is. 29, 23: *when he*, or rather, *his children see*; comp. Ps. 83, 12, perhaps also Job 29, 3.

4. In some instances the force of the nominal suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak, that it has almost ceased to be felt; e. g. אֲדֹנָי *my Lord* (prop. *my lords*, see § 108, 2, b), namely in addressing God (Gen. 15, 2, 18, 3, Ps. 35, 23), but then without regard to the pronominal suffix, *the Lord*, meaning God¹ (always with *Qāmēṣ* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנָי *my Lord*, yet never,—on account of its original signification,—with the article). A similar rigidity of the suffix signification is seen in יַחְדָּו (prop. *his or its conjunctions=he, it together*), e. g. כְּלִי-יַחְדָּם Ex. 19, 8, then even after the *first* person, without regard to the suffix, as אֲנִי-יַחְדָּי 1 K. 3, 18, comp. Is. 41, 1, after the *second* person in Is. 45, 20. Thus we find in 1 K. 22, 28, Mic. 1, 2 *hear, ye nations* בְּנֵם; and sometimes even by placing בְּנֵם before, Job 17, 10.

§ 122.

OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The *personal* pronoun of the third person הוּא, *fem. הִיא*, plur. הֵמָּה, *fem. הֵנָּה* (L. *is, ea, id* or *ille* etc.; *ii, eæ, ea* or *illi* etc.) is also used as a *demonstrative pronoun*. In connection with a definite substantive it has then (by virtue of its adjectival use, § 111, 2) regularly the article (see exceptions § 111, 2, b), הָאִישׁ הַהוּא *that man*, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *in that day* (on the other hand: הוּא הַדָּבָר *this is the word, which* etc. Gen. 41, 28). — הוּא stands sometimes almost *enclitic*, to emphasize the interrogative pronoun (like זוֹה No. 2, Rem.) e. g. מִי הוּא זֶה *who indeed is this king of glory?* Ps. 24, 10.

¹ See *Gesenii Thesaurus Linguae Hebraeae*, p. 329. Comp. the Phœnician name of the idol *Adonis* (אֲדֹנִי), also the French *Monsieur, Monseigneur, Notre Dame*, Eng. *Our Lady* (the virgin Mary).

The demonstrative **זֶה** is to be distinguished from **זוּ**; for **זֶה**=**ὁδε**, **L. hic**, always points to a (fresh) person or thing present, but **זֶה**=**αὐτός**, *is, ille, ἐκεῖνος* indicates (like the article, § 109) a person or thing already mentioned or known. The distinction is clearly seen in Judges 7, 4, of whom I say to thee, „this (**זוּ**) shall go with thee“, that one (**זֶה**) shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say to thee, „this (**זוּ**) shall not go with thee“, that one (**זֶה**) shall not go. Hence **הַיּוֹם זֶה** *this day*, means the day in which any one speaks or writes (Gen. 28, 33), but **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** (*that day*) means the day or time, of which the historian has just made mention (Gen. 15, 18, 28, 32), or the prophet just predicted (Is. 5, 30, 7, 18, 20), and goes on to relate or to predict.

2. The demonstrative **זֶה** (also **זוּ**, **זֶה**) occurs in poetical speech, also (**זֶה** even habitually) for the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, as in English *that* for *which*; e. g. Prov. 23, 22 *hearken to thy father זֶה יִלְדָּתְךָ that begat thee*; Ps. 104, 8 *to the place זֶה יָסְדָּתָם לָהֶם which* (prop. *this which*) *thou hast appointed for them*. **זֶה** may in such a case be still more nearly defined by a following pronominal suffix (like **אֲשֶׁר**, § 123, 1); e. g. Ps. 74, 2 *Mount Zion בּוֹ זֶה שָׁכַנְתָּ in which thou dwellest* (prop. *this thou dwellest in it*. Comp. Luther's *da du auf wohnest*); for the plural, Job 19, 19.

The Aram. **דִּי**, **דֵּי**, which corresponds in sound to **זֶה** is always relative.

זֶה is used adverbially,—a) in reference to place, *there*, Ps. 104, 25 **זֶה הַיָּם** *the sea there*, **זֶה הַנָּחַל** *see there!*—b) in reference to time, for *now*, as **זֶה עַתָּה** *now* (already) *twice* Gen. 27, 36, Zech. 7, 3 **זֶה עַתָּה** *by this time*; c) to emphasize words of interrogation of all kinds e. g. **מִי זֶה** Job 38, 2 *who darkeneth there . . .*, **מַה-זֶּה** (also **מַה-זֶּה** Gen. 12, 18) *what there?*, Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that?* (Judges 18, 24); **זֶה לָמָּה** *why then?*; comp. also Gen. 27, 21 **הֲאֵתָּה זֶה** *whether thou be my son Esau or not*. (Analogous to the **זֶה** etc. is the enclitic use of *nam* in *quisnam*; comp. likewise *quis tandem*).

3. The interrogative **מִי** *who?* is used in reference to persons (male or female Cant. 3, 6), to a singular or to a plural, as **מִי אַתֶּם** *who are ye* Josh. 9, 8, **מִי אֵלֶּה** Gen. 33, 5, Num. 22, 9 (for which, however, **מִי וְמִי** is also used in Ex. 10, 8), also in reference to things, yet only when the idea of persons is implied, e. g. **מִי שָׁכֵם** *who are the Shechemites?* Judg. 9, 28, 13, 17; comp. Gen. 33, 8, and already bolder, with the repetition of a personally used **מִי** 1 Sam. 18, 18, 2 Sam. 7, 18.—**מִי** may also stand in the genitive, as **בַּת מִי אֵת** *whose daughter?*

art thou? Gen. 24, 23, 1 Sam. 17, 55, 56, 58, **מִי** *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28, 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative, as **אֶת־מִי** *whom?* 1 Sam. 28, 11, Is. 6, 8; and with prepositions, as **בְּמִי** 1 K. 20, 14; **לְמִי** Gen. 32, 18, **אֶחָד־מִי** 1 Sam. 24, 15.—**מָה**, **מָה־מָה** *what?* stands as nominative and as accusative (see examples in § 37), as genitive (Jer. 8, 9), with prep. e. g. **עַל־מָה** *upon what?* Job 38, 6; **עַד־מָה** *till when?* Ps. 74, 9.—Both **מִי** and **מָה** stand in a direct and in an indirect question (according to the Ind.-Germ. logic of the language, for acc. to the Semitic that distinction does not exist) and at times also as indefinite pronouns *whoever* and *whatever* (Lat. *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), as in Judg. 7, 3, 2 Sam. 18, 12, **מִי** placed after = *whoever it be*; likewise **מָה** = *anything else* Job 13, 13, 2 Sam. 18, 22. 23, comp **דָּבָר מָה** Num. 23, 3 *whatever*. For the neuter *quidquam, anything whatever*, the language has besides the word **מֵאֲדָמָה**.

§ 123.

RELATIVE PRONOUN AND RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. The indeclinable **אֲשֶׁר**¹ often serves merely as a *sign of relation*, i. e. to give a relative sense to adverbs or pronouns; e. g. **שָׁם** *there*, **שָׁם—אֲשֶׁר** *where*; **שָׁמָּה** *thither*, **שָׁמָּה—אֲשֶׁר** *whither*; **מִשָּׁם** *thence*, **מִשָּׁם—אֲשֶׁר** *whence*. In the same manner, the Hebrew mostly forms the *oblique cases* of the relative pronoun, *who, which*, viz.—

Dative, **לּוֹ** *to him*, **אֲשֶׁר לּוֹ** *to whom*; **לָהֶם**, **אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם** *to them*, **אֲשֶׁר לָהֶן** *to whom*.

Accusative, **אֹתוֹ**, **אֹתָהּ** *him, her*; **אֲשֶׁר אֹתוֹ**, **אֲשֶׁר אֹתָהּ** *whom*.

With *prepositions*, **בּוֹ** *in him* or *in it*, **אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ** *wherein*, **מִמֶּנּוּ** *from him* or *from it*, **אֲשֶׁר מִמֶּנּוּ** *wherefrom*.

¹ **אֲשֶׁר** is probably a substantive (comp. Arab. *'atar*, Aram. *אֲרִיר* *trace, place*; according to others it is really a demonstrative, or a composition from several pronominal roots. Comp. *Sperling* „Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen“ Lpz. 1876), but at present it serves as *Nota relationis*, or (as sometimes also *וְהוּא*, § 122, 2) directly a *relative pronoun*, often even including the demonstrative (v. No. 2). By virtue of its original sign character (as simple *nota relationis*) **אֲשֶׁר** may relate to persons as well as to things.

Genitive, אשר לשוני whose language Deut. 28, 49.

The accusative *whom* (Lat. *quem, quam*) may, however, be expressed by אשר alone, as in Gen. 2, 2.

Rem. 1 The Hebrew is able in this way, to give a relative sense to the pronoun of the first and second persons in the oblique cases, e g. Gen 45, 4 אשר אורי, Num. 22, 30 אשר קלי, Is 41, 8 אשר יצחק בחרדק (thou) *whom I have chosen*, Hos 14, 4 In the nom of the 1st and 2nd persons, this is admissible also in German, e g *der ich, der du, die wir*, where *der* stands for *welcher*, and (like the Heb אשר) receives its definite sense from the following pronoun

2 The word אשר is commonly separated by one or more words, from the pronoun or adverb to which it gives a relative sense, as אשר היה שם *where was* Gen 13 3 Only seldom are they written closely together as in Deut 19 17, 2 Ch 6, 11

2 The pronoun אשר often includes the demonstrative which in our construction precedes the relative as *who* for *he* *who* or as *qui* in Lat stands for *is qui*, e g Num 22, 6 ואשר תאמר and (he) *whom thou cursest*, Is 52, 15 אשר לא שמעו (that) *which they have not heard* This is almost always the case where a preposition stands before אשר, the preposition being then construed with the supplied pronoun, and the relative taking the case which is required by the following part of the sentence, e g לאשר (Lat *ei qui, quæ, quod, or ei quem, quam, etc*, and *us qui, quæ, quæ, etc*) *to him who, or to them who, מאשר from him who, from those who or which, באשר prop. according to that which*, but also according to the circumstance that, hence *as just as* (as conjunction before the verb at the head of comparative clauses, § 155, 2, h), אשר אחי-אשר *him, her who, that which, or those who*,¹ comp finally, cases like ביד-אשר *in the hand of him, whom* (thou hatest), Ez 23, 28.

To the relative sense lying in אשר sometimes the idea of place or time is also to be supplied, as באשר in (that place) *where, מאשר from* (that time) *when* On אשר as conj v 155, I, e

3. In all the cases treated under No 1 and 2 the relative can be expressed also, without אשר by a simple addition (subordination) of the relative clause (comp the English,

¹ Very rare are the examples in which a preposition is connected immediately with אשר as a relative pronoun, viz עם אשר Gen 31, 32 (Sept παρ' ᾧ) for אשר עמו *with whom* (44, 9, 10), באשר Is 47, 12, for אשר ב-ם *in which*.

the friend I met, the book I told you of). This omission (most frequent in poetry) takes place, when the **אֲשֶׁר** would stand,—

- a) As a pronoun in the nominative or accusative; e. g. Gen. 15, 13 **לָהֶם לֹא בְּאֶרֶץ** *in a land (which belongs) not to them*, Ps. 7, 16 **וַיִּפֹּל בְּשֹׁחַת יַסְעָל** *and he falls into the pit (which) he makes*, Gen. 39, 4 **כָּל-יְשֻׁלּוֹ** *all (which) was i. e. belonged to him* (comp. vs. 5, where **אֲשֶׁר** is inserted), Ec. 10, 5 (comp. 6, 1, where with the same words **אֲשֶׁר** is employed), Job 31, 12.¹
- b) As a sign of relation, e. g. Ps. 32, 2 **לֵאמֹר** *happy the man*, **לֹא יִחַשְׁבֵּהוּ יְהוָה לֹו עֲוֹן** *to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity*, Job 3, 3, Ex. 18, 20, Is. 41, 2, 3, Ps. 49, 14. Frequently in specifications of time, when it would mean *when*, 2 Ch. 29, 27 **בַּעַת הַחֹל הָעֹלָה** *at the time (when) the sacrifice began*, Jer. 36, 2 **מִיּוֹם דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ** *from the day (when) I spoke to thee*, Ps. 4, 8 **עַתָּה דִּגְנָם וְתִירוֹשָׁם רַבּוּ** *in the time (when) their corn and their new wine are abundant*, Ps. 49, 6, 56, 10 **יּוֹם אִירָא** *in the day (when) I call*, in v. 4 **יּוֹם אִירָא** *the day (when) I fear*, Ex. 6, 28 **בְּיוֹם דִּבַּר יְהוָה** *in the day (when) the Lord spoke*; Ps. 18, 1; with the utmost brevity in Is. 51, 1 **הַצֵּבֶחֶם** *(from which) ye were hewn*.
- c) Also as including the antecedent personal or demonstrative pronoun (No. 2); e. g. Is. 41, 24 **וּמוֹעֵבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם** *an abomination (is) he who chooses you*, Job 30, 13 **לָהֶם לֹא עֹזֵר** *(they) to whom there is no helper*, Job 24, 19 **שְׁהוֹל** *(snatches away) (those who) sin*, comp. v. 9. The pronoun thus omitted may include the idea of place or time, as 1 Ch. 15, 12 **לִי אֶל־הַכִּינּוֹרִי** *to (the place which) I have prepared for it* (comp. however Ex. 23, 20); Job 38, 19.

Rem. 1. The substantive governing such a simply subordinate relative clause may, as with **אֲשֶׁר** (No. 2 at the end) stand in the *constr. st.* so that the relative clause stands virtually in the genitive e. g. Ex.

¹ The Arabic omits the relative when the substantive to which it refers is indefinite, as above; but inserts it when the substantive is definite. In the latter case, the Hebrew commonly inserts it in prose (see Jer. 23, 29, Ex. 14, 13); though it is sometimes omitted (Ex. 18, 20), especially in poetry (Ps. 18, 3, 49, 13, 21, Deut. 32, 17, Job 3, 3).

4, 13 *בְּיָד הַשְּׁלֵחַ* *by the hand* (of him whom) *thou wilt send*, Hos. 1, 2 *הַחֲלֵת רַב־יְהוָה* *the beginning* (of that which) *God spoke*, Ps. 81, 6 *לֹא יָדַעְתִּי* *the speech* (of one whom) *I knew not* 65, 5, Job 29, 16, Lam. 1, 14, Jer. 48, 36. Comp. § 116, 3.

2. Relative clauses are joined on also by means of the *copula* (וְ), e. g. Job 29, 12 *וְלֹא עֹזֵר לוֹ יְתֵר* *and he that hath no helper*, if it ought not to be translated. *and the thus helper-less orphan*; comp. Ps. 72, 12.

§ 124.

HOW TO EXPRESS THOSE PRONOUNS FOR WHICH THE HEBREW TONGUE HAD NO PROPER FORMS.

1. The *reflexive pronoun*, *se*, *sibi*, *myself*, *thyself*, *himself*, etc., is expressed,

- a) by the conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithp'al*, see § 51, 2, § 54, 3;
- b) by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. (specially after prepositions),¹ e. g. Judg. 3, 16 *וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֶהְדָּר הָרֶב* *and Ehud made for him (himself) a sword*, Gen. 22, 3 *אַבְרָהָם* *Abraham took two of his servants* *אִתּוֹ* *with him* i. e. *with himself*, Gen. 8, 9 (אִלָּי), 33, 17, 1 Sam. 1, 24 *וַתִּקַּח עִמָּהּ* *with her*, for *with herself*; Jer. 7, 19 *אִתָּם* *themselves*, Ez. 34, 2, 8, 10; also apparently pleonastic as a so-called *Dativus ethicus* Job 12, 11; 13, 1.—In the like manner is the pronoun *suus*, *sua*, *suum* expressed by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. with the noun, since *סוּסוֹ* signifies either *equus suus* (prop. *sui*, genit.) or *equus ejus*;
- c) partly by suffixes, *אִתּוֹ*, *אִתָּהּ*, *אִתָּם* (comp. under *b* above). partly by circumlocution with substantives, especially *נַפְשִׁי*, e. g. *לֹא אָדַע נַפְשִׁי* *I know not myself* (prop. *my soul*) Job 9, 21, Jer. 37, 9; *בְּקִרְבָּהּ* *within herself* (prop. *in her inner part*) Gen. 18, 12 Comp. Rem. 3.

As *קִרְבִּי* in the last example, so also *נַפְשִׁי* is nowhere (not even Is. 48, 2 *נַפְשִׁים* *themselves*) a merely idle circumlocution, but points towards the mental substratum of the personality, which is affected by the actions, thoughts, etc. springing from it. The Arabic, in a similar manner, expresses the idea *self* by *soul*, *spirit*, and so the Sanskrit

¹ So also often in Luther's Bible, where *ihm*, *ih*, stand for *sich*, and in the English Bible, where *him*, *her* stand for *himself*, *herself*.

(*átman*), the Arabic also by *eye*, the Rabbmic by עצם, v below Rem 3, אֵרֶם *bone*, גֶּוֹם *body*, the Ethiop and Amharic by ראש *head*, the Egyptian by *mouth, hand*, etc Comp. middle High German *min lip, din lip*

2 The *personal* or *demonstrative* pronoun is generally included (comp. § 123, 2) in אשר in all the cases, both singular and plural. The use of the interrogative מַה with a similar sense is based on a further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מַה (§ 122, 3 at the end) and is already more like the Aramaic, as מה *that which* Ec 1, 9, 3, 15 (Syr מַה ד)

Rem 1 *Each, every one*, with reference to a person, (and even to animals Gen 15, 10) is expressed by איש *a man* Gen 42, 25, Num. 17, 17, sometimes repeated איש איש Ex 36 4, איש איש Ps 87 5, with reference either to persons or things, by כל (§ 111, 1), by repetition of the substantive as בִּבְקֹר בִּבְקֹר *every morning*, also by the plural לְבִקְרִים *every morning* Ps 73, 14, Job 7, 18 (with so called ל *distributive*)

2. *Any one, some one*, is expressed by איש Ex 16, 29, Cant 8, 7, and by אֵיִם Lev. 1, 2, *anything, something* (especially in connection with a negation) by דָּבָר כָּל־דָּבָר without the article, Gen 18 14, Lev 5, 2, Num 31, 23 after a negative Gen 19, 8, Eccl 8, 5, comp אֵיִךְ־דָּבָר Num 20, 19=*nothing* Comp also § 122, 3

3 *Self* is expressed (besides the way in No 1, c above), in reference to persons or things, by הוּא, הִיא, as הוּא אֲדֹנָי the Lord he 1 e the Lord himself Is. 7, 14, הֵיחֹדִים הַיְּהוּדִים the Jews themselves 1st 9, 1 —The same is הוּא, הִיא with the article, e g הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה Job 1 1 the same man, בְּעֵת הַהִיא at the same time (but this signifies also *that man, at that time*, comp § 122, 1) In reference to things the noun עצם prop *bone, body* (in this case fig for *essence, substance*) is also employed as a periphrasis for the pronoun, e g בַּעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה on the self-same day Gen 7, 13, Josh 10 27, Ez 24, 2, Ex 24, 10 בַּעֲצָם הַשָּׁמַיִם as the very heavens, הוּא בַּעֲצָם הָמוֹ in his very prosperity (1 e in the midst of his prosperity) Job 21, 23

4 *The one—the other (alter—alter)* is expressed by repeating הוּא (Is. 6, 1) or אֶחָד (2 Sam 14, 6, cf 1 Sam 14, 10), or by איש one with אָחִיו *his brother* or with רֵעֵהוּ *his friend* and where the feminine is required, by אִשָּׁה *woman* with אֲחוֹתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעוּתָהּ *her friend*, both the masc and fem forms are used also with reference to inanimate things See the Lex under these words The same form is used to express *one another*, as Gen 13, 11 and they separated אִישׁ מֵאֶחָיו the one from the other (1 e from one another), Ex. 26, 3 five curtains shall be joined אֶחָדָתָהּ to one another

5 *Some* is often expressed simply by the plural form, as יָמִים *some days* Gen 24, 55, 40, 4, Is 65, 20, Dan 8, 27, שָׁנִים *some years* Dan. 11, 6, 8, and sometimes by יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר (ἔστιν ὃς, L *sunt qui*) Neh. 5, 2—4, or by אֲנָחְדִים Gen 27, 44

CHAPTER III.

SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

§ 125.

USE OF THE TENSES IN GENERAL.¹

From the poverty of the Hebrew language in the means of expressing the absolute and relative divisions of time (§§ 40, 48), we may naturally expect some *vagueness* in their use.

We are not to infer from this, however, that there was scarcely any well-defined and regular use of the two existing tenses; on the contrary, each of them has its distinct sphere, as already intimated in Note ² on page 118, and as will be explained more in detail in the following sections. Besides this the Imperfect is especially used in a modified form (see § 48) for expressing the relations of the Optative, the Jussive, and the Subjunctive (v. § 128). We must further add the peculiarity of the Hebrew diction already mentioned in § 49, viz. that of joining by means of *Wāw consecutivæ*, Imperfects to a Perfect and Perfects to an Imperfect (§ 126, 6, § 129).

As examples where the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* stand in plainly expressed opposition of time, we refer to Josh. 1, 5 מֵאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם מֹשֶׁה as *I was with Moses* (so) *will I be with thee* v. 17, Is. 46, 4 אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי וְאֲנִי אֶעֱשֶׂה *I have done it, and I will (still) bear (you)*, and v. 11 הִבֵּרְתִּי אֶת אֲבִיאָהּ וְאֶבְרָרְתִּי אֶת אֲשֶׁנָּה *I have spoken it, and will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and will accomplish it*; Ex. 10, 14, Deut. 32, 21, 1 K. 2, 38, Joel 2, 2, Ec. 1, 9.

¹ Comp. *Driver*, A Treatise on the use of the tenses in Hebrew (Oxf. 1874), with the criticism on it by A. Muller in the Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol. 1877, I, S. 198 ff.

§ 126.

THE USE OF THE PERFECT.

The Perfect stands—

1. In itself and properly, for *absolutely* and *fully* past time (*Præteritum perfectum*), e. g. Gen. 40, 8 הָלַמְנוּ דִּמְיוֹן *we have dreamed a dream*, Gen. 3, 10, 11 מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who has declared to thee?* v. 13 *why hast thou done this?* Comp. verses 14, 17, 22. Hence it is used in reports and narrations of past things, Job 1, 1 אִישׁ הָיָה בְּאֶרֶץ עֹץ . . . וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא *there was a man in the land of Uz . . . and this man was*, etc., v. 4 *and they went* (יָהֲלוּ) . . . *and made* (וַעֲשׂוּ) *a feast*; Dan. 2, 1 *in the 2d year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed* (חָלַם) *dreams*, Ruth 4, 7, Judg. 6, 3.

In this narrative style, the Perfect is commonly followed by the Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive*, see § 129, 1.

2. For an action completed in the past (the *Pluperfect*). So especially (as a matter of course) in relative clauses preceded in the governing clause by a tense relating to the past (*perfect* or *imperfect consecutive*) the *Pluperfect*, e. g. Gen. 2, 2 *and he rested* עָשָׂה מְכַל־מְלָאכְתּוֹ *from all his work which he had done*, v. 5 *the Lord had not yet caused it to rain* 7, 9, 19, 27, 20, 18, 27, 30, 29, 10, 31, 19, 1 Sam. 6, 19.

3. For our abstract *Present*, where this denotes,—a) a condition or attribute already long continued and still now existing, as יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have discerned*) Job 9, 2, 10, 13; לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gen. 4, 9 (yet also, acc. to No. 2, with a reference to the past, *I knew not* Num. 22, 34); שָׂנְאָתִי *I hate*¹ Ps. 31, 7; צָדִיקָתִי *I am righteous* Job 34, 5; גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great* Ps. 104, 1; קְטַנּוּתִי *I am little* Gen. 32, 11; or—b) a past but still ever recurring action (often in statements of general experience) e. g. אֹמְרִי *I say* (*I mean*) Ps. 31, 15, Job 7, 13; Ps. 1, 1 *happy the man who walks* (הֹלֵךְ) *not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands* (עֹמֵד) *in the way of sinners, nor sits* (יֹשֵׁב) *in the seat of scorners*. 10, 3, 119, 40;—c) a present

¹ Similar in Latin are *novi, memini, odi*; in Greek οἶδα, μέμνημαι, ὀδῶρα, ξοῖσα, ἀέχραγα, etc., in N. Test. ἡλπίκα, ἡγάπηκα.

action to which the idea of firm assurance is attached (comp. No. 4 below) e. g. **נשבעתי** *I swear* Jer. 22, 5, **הרימתי** *I raise* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. 14, 22.

Here (in the sphere of our Present) the Perfect and the Imperfect meet together and are used with equal propriety, according as the speaker views the action or state expressed by the verb as already existing before, but still continuing or perhaps just now ended, or as then first about coming to pass, in progress, or perhaps occurring at the instant (comp. § 127, 2). Accordingly, we find in nearly the same sense **לא יכלתי** (Ps. 40, 13) and **לא אכל** (Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35). In such cases the two tenses often stand side by side as interchangeable, e. g. Is. 5, 12, Prov. 1, 22, Job 3, 17, 18.

4. Even for our *Future*, in *protestations* and *assurances*, in which the mind of the speaker views the action as already accomplished, being as good as done. In German and English the Present is often used, in this case, for the Future. So in stipulations or promises in the way of a contract, Gen. 23, 11 *I give* (**נתתי**) *to thee the field*, v. 13 *I give* (**נתתי**) *money for the field*; particularly in promises made by God, Gen. 1, 29, 15, 18, 17, 20. Also in confident discourse (*Perfectum confidentiæ*) especially when God is said to be about to do something (with reference to the divine counsel, where it is already present as an accomplished fact), e. g. **פדיתה אותי יהוה** *thou deliverest me, O Lord* (Ps. 31, 6); hence frequently used in lively representations of the future, and in *prophecies* (*Perfectum propheticum*), e. g. Is. 9, 1 *the people who walk in darkness see* (**ראו**) *a great light*, 5, 13 *therefore my people goes into captivity* (**גלה**).

The Arabs likewise employ the Perfect, generally made still stronger by the particle **כִּי**, in emphatic promises, etc. They say, *I have already given it to thee*, meaning, it is as good as done.¹—A similar usage is that of the Lat. *perii*, Gr. *ἔλαλα, διέφθορα* Il. 15, 128.

¹ The assurance that something will happen, can also serve to express the wish that something may happen. So Gen. 40, 14 **נְסִיחָתִי נָא עֲמִידִי חֲסִידִי** *and do thou a kindness, I pray, with me* (prop. thou surely dost kindness with me, I hope), *and make mention of me to Pharaoh*. The addition of **אֵל** makes this sense of the Perf. here unquestionable. In Arabic, likewise, the Perf. is employed in wishes and obtestations. In Heb. further, Job 21, 16 **הַחֲסִידִים בְּרִיחֵי מִנִּי** *be far from me!* 22, 18. Comp. the use of the Perfect consecutive when following the Imperative, in No. 6, c.

5. For the so-called *relative tenses*, in which the past is the principal idea, viz.—*a*) for the *Imperfect* or *Pluperfect subjunctive* (for which the *Imperfect* too can stand, § 127, 5), as in Is. 1, 9 *except the Lord of Hosts had left* (הוֹדִיר) *unto us* לְעִמְרָה דְּמִינִי (הִינֵנוּ) כְּסֹדֶם *as Sodom were we, to Gomorrah were we like*, Gen. 21, 7 *מי מִלֵּל who would have said?* (Quis dixerit?); —*b*) Num. 14, 2 *would that we had died!* (לֵי with the *Imperfect* would be, *would that we should die!* § 136, 2), Judg. 13, 23, 1 Sām. 13, 13 (הִזִּיךְ) Job 3, 13, 10, 18, 19 *לֹא הָיִיתִי כְּאִשֶּׁר I should be as if I had not been*, 23, 10, Ruth 1, 12, *if I thought*, etc.;—*c*) for the *Future Perfect* (*futurum exactum*) e. g. Is. 4, 4 *אִם יִרְחַץ he shall have washed away*, prop. *if he has washed away*, 6, 11.—Gen. 43, 14 *כְּאִשֶּׁר שֶׁכַּלְתִּי שֶׁכַּלְתִּי as I am bereaved* (for, if I shall be, *ubi orbus fuero*) *then I am bereaved* (the language of despondent resignation), Est. 4, 16.

* * *

6. In all the foregoing cases we have considered the *Perfect* independently of logical connection with preceding verbs. Not less diversified however is the use of the so-called *perfectum consecutivum* which is joined to a preceding clause by וְ (Wāw consecutive of the Perfect); it is then coordinate with another *perf. consec.*, or represents a consequence from such actions as have preceded in the *Imperfect* or any of its equivalents (*Imperative, Participle*). The consequence may be an immediate and necessary one (consecutive in the stricter sense) or merely external, based upon the simple succession of time (v. examples). On the distinction in the form of the *perf. consec.* through the shifting of the tone v. § 49, 3.

This exchange of the *perf.* with the *impf.* or its equivalents, and vice-versa, the *impf.* with the *perf.* is a prominent peculiarity of the Hebrew *consecutio temporum*. It not only offers a certain compensation for the lack of tenses and moods, but it also yields to the Hebrew style, the charm of an important articulation, the action which is going on, coming soon to a quiet stop in the perfect, and later again continuing anew. The regularity of this change, it is true, belongs rather to the higher style, and even there it depends more upon the view of the speaker, viz. whether he considers an action as the logical consequence of the preceding one, or simply as coordinate. (In the latter case he would use the same tense).—The former custom of giving to the Wāw

bring him; Gen. 20, 11 *there is no fear of God in the place* וְלֹא יִרְאֶה אֱלֹהִים *and (therefore) they will kill me* (i. e. there is etc., so they kill me), 45, 12, 13, Ex. 6, 6. Comp. Ps. 25, 11 *for thy name's sake* וְשֵׁם יְהוָה *so forgive (or thou wilt forgive)*. For letter *b*, Gen. 33, 10 *if I have found favour* וְיִסְלַחְתָּ *then take*; and without the conditional particle (§ 155, 4, a), Gen. 44, 22 *should he leave his father* וְיָצַח *then he (the father) would die*, verses 28, 29; 33, 13, 42, 38, 1 K. 3, 14.—Also to other very various specifications of the present we find appended those of the future by means of וְ with the *Perf.* (e. g. Judg. 13, 3 *thou art barren* וְיִלְדָּה *but thou shalt conceive and bear*, 1 Sam. 9, 8 *here is the fourth part of a shekel* וְנָתַתִּי *and I give it*), or commands and wishes (e. g. Ruth 3, 9 *I am Ruth* וּפָרַשְׁתִּי *and spread thou*), or also of interrogation (e. g. Ex. 5, 5 *the people are many in the land* וְהַשְׁבַּחֵם אִתָּם *and will you let them rest?* Gen. 29, 15, 1 Sam. 25, 10, 11).

2. A very frequent formula in prophetic language (like וְיָרִיד *and it came to pass* in the historic style) is וְיָרִיד *and it will come to pass*. This is found as well in coordination with other consecutive perfects, as after imperfects (or their equivalents, see Rem. 1), especially when a particular time is named, as Is. 7, 18 וְיָרִיד בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִשְׂרָאֵל.

§ 127.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT.

Although the signification of the Imperfect is almost more comprehensive still than that of the Perfect, yet the language has here a more definite expression for certain modal relations which lie in the sphere of the *Imperfect*, inasmuch as it has (as shown, in § 48) a shortened and a lengthened form of the Imperfect, the former as the *Jussive* and the latter as the *Cohortative* (see § 128). The *Wāw consecutive* also has a very extensive and important influence on this tense (§ 129). Yet the shortening, as has been shown in treating of the verb (§ 48), is not obvious, at least orthographically, in all the forms; and in other respects, also, there is some uncertainty, so that the common form occurs occasionally in almost all the relations, for which the shortened form is especially designed.

The Imperfect forms, in general, the contrary of the Perfect, and expresses, accordingly, what is unfinished or just incoming, what is taking place and future, but also what re-

peatedly happens and is continued at any point of time, even of the past (see Note ² on p. 118).

Hence the Imperfect stands—

1. For *future time* simply Gen. 9, 11 לֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד מַבּוּל *there shall not again be a flood*, Ex. 4, 1 הֵן לֹא־אֲמִינִי לִי וְלֹא *they will not believe me nor hearken to my voice, for they will say, etc.*; Gen 6, 1, 9, 5, 1 K. 1, 13, 24, 30 יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרַי *he will (or shall) reign after me*. Also in speaking of the future from some point of view in the past, as 2 K. 3, 27 *the first-born who was to reign (regnaturus erat)*, Gen. 43, 25 *they had heard that they should eat (יֹאכְלוּ) there*, Ps. 78, 6 *so that בְּנִים יִוָּלְדוּ sons who (in the future) should be born (qui nascituri essent, at the same time with the secondary idea of an action repeated in the future) should know it*. For *Fut. Perfect* only in connection with a *Perf.* in the same sense (§ 126, 5, b) Is. 4, 4, 6, 11.

2 For *present time* (very often), comp. § 126, 3, Rem. e. g. 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא אֲדַע *I know not*, Is. 1, 13 לֹא אֲרַבֵּל *I cannot bear*, Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35, 37, 15 מַה־תִּבְקֹשׁ *what seekest thou?* Gen. 44, 7, Ex. 5, 15, 1 Sam. 1, 8, Ps. 1, 2, 3.—In almost all these examples the *Imperfect* presents at the same time an action lasting to the present; this idea of an action continuing or constantly recurring is still stronger when permanent facts are concerned which take place now and always shall take place, or generally recognized experiences, e. g. Gen. 43, 32 *the Egyptians may not eat with the Hebrews*, Job 4, 17 *is man just before God?* 2, 4, Prov. 15, 20 בֶּן חָכָם יִשְׂמַח אָב *a wise son gladdens a father*; and very often so in Job and Proverbs. Comp also the phrase לֹא־יִעָשֶׂה כֵּן *it is not the custom to (must not) be done so* (v. No. 4, d), Gen. 29, 26, 34, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 12. More rarely also the *perfect* stands in the above cases. § 126, 3, a, b.

In the same formula we find at one time the *Perfect* and at another the *Imperfect*, but not necessarily without difference of meaning, e. g. Job 1, 7 מֵאֵיזֶה תָּבֹא *whence comest thou?* (because here the coming is conceived as being still in its latest stadium; on the other hand) Gen. 16, 8 אֵי־מִזֶּה תָּבֹא *whence art thou come?*

3. For a number of relations which in Latin are expressed by the *Subjunctive*, especially by the *Present Subjunctive*. In this way is expressed what is future or what is expected to occur, according to a subjective view such as the will of the individual or according to some other presupposition. It stands—

- a) For the Subjunctive in cases like Job 10, 18: אָנֹכִי *I should have given up the ghost*, etc.; vs. 19, אֶהְיֶה *I should have become*. Then frequently after particles signifying *that, that not (ut, ne)*, as אֲשֶׁר, specially לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר and לִמְעַן (without אֲשֶׁר), also יֵדֶן אֲשֶׁר *that, in order that*, thus in consecutive and final clauses;¹ e. g. Gen. 11, 7 אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ *that they may not understand*, Num. 17, 5 לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקְרַב *that there come not near*, Deut. 4, 1 לִמְעַן תַּחֲיוּ *that ye may live*, Ps. 78, 6, Ez. 12, 12 יֵדֶן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִרְאֶה *that he see not*; and after פֶּן *that not, lest* e. g. Gen. 3, 22. Also after a simple ו, e. g. Lam. 1, 19 הֵיטְבָּה לָהֶם וְיִשְׁכְּלוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם *that they might sustain their life*.
- b) For the Optative. As a rule this is expressed by the *cohortative* (in the first person) or *Jussive* (2d and 3d person) § 128, 1, and to the latter word belong also all those examples in which the form of the *Jussive* is not distinguished from the usual form of the *Imperfect*. Sometimes the optative signification may be known then from the added particle כֵּן² (§ 128, 1, 2); e. g. Ps. 7, 10 יִגְמְרֵנָּה *O that might cease—!* Gen. 44, 18 יִבְרֶנָּה עַבְדְּךָ *might thy servant speak!* i. e. *let me speak*, v. 33 יִשְׁבֵּנָּה *may he now abide!* Yet, at times, the full form is employed, even when the shortened one might have been possible, e. g. הִרְאֵה *let appear* Gen. 1, 9 (and so frequently with the Imperfects לֵ"ה, comp. 41, 34), תֵּשִׁיחַ Prov. 22, 17.
- c) For the Imperative, as soon as it would have to be joined to a negation (which acc. to § 46, 1 is impossible), there—

¹ When these particles have causal signification, the Perfect takes the place of the Imperfect; e. g. יֵדֶן אֲשֶׁר *because* with the *Perf.* in Judg. 2, 20, אֲשֶׁר *because* in Gen. 34, 27.

² The particle כֵּן (§ 105) gives to the optative the force of a modest request. On its use with the first person, see § 128, 1.

fore to express negative commands (prohibitions) then either **לֹא** is joined with the pure imperfect in the sense of a certain expectation (comp. Ger. *das wirst du nicht thun!* "that wilt thou not do!" as the strongest form of command) therefore especially with divine commands, e. g. **לֹא תִגְנוֹב** *thou shalt* (prop. *wilt*) *not steal* Ex. 20, 15 (also verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10); or **אַל** with the *Jussive* in the sense of disuasion or of deprecatory wish, or (with the third person) opinion that something ought not to occur, as **אַל־תִּירָא** *fear not* Gen. 46, 3. As in this example, so also elsewhere, the *Jussive* after **אַל** coincides frequently with the usual form of the Imperfect (comp. above, letter *b*); however also here occurs sometimes the shortened form after **אַל** especially after verbs **ל"ה** e. g. **אַל־תַּעֲשֶׂה** 2 Sam. 13, 12; with the third person to express a negative wish Job 3, 9 **אַל־יִרְאָה**; however also **אַל־תִּכְרֹת** Gen. 19, 17; **אַל־יָנִים** Ps. 121, 3 (comp. § 128, 2, *b*).—Finally belong here the cases in which the *Impf.* in the 1st person expresses an obligation or necessity of the action as Job 9, 29 **אֲרֻשֶׁעַ** *if I* (needs must) *be wicked*; 12, 4 **אֶהְיֶה** comp. 9, 15, 19, 16.

- d*) For the so-called Potential, where we use *may, can, might, could, ought, etc.*; e. g. Gen. 2, 16 **אָכַל תֹּאכַל** *thou mayest surely eat*, Gen. 3, 2, 3, Prov. 20, 9 **מִי יֹאמַר** *who can say?* Gen. 43, 7 **הֲיָדָע נָדַע** *could we really know?* Gen. 20, 9 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה** (deeds) *that may (or should) not be done*; comp. with this No. 2 above, at the end.

4. Even within the sphere of the *past* the Imperfect has scope; and it is so used chiefly in these cases:—

- a*) After the particles **אָז** *then*,¹ **טָרַם** *not yet*, **בְּטָרַם** (*in not yet*) *before*; e. g. Josh. 10, 12 **אָז יִדְבֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ** *then spake Joshua*, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 21, 17, 1 K. 3, 16, Gen. 2, 5 **טָרַם יְהִיָּה** *there was not yet*, 19, 4, 24, 45 (on the other hand, verse 15 *Perfect*) 1 Sam. 3, 7, everywhere in the sense of our *Pluperfect*; 37, 18 for our *Imperfect*; **בְּטָרַם תֵּצֵא** *before thou camest forth* (*priusquam exires*) Jer. 1, 5 (compare the use

¹ After **אָז** signifying *then* in respect to future time, the Imperfect has the force of our Future (Ex. 12, 48, Ps. 2, 5).

of the Perf. and Impf. in the same sentence after מָרַם in 1 Sam. 3, 7).

- b) Often also of constantly repeated actions, of what is customary and habitual, like the Imperfect of the Latin and French. Repeated or customary action, as it involves the conception of something ever recurring or unfinished, is fitly expressed by the Imperfect; Job 1, 5 *thus did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *Job continually*, 22, 6, 7, 29, 12, 13, Ex. 1, 12, Judg. 6, 4, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 1, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 18 *for so the king's daughters used to clothe themselves* (תִּלְבָּשְׁנָה), 1 K. 5, 25, Ps. 42, 5, 78, 40, Job 23, 11. No less belong here cases where the *Impf.* represents the longer duration of an action in the past, etc., e. g. Gen. 2, 6: *there went up* (continually) *a mist* (יָעִלָּה); Judges 2, 1 (אָעִלָּה); Is. 6, 4 (יִפְּלֵא); Ps. 32, 4 (תִּכְבְּדַ), 18, 31 (אֲרִידֶה); Job 15, 8 (תִּשְׁמַע).
- c) Of momentary actions, where the Perfect might be expected. This takes place, especially in poetry, on the same principle as we employ the Present tense in lively representations of the past (v. above letter b), e. g. Is. 51, 2, Job 3, 3, 11, 4, 12, 15, 16, 10, 10, 11, 15, 7, Ps. 18, 7; in prose probably 1 K. 3, 4 (יָעִלָּה).

5. For the Lat. Imperfect (or Present) Subjunctive, especially in conditional sentences (the *modus conditionalis*), in both the protasis (antecedent clause) and the apodosis (consequent clause), or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 . . . כִּי־אֵלֶּךָ *even if I should go . . . I should not fear*, Job 5, 8 *I would apply unto God* (were I in thy place), 9, 20 אֲצַדֵּק *if I were just*, 3, 13, 16, 14, 14, 15, 23, 10, Ruth 1, 13 (after perfects in the antecedents, v. 12). However the imperfects of the examples will have to be taken in part as jussive forms. Comp. § 128, 2, c.

§ 128.

USE OF THE COHORTATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

1. The Imperfect as lengthened by the ending ה־ (the *Cohortative*, § 48, 3) is used almost exclusively in the first person; and is expressive of *resolve* or *endeavour*. Hence this form is employed,—

- a) to express excitement of one's self, or a determination, spoken with some degree of emphasis; Ps. 31, 8 **אֶזְלִיָּה** *let me be glad and rejoice!* 2, 3. **נִתְחַקֵּה** (*come!*) *let us break asunder*, Gen. 11, 3. With less emphasis, in soliloquy and simple expressions of will; Ex. 3, 3 **אֶסְבֶּה נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה** *I will turn aside now and see*, Gen. 18, 21, 32, 21;
- b) to express a wish, a request (for permission); Deut. 2, 27 **רַחֵם אֶעֱבֹרָה** *let me pass through*, Num. 20, 17 **נָּא יַעֲבֹדָה נָּא** *let us, pray, pass through*;
- c) when a purpose is expressed, the tense being then commonly joined by ו to a preceding Imperative; Gen. 27, 4 *bring it hither* **וְאֶכְלֶה** *and I will eat*=that I may eat, 29, 21, 42, 34, Deut. 32, 1, Job 10, 20, Ps. 2, 8, 39, 14;
- d) less frequently it stands in conditional sentences with *if, though*, expressed or implied, Job 6, 10, 16, 6 *though I speak . . . and (though) I forbear*; 11, 17, 19, 18, 30, 26, Ps. 139, 8; so perhaps also **אֶרְדֵּף** 2 Sam. 22, 38: *when I pursued*, but comp. Ps. 18, 38;
- e) moreover, it stands, frequently after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2)

2. The shortened Imperfect (the *Jussive*, § 48, 4) stands principally,—

- a) in the expression of command, wish and request, as **חֲזִיץ** *proferat* Gen. 1, 24 (on the contrary, as Indicative **חֲזִיץ** *profert* Is. 61, 11), **יָקֵם** *stabiliat* Jer. 28, 6, Num. 6, 25, 26, Gen. 33, 9 **יְהִי לְךָ** *be it to thee*, **יְהִי לִי** *utnam fiat* Gen. 30, 34; also joined to a preceding Imper. by ו (comp. No. 1, c), as in Ps. 27, 14 **וְיָאֲמֹץ לִבִּי** *take courage and let thy heart be strong*, Ex. 8, 4 **וְיִסֹּר** *intreat the Lord and may he take away*=that he may take away, 10, 17, Judg. 6, 30, 1 Sam. 7, 3, 1 K. 21, 10, Prov. 20, 22, Est. 7, 2 **וְיֵעָשׂ** *and it shall be done*;
- b) with a negative in prohibition, etc. Generally after **אַל**, acc. to § 127, 3, c, e. g. **אַל תִּשְׁחַד** Ex. 23, 1; in the tone of entreaty: **אַל תִּשְׁבֹּב אֶדְפְּנִי** *destroy not* Deut. 9, 26, **אַל תִּשְׁבֹּב אֶדְפְּנִי** *turn not away my face* 1 K. 2, 20, Ps. 27, 9, 69, 18, or of warning, as **אַל יִרְאֶמֶן** *let him not trust* Job 15, 31,

be thou not Prov. 3, 7; sometimes in the sense of a negative assurance, the contents being put as something that must not happen e g. Is 2, 9, Ps. 41, 3, 50, 3, 121, 3, Prov. 3, 3, 25, Job 5, 22, 20, 17. Rarely the *Jussive* stands also after לֹא (Gen 24, 8, 1 K. 2, 6), the strict command as originally intended having been softened subsequently by the *Jussive* (for לֹא with the *Indic. Impf*, comp. § 127, 3, c); c) frequently in conditional sentences (like the Arabic usage) in both the protasis and the apodosis (comp. § 127, 5); thus in Ps 45, 12 (יִצְאֵר *desues he . . . then*), 104, 20 (הָשֵׁת *setttest thou darkness . . . then it becomes night*), Hos. 6, 1 (יֵד), Is. 41, 28 (וְאֵרָא), Gen. 4, 12 (לֹא-תִסָּקֵה), Ex. 7, 9 (יִהְיֶה), Lev. 15, 24 (אִם . . . יִהְיֶה), Job 10, 16, 13, 5, 22, 28.

Undoubtedly the use of the *Jussive* in conditional sentences is based on its original signification of volition. something may be so and so, then this and that must occur as consequence. Examples however as Job 9, 33 *there is no arbiter between us who may lay* (יָשֵׁר being plainly a subject=*qui ponat*) show that in such cases the voluntative has been weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and thus the *Jussive* serves to express such facts as may *eventually* occur. To this must be added frequent cases where the *Jussive* stands without any secondary meaning instead of the usual *Imperfect* and this occurs not only in the place where a mistaking of the form may spring from the defective writing (Ps 25, 9, 47, 4, Job 13, 27, 20, 23b, 27, 22) but also in shortened forms as יִהְיֶה Job 13, 12, 20, 23, 28 (יִגַּל) This use of the *Jussive* can hardly come from a poetical license, but rather from rhythmical reasons. All the above cited examples show the *Jussive* at the head of the sentence (i e the farthest removed from the principal tone), others immediately before the principal pause (Job 24, 14, 29, 3, 40, 19), even in the pause (Job 23, 9, 11) as a pure shortening of sound in consequence of the intense attraction of the tone—Moreover as the *Jussive* in numerous cases does not differ from the usual form of the *Imperfect* (§ 48, 4. § 127, 3, b. c) it is frequently doubtful which of the two the author has intended.

§ 129.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), stands **only** in close connection with something preceding. Most commonly a narrative begins with a *Perfect*, and then goes

on in the *Imperfect* with *Wāw* consecutive; e. g. Gen. 4, 1 and Adam knew (יָדַע) Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare (וַתַּחַר וַתֵּלֶד) Cain, 6, 9, 10, etc., 10, 9, 10, 15, 19, 11, 12—15, 27, 28, 14, 5, etc., 15, 1, 2, 16, 1, 2, 21, 1, etc., 24, 1, 2, 25, 19, 20, etc., 36, 2—4, 37, 2.¹

If there be, however, any connection however loose with an earlier event, the *Impf.* with *Wāw* cons. may even begin a narrative or a section of one; in which case we find a most frequent use of יָרַד (καὶ ἐγένετο) and it happened Gen. 11, 1, 14, 1, 17, 1, 22, 1, 26, 1, 27, 1.²

Representing a temporal or logical sequence the *Impf. consec.* may be placed after quite various antecedent clauses. Thus it stands—*a*) after a causal clause, e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 because thou hast rejected the Lord's word וַיִּתְּצֵם so he too rejected thee,—*b*) after an absolute noun, e. g. 1 K. 12, 17 as to the children of Israel, הַיְיָמֶלֶךְ so Rehoboam reigned over them, 9, 21, Jer. 6, 19, Dan. 8, 22.³

The *Imperfect* with ו stands purely as a consecutive also after interrogative sentences like the following: Ps. 144, 3 what is man וַתִּתְּנֵהוּ that thou takest knowledge of him! (comp Ps. 8, 5, where כִּי is used), Job 7, 17, Is. 51, 12 who art thou וַתִּירָא that thou shouldst be afraid?

2. As to the relations of time indicated by this *Imperfect of consecution*, we may remark that, in accordance always with the preceding tense, it may refer—

- a*) to the present time, as being a sequent, and continued representation of actions and conditions reaching down from the past (lasting in their effects), often with the secondary idea of an intended sequence. Thus after a

¹ The preceding *Perf.* is, at times, only implied in the sense, particularly in specifications of time, e. g. Gen. 11, 10 Shem (was) 100 years old וַיֵּלֶד and he begat, 10, 1. So also in Gen. 22, 4 on the third day וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת־עֵינָיו then (prop. and) he lifted up his eyes, which in full would be, it happened on the third day that—, 1 Sam. 4, 20, Is. 6, 1, 37, 19.

² This connection is customary when a specification of time is to be made, e. g. Gen. 22, 1 וַתִּירָא אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ אֱלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת־אַבְרָהָם and it happened after these things, that God tried Abraham, וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי אָרְכָה לוֹ שָׁם יְיָמָיו, 39, 13, 15, 18, 19; Judg. 15, 16, 25. See the numerous passages in Gesenius, Thes. Ling. Hebr. p. 372. Comp. וַיִּהְיֶה used of futurity (§ 126, Rem. 2).

³ On the sentences which begin with the *Infinitive* or *Participle*, and then proceed with this *Imperfect of consecution*, see § 132, Rem. 2, and § 134, Rem. 2.

Perfect, Gen. 19, 9 (*to judge continually*), Is 2, 7, 8, Ps. 7, 16, 16, 9, 29, 10, 33, 9, Job 7, 9, 14, 2; or an *Imperfect* (as a *Present*), Ps. 3, 5, 42, 6, Job 4, 5, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 29; or a *Participle* 2 Sam. 19, 2, Amos 9, 6, Nah. 1, 4, Job 12, 4; or after other equivalents of the present, as in Ps. 144, 3, Job 10, 22, Is. 51, 12; v. above No. 1, Rem.;

- b) less frequently to futurity, when preceded by a *Perfect consecutive* or prophetic (in the sense of a *Future*), Is. 5, 15, 16, 9, 10, 13, 22, 7, 8, Joel 2, 23, Mic. 2, 13, Ps. 120, 1; unto Jehovah I call (קָרָאתִי) and he hears me (וַיִּשְׁמָעֵנִי), comp. Job 9, 16 if I had called (אִם־קָרָאתִי) and he had answered me (וַיַּעֲנֵנִי); also joined to a clause without a verb, e. g. Gen. 49, 15, or to an absolute noun, e. g. Is. 9, 11, or to introduce such future events as will result necessarily from facts just described, Is. 2, 9.

In the apodosis after לִינָא *utinam* stand וַיִּדְרֶה Is. 48, 18, 19 ff. *so that were* (=so will be); in a conditional clause וְאָמַר Ps. 139, 11 and (if) I should say (prop. *did I speak in consequence*); Ex. 4, 23 now if I speak to thee (וְאָמַרְתִּי) and thou refusest (וְלֹא־תִשְׁמָעַן) behold I shall, etc. comp. § 127, 5.

§ 130.

THE IMPERATIVE.

1. The Imperative expresses not only command in the strict sense, but also exhortation (Hos. 10, 12), entreaty (then with נָא 2 K. 5, 22, Is. 5, 3), wish (with לִי as a more urgent form, instead of the Perf. or Impf. Gen. 23, 13), permission (2 Sam. 18, 23, Is. 45, 11). It is employed especially in assurances, strong promises (comp. *thou shalt have it*, which sounds like a command) Ps. 128, 5 *thou shalt see* (רָאִיתָ) *the prosperity of Jerusalem*, Gen. 45, 18, Is. 37, 30, 65, 18.¹

Rem. Very frequently, the Imperative is enlivened in expression by the addition of the particle נָא *now! pray!* (§ 105); this serves as well to soften a command, and to put it rather in the form of an entreaty

¹ Analogous to these assurances in the form of the imperative is the form of menace in the comic writers, *vapula* Ter. Phorm. V. 6, 10, *vapulare te jubeo* Plaut. Curculio, IV. 4, 12.

(v. above) Gen. 12, 13, 24, 2 as to strengthen an exhortation uttered in the form of rebuke or menace e. g. Num. 16, 26, 20, 10. In the sense of ironical permission we have עֲמַדְרִינָא *only persist!* Is. 47, 12, comp. Job 40, 10.

2. The above mentioned use of the Imperative for the expression of firm assurances occurs especially also in those clauses where an Imperative with ך is joined to another, not in a mere coordination (as Is. 56, 1) but rather so that the first one imposes a condition, and the second announces a result of the fulfilled condition (like the Lat. *divide et impera*), e. g. a) with assurances Gen. 42, 18 עֲשׂוּ דְחַיִּי *this do, and (ye shall) live*, Prov. 20, 13 כִּפֹּף עֵינֶיךָ *keep thine eyes open (be wakeful, active), have (i. e. then shalt thou have) plenty of bread*, Ps. 37, 3, 27, Prov. 4, 4, 7, 2, 9, 6, 2 K. 5, 13, Job 22, 21, Is. 36, 16, 45, 22, Amos 5, 4, 6; likewise after an Imperfect (Jussive or Optative) Gen. 20, 7, Job 11, 6, Ruth 1, 9; even after an Imperfect in a deliberative question 2 Sam. 21, 3;— b) where, a threat is expressed, the first Imp. ironically permitting an act, while the second denounces the consequences, Is. 8, 9 רָעוּ עַמִּים וְהָיוּ *rage, ye people, and be ye (i. e. ye shall surely be) dismayed*, Is. 29, 9. Instead of the second Imp. the Impf. stands when the 3d person is introduced Is. 8, 10. *Take counsel and it shall come to nought.*

Rem. 1. How far the *Perf.* and *Impf.* may be employed to express command or prohibition has been shown in § 126, 6, c, § 127, 3, c.

2. It is incorrect to suppose that the Imperative is used, as some grammarians maintain, for the *third person* (*let him kill*). Among the examples adduced of this usage is Gen. 17, 10 לְכָל זָכָר קִלְעֵהוּ *every male among you shall he circumcised* (in verse 12, קִלְעֵהוּ is used; but קִלְעֵהוּ here is rather the Infinitive absolute comp. § 131, 4, b); In Ps. 22, 9 (גִּל), Gen. 31, 50, Judg. 9, 28, Is. 45, 21 we have actual Imperatives of the 2d person.

§ 131.

USE OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

The Infinitive absolute (comp. § 45) is employed, when there is occasion to express the action of the verb by itself, neither connected with something following e. g. with the

genitive nor dependent on a preceding noun or particle.¹ Thus the infinitive absolute stands—

1. When it is governed by a *transitive verb*, and stands in fact as an accusative; Is. 42, 24 **לֹא אָבוּ הַלֶּחֶף** *they would not go*, 1, 17, 7, 15 **בָּרַע וַיִּבְחֹר בְּטוֹב** *until he learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good*; it is placed emphatically before in Is. 57, 20, Jer. 9, 4. Here, however, the *Inf. constr.* is oftener used, with or without a preposition, always according to the construction of the preceding verb, § 142, 1, 2.

In the same construction is Is. 22, 13 **הִרְגוּ** *behold! joy and gladness*, **בָּהָר וּשְׁחוּט צֹאן וּגְרֵם** *the slaying (prop. to slay) oxen, the slaughtering sheep, the eating flesh, the drinking wine* (where the Infinitives are mere accusatives governed by *behold!*), Is. 5, 5 **אֲנִי אֶגְדֹּל לָךְ** *I will tell you what I do to my vineyard* (namely) **קָרַיִן גְּדָרָיו** *take away its hedge, tear down its wall*.

2. When it is in the accusative and used *adverbially*² (in Latin as *gerund* in *do*); e. g. **הֵיטֵב** *well* (*bene faciendo* for *bene*), **הַרְבֵּה** *much* (*multum faciendo* for *multum*). Job 15, 3 (in Num. 15, 35 such an adverbial *Inf. absol.*—**רָגַם**, referred by Røediger to 4, *a*,—takes afterwards its subject; v. No 4, Rem. 1). Hence—

3. When it stands in immediate connection with the corresponding *finite verb*:—

a) It then stands most commonly *before* the finite verb, to which it gives *strength* or *intensity* in various shades, e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 **נִשְׁאַל נִשְׁאַל מְמַנִּי** *he urgently besought of me*, Gen. 43, 3 **הִצַּדְנוּ** *he strictly charged us* (**הִצַּדְנוּ**). A very clear example is in Amos 9, 8 *I will destroy it from the face of*

¹ After Prepositions the *Inf. constr.* is always used, because as original substantives they govern the genitive. But when several successive infinitives are to have a preposition, it is often written only before the first; and the second, before which it is to be supplied by the mind, stands in the absolute form, as **לֶאֱכֹל וְלִשְׁתּוֹ** *to eat and (to) drink* Ex. 32, 6; comp. 1 Sam. 22, 13, Jer. 7, 18, 44, 17. This case is analogous with that explained in § 121, 3. Comp. also No. 4, *a*, of this section.

² Of the accusative as a *casus adverbialis*, see § 118. In Arabic it takes, in this case, the distinctive accusative-ending. In general, the *Inf. absol.* answers in most cases (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, of this section) to the accusative of the Infinitive, to which No. 4 also is to be referred.

the earth, except that I will not utterly destroy (לֹא הִשְׁמִיד) *the house of Jacob*; Judg. 1, 28: הוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ *he did not utterly drive them out*. Its effect is often merely to give a certain prominence to the thought contained in the finite verb, which effect other languages produce chiefly by the tone of the voice or by particles, as in assurances, questions (such especially as express excitement in view of something strange and improbable), and contrasts, as in Gen. 43, 7 *could we (then) know?* 37, 8 *will thou (perhaps) rule over us?* verse 10, 31, 30 *hadst thou even gone*¹ (הֲלֹכָה הָלַכְתָּ), *since thou didst so earnestly long* (נִכְסְתָה נִכְסַּפְתָּ) Judg. 15, 13 *we will bind thee, but we will not kill thee*, 1 Sam. 9, 6, *that cometh surely to pass* 2 Sam. 24, 24, Hab. 2, 3.

- b) When the Inf. stands *after* the finite verb, this connection indicates either intensity as in letter *a* (v. Rem. 1; especially with Imperatives, for in this case the *Inf. absol.* always follows, Job 13, 17, 21, 2, 37, 2 = *listen attentively*) but especially *continued* or *lasting* action, as Is. 6, 9 שָׁמְעוּ וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ *hear ye on continually*, Jer. 23, 17, Gen. 19, 9 וְיִשְׁפֹּט וְיִשְׁפֹּט *and he will always be acting the judge!* Two Infinitives absolute may be thus used, 1 Sam. 6, 12 הָלְכוּ הָלְכוּ וְרִנְנוּ *they went going on and lowing*, i. e. *they kept going on and lowing*, 1 K. 20, 37. Instead of the second Inf., a finite verb is sometimes used (Josh. 6, 13, 2 Sam. 13, 19), or a participle (2 Sam. 16, 5).

Rem. 1. This usage in regard to the position of the Inf. is certainly the *common* one, though not without exceptions. It sometimes follows the finite verb which it strengthens, when the idea of *repetition* or *continuance* is excluded by the connection, Is. 22, 17, Jer. 22, 10, Gen. 31, 15, (the *Inf. absol.* still more strengthened by וְיִשְׁפֹּט, likewise in 48, 4). In Syriac, the Inf. when it expresses intensity stands regularly *before*, and in Arab. always *after*, the finite verb.—When a negative is used it is commonly placed between the *Infinitive* and the *finite verb* (Ex. 5, 23), seldom before them both (Gen. 3, 4, Am. 9, 8, Ps. 49, 8).

2. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations may be connected not only the *Inf. absol.* of the same conjugation (Gen. 17, 13,

¹ As much as to say, I understand well wherefore thou art gone, viz. from earnest longing. The Vulgate renders it, *esto, ad tuos ire cupiebas*.

15), but also and oftener that of *Qāl* as the nearest and most general representation of the verbal idea (e. g. *טָרַף טָרַף* Gen. 37, 33, Job 6, 2), or at times of another of like signification (Lev. 19, 20, 2 K. 3, 23). Lastly the *Inf. absol.* may no less be replaced by a substantive of the same stem e. g. Hab. 3, 9, Job 27, 12 (differing from the so-called *figura etymologica*, treated in § 138, 1, Rem. 1).

3. In expressing the idea of *continuance* (letter *b*), the verb *הָלַךְ* is frequently employed, with the signification *to go on, to continue on*, and thus denotes also *constant increase*. The principal idea is then added either in form of the second *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Gen. 8, 3: *וַיִּשָּׁבַד הָהָלֶכֶת וְהַמָּיִם . . .* and the waters flowed off more and more; comp. v. 5, or in form of a *participle* or *verbal adjective*, e. g. 2 Sam. 3, 1, 5, 10; 1 Chron. 11, 9; 1 Sam. 2, 26: *הַיְצִיר שְׁמוּאֵל הָלַךְ וְגָדַל וְטוֹב* the child Samuel went on growing bigger and better. 14, 19; 2 Sam. 18, 25 (*he came always nearer*), Gen. 26, 13 *וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלֹכֶךְ וְגָדַל* he became continually greater and greater. However in the last four examples *גָּדַל* etc. may be construed as *third pers. perf.* A similar mode of expression is found in the French, *le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, i. e. *grows on and gets worse continually*.

4. When it stands in place of the *finite verb*. We must here distinguish the two following cases, viz.—

a) When it is preceded by a *finite verb*. This is frequent, especially in the later writings, in the expression of several successive acts or states, where only the first of the verbs employed takes the required form in respect to *tense* and *person*, the others being simply put in the *Infinitive absolute*. So after several *Perfects*, e. g. Dan. 9, 5 *וְכָרַדְנוּ וְסוּר* we have rebelled and (we have) turned away (properly and a turning away took place; but even in this case the *Infinitive* may be construed as an *accusative*, depending on the general idea of *doing* contained in the *finite verb*). 1 Sam. 2, 28, Is. 37, 19, Jer. 14, 5, Hag. 1, 6 (four *Infinitives*), Zech. 3, 4, 7, 5; after *Perf. consec.* Zech. 12, 10; after *Impf. consec.* Gen. 41, 43 *וַיַּעַזְבֵּן אֹתוֹ* he caused him to ride in the second chariot and placed him; Ex. 8, 11, Judges 7, 19, 2 Chr. 7, 3, after pure *Impfs.* Lev. 25, 14, 32, 44 (three *infinitives*) *וְיָבִיאוּ שָׂדֵי לֵבָיִם* they will buy fields for money. On Num. 15, 35, v. above No. 2.

b) It may stand at the beginning of the sentence, without a preceding *finite verb*. The *Infinitive absolute* (as the pure abstract idea of the verb) may serve as a short and

emphatic expression for any tense and person, which the connection requires; e. g. it stands—*α*) for the *Perf.* in lively narration and description, like the Latin *Infinitivus historicus*; Is. 21, 5 **עָרַף הַשִּׁלְחָן צָפָה הַצִּפִּית אָכַל שָׂוָה** *to prepare the table, to set the watch, to eat, to drink* (sc. this they do), for *they prepare*, etc., 59, 4, Ez. 1, 14, Hos. 4, 2, Job 15, 35; also—*β*) for the *Impf.* especially in the sense of a Future, as in 2 K. 4, 43 **אָכַל וְהוֹרֵר** *to eat and to leave thereof* (sc. ye shall do) Job 42 in a question expressing rebuke; *he wants to contend . . . the faultfinder?* v Rem. 1);—*γ*) most frequently for the emphatic *Imper.* (as in Greek) e. g. Deut. 5, 12 **שָׁמֹר** *to observe* (sc. thou art to, thou shalt); so Ex. 20, 9 **זָכֹר** *to remember* (shalt thou do); compare the full form, **שָׁמֹר תִּשְׁמָרְךָ** Deut. 6, 17, **זָכֹר תִּזְכֹּר** 7, 18;—*δ*) likewise (as exclamation) for the *Cohortative*, Is. 22, 13 **אָכַל וְשָׂוָה** *to eat and to drink!* sc. let us do (these *Infinites* however stand perhaps for the finite verb parallel with the preceding ones; v. No. 1, Rem.) 1 K. 22, 30 *to disguise myself and go* (will I do).

Rem 1. The *Inf. absol.* instead of the *finite verb* is sometimes found in connection with the subject, as in Gen. 17, 10, Ps. 17, 5, Prov. 17, 12, Eccl. 4, 2, Job 40, 2, comp. Num. 15 35.

2. In a few examples the *Inf. constr.* is employed instead of the *Inf. absol.* to strengthen the verbal idea, thus Num. 23, 25 **קָם** in attraction with **גָּם**; likewise **שָׁל** Ruth 2, 16 **הִיוֹתִי** 50, 21, **חָבַל** Neh. 1, 7, everywhere in a rapid flow of speech (Ps. 50, 21, perhaps also out of repugnance to the hiatus **אָרִידָה אָרִידָה**).

§ 132.

INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT

1. The *Inf. constr.* as a verbal substantive is subject to the same relations of case as the noun (§ 117), which are also indicated in the same way. This, it is found,—*a*) in the nominative as the subject of the sentence, Gen. 2, 18 **לֹא טוֹב לֵבֶדֶד הִיוֹת הָאָדָם הָאֶחָד** *not good (lit. the being of man in his separation) that man should be alone*;—*b*) in the genitive, Gen. 29, 7 **צֵת הָאֶמָּה** *tempus colligendi*. Here also belong the cases where the *Infinitive* is dependent on a preposition (as being origin-

ally a noun), see No. 2;—*c*) in the accusative, 1 K. 3, 7 **לֹא יָדַע אֵלֶּיךָ צֵאת וְבֹא** *I know not (how) to go out and to come in*; prop. *I know not the going out and coming in*. (In this case the *Inf. absol.* may also be used, § 131, 1)

2. In translating the Heb. *Inf.* with prepositions (comp. the Greek ἐν ᾧ εἰς αὐτό), in German and English we generally employ a finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Num. 35, 19 **בַּמִּפְגֵּעוֹ בְּיָמָיו** *when he meets him* (prop. *in his meeting with him*), Jer. 2, 35 **עַל אַמְרֶךָ** *because thou sayest* (prop. *on account of thy saying*), Gen. 27, 1 **מֵרְאוֹת** *his eyes were dim so that he did not see* (comp. the use of מִן before a noun to express *distance from*, and the *absence or want* of a thing).

3. As to relations of time, the Infinitive construct may refer also to the past (comp. on the analogous use of the Participle, § 134, 2), e. g. Gen. 2, 4 **בְּהִבְרָאם** *when they were created* (prop. *in their being created*).

Rem. 1. **יָהִי לַעֲשׂוֹת** (also **לַעֲשׂוֹת** with the omission of **יָהִי**) signifies,— 1) *he is about to do, intends or purposes to do, and he is intent upon, is eager to do* (comp. Eng. *he was to do something*), as in Gen. 15, 12 **יָהִי לְבִיא הַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ לָבוֹא** *and the sun was about to go down*. Hence, it serves (with a secondary idea of a lasting action) for a periphrasis of the *Impf.* 2 Ch. 26, 5 **יִרְדֵּי לְרַדֵּשׁ אֱלֹהִים** *and he was seeking God*, without **יָהִי** in Is. 38, 20 **יִרְחֹק לְחַוֵּשִׁיעַנִי** *the Eternal saveth me* 21, 1, Eccles. 3, 15, **אֲשֶׁר לִהְיוֹת** *what is future*, Prov. 19, 8, comp. 16, 20.—2) *It is to do for it must be done* (comp. Eng. *I am to give*), Josh. 2, 5 **יִרְדֵּי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגֹּר** *and the gate was to shut for was to be shut* Is. 37, 26. More commonly without **יָהִי** 2 K. 4, 13 **מַה לַּעֲשׂוֹת** *what (is) to be done for thee?* 13, 19 **לְחַבֹּת** *(it was) to smite* i. e. *thou shouldst have smitten*, Is. 5, 4, Ps. 32, 9, Job 30, 6, Hos. 9, 13, Amos 6, 10, 2 Ch. 19, 2. Also—3) *He is able to do* (comp. the Latin *non est solvendo*), Judg. 1, 19 **לֹא לְחַוֵּרֵי** *he could not drive out*.¹

2. Very frequently, almost regularly, these constructions (described in No. 2) of an *Infinitive* with a preposition, are in a further continuation of speech replaced by the finite verb (i. e. an independent clause). The mind must then supply a conjunction answering to the preposition before the Infinitive. Thus, a Perf. follows in Amos 1, 11 **עַל רִדְפוֹ וְשָׂחָה** *because he pursued him and stifled his compassion*; verse 9; Gen. 27, 45; an *Impf.* with *Wāw consec.* Gen. 39, 18 **יִדְרִי עֲקָרִימִי קוֹלִי וְאֶקְרָא**

¹ This sense is necessary from the context and the parallel passage Josh. 17, 12 **לֹא יָהִי לְחַוֵּרֵשׁ** *Comp. Amos 6, 10 and the formula לֹא יִהְיֶה non licet mihi and the Syr. ܠܐ ܡܝܬܐ non est mihi, non possum.*

and it was when I raised my voice and cried, Is. 80, 12, 88, 9; most commonly an Impf. with only ׀ prefixed, as in Is. 5, 24, 10, 2, 13, 9, 14, 25, 80, 26. (Comp. the similar succession of the Participle and finite Verb, § 134, Rem. 2.)

§ 133.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE INFINITIVE CONSTR. WITH SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

1. The Infinitive may be construed with the case of its verb, and hence, in transitive verbs, it takes the *accusative of the object*; e. g. Num. 9, 15 *לְהִקִּים אֹתוֹהֶם* to set up the Tabernacle, 1 Sam. 19, 1 *לְהַמִּית אֶת־דָּוִד* for to kill David, Gen. 18, 25 *לְהַמִּית צְדִיקִים* for to kill the righteous, 1 K. 12, 15, 15, 4, 2 K. 21, 8, Ez. 44, 30, Lev. 26, 15 *אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי* not to do all my commands, Gen. 19, 29 *בַּהֲפֹךְ אֶת־הָעָרִים* when he overthrew the cities, 48, 11 *רָאָה פָנָיָהּ* to behold thy face, Prov. 21, 15 *עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט* to do judgment.¹ In like manner it takes the accusative of the pronouns, e. g. *לְמַעַן הָקִים אֹתָךְ* in order to establish thee Deut. 29, 12, *לְהָשִׁיבֵנִי* to bring me back Jer. 38, 26, *לְהַרְגֵנִי* to slay me Ex. 2, 14, *לְבַקֶּשְׁנִי* to seek me 1 Sam. 27, 1, 28, 9, 1 Ch. 12, 17, Gen. 25, 26 *בְּלֶדֶת אֹתָם* when (the mother) bare them, *לְיָדַע אֹתִי* for to know me Jer. 24, 7.—If the finite verb governs two accusatives, then they will be employed also with the Infinitive, as *אַחֲרֵי הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אֹתָךְ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת* after God has shown thee all this Gen. 41, 39.

This governing power of the word belongs also to such secondary forms of the infinitive (the so-called *nomina verbalia*) as otherwise passed completely as substantives, as *דַּעַת אֲדִי־יְהוָה* knowledge of the Lord (prop. the knowing the Lord) Is. 11, 9, *לִירְאָה אֹתִי* for to fear me Deut. 5, 26, Is. 30, 28, 56, 6.²

¹ In cases like the last, *מִשְׁפָּט* might be easily regarded as genitive of the object (§ 114, 2), which construction is common in Arabic; but since in other instances *אֵי* (sign of the definite accusative) is used, and since a form like *הָקִים* never occurs in such connection, which form would decidedly mark the constr. state and also the genitive relation (so also *לְדִין צַמִּים* Is. 3, 13, Ps. 50, 4, not *לְדִין ע'*), we must suppose that the Hebrew considered, at least as a general rule, the object of the Inf. to be in the accusative. Compare Nos. 2 and 3.

² For examples of an accusative of the object with the Inf. passive, see § 143, 1, a.

2. The *subject* of the action is commonly put immediately after the Infinitive, sometimes (where the Inf., according to form and signification, is regarded rather as a substantive) in the *genitive*, but mostly in the *nominative*; e. g. 2 Ch. 7, 3 שָׁבַת אֲחֵיהֶם גַּם יַחַד the descending of the fire, Ps. 133, 1 שֹׁכְנֵי הַדָּוָר the dwelling of brethren together, Ex. 17, 1 לִשְׁתּוֹת הָעָם for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people). The *genitive* relation of the subject is quite plain after Infinitives of feminine-ending, as in Gen. 19, 16 בְּחַמְלַת יְהוָה by the Lord's pity on him, Is. 47, 9 בְּעֶצְמַת הַבְּרִיָּה מְאֹד although thy enchantments are very numerous; and also when it is expressed by a suffix, as in בִּקְרָאִי when I call Ps. 4, 2, 4. On the contrary, the *genitive* is excluded, and the subject is to be considered rather in the *nominative*, in such cases as Ps. 46, 3 בְּהִמְרֵי אֶרֶץ (not בְּהִמִּיר) when the earth moves, Deut. 25, 19 בְּהִנִּיחַ יְהוָה לָּהּ when the Lord gives to thee rest. By the lack of case endings,¹ the difference between the *genitive* and *nominative* construction, could not in very many cases, indeed, be made sensible (e. g. with infinitives like קָטַל, קִים etc.); even in cases like הִמִּיר etc. the pretonic lengthening which belongs to the character of the form, may have maintained itself in spite of the following *genitive* (although with suffixes always הַמִּיתָנִי etc.); but when a prefixed לְ with pretonic Qā'mēš stands before the infinitive, a *nominative* of the subject must in all cases be understood, e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשׁוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־לִבּוֹ that the king should lay it to heart, also when the Inf. and the subject are separated, as in Judg. 9, 2 הַמִּשָּׁל בָּכֶם שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ אֶם־מִשָּׁל בָּכֶם אִישׁ אֶחָד whether seventy men rule over you, or one man rules over you? Job 34, 22 לְהַסְתֵּר אֹנֶן שָׁם פְּעִלֵי אֹנֶן that the evil-doers hide themselves there, Ps. 76, 10. See further in No. 3.

3. When both *subject* and *object* are connected with the Infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should come imme-

¹ In Arabic, where the case endings leave no doubt in regard to the construction, one may say: qatlu Zaidin (gen. of subj.) 'Amran (acc.), literally the killing of Z. the 'A. (i. e. Z. killing the A.), and also: qatlu 'Amran (gen. of obj.) Zaidun (nom. of subj.), and even: el-qatlu (with article) Zaidun (nom. of subj.) 'Amran.

diately after the Inf., and then the object. When the latter is necessarily in the accusative, the subject is then put, as in Nô. 2, sometimes in the genitive, but chiefly in the nominative. The genitive (which predominates in Arabic) appears, e. g. in Deut. 1, 27 בשנאת יהוה אתנו *in the Lord's hating us*, Deut. 7, 8 מאהבת יהוה אתכם *because the Lord loves you*, 1 K. 10, 9, Is. 13, 19 כמהסכת אלהים את-סדם *as God overthrew Sodom*, Is. 29, 13 יראתם אתי *their fearing me*, Gen 39, 18 כהרימי קולי *as I lifted up my voice*. But the nominative seems to stand (v. No 2 above) in cases like Is. 10, 15 כהניף שבט אח-מרימיו *as if the rod could shake them that lift it up* (where we should have כהניף, if שבט were in the genitive), and so probably also in cases like 1 K. 13, 4 שמוע המלך את-דבר איש האלהים *as the king heard the word of the man of God*, Is. 32, 7 בדבר לבדו משפט אביון *when the needy speaks justice*, Job 33, 17 להסיר לאדם מעשה *that man should avoid the deed*, Gen. 13, 10, Josh. 14, 7. In Jer. 21, 1, etc. the subject stands separate from the Infm. and is then necessarily a nominative, v. No. 2 at the end.

Now and then the order of the words is different, the object being put immediately after the Inf., and the nominative of the subject coming next (as an after-thought), e. g. Is. 20, 1 בשלח אתו סרגון *when Sargon sent him* Jer 9, 8 לְהַאִיר עֵינֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ *that our God enlighten our eyes*, Josh 14, 11, Is. 5, 24, Ps. 56, 1.

§ 134.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. The Participle has distinct forms for the *active* and the *passive*, yet not for the different *tenses*, but the Participle of all conjugations can apply to every tense, just as the context may require, as מת *dying* (Zech. 11, 9), *he who has died* (*mortuus*), *dead* (very often so used always when a substantive), *he who shall die*, *moriturus* (Gen. 20, 3); נפל *he who falls*, *has fallen*, 1 Sam. 5, 3, *will fall* Is. 30, 13; עשה *facturus* (Gen. 41, 25, Is. 5, 5), נולד *natus* and *nasciturus* (Ps. 22, 32 comp. נברא *creandus* 102, 19); yet it most frequently stands for our *Present*. Only the passive (קטול) answers nearly always to a Lat. or Greek *Part. perf. pass.*, as כתוב *scriptus*, γεγραμμένος

(but see § 50, Rem. 2).—The *passive* Participles stand sometimes also for the Latin Participle in *-ndus*, e. g. נִרְאָה (metuendus) terrible Ps. 76, 8, נְחֻמָּד desirable Ps. 19, 11, זָהֻל (laudandus) worthy to be praised Ps. 18, 4.

2. The Participle, when it stands in place of the finite verb as predicate of the sentence, denotes—

a) Most frequently our *present*,¹ especially in nominal sentences (v. § 144, a) which describe established facts and conditions, e. g. Ecc 1, 4 בָּא דִּרְר הַלֵךְ וּדְרִר *one generation goes, another comes and the earth stands* (עמדה) for ever vs. 7 כָּל-הַנְּחָלִים הֹלְכִים *all the rivers go*, or of actually occurring present events Gen. 4, 10. If the subject is a *personal pronoun*, it is either written, in its separate form, in immediate connection with the Participle, as יִרְאֶה אֹנֹכִי *I fear him* Gen. 32, 12, אֲנֹחֵנוּ יִרְאִים *we are afraid* 1 Sam. 23, 3, or it is appended as a suffix to the word יש (is), as Judg. 6, 36 אַם יִשָּׁע מִיִּשְׁעֵי אֵם *if thou savest*. In the same manner it is appended to אֵין in negative sentences, e. g. אַם אֵינָה אֵם *if thou send not away* Gen. 43, 5

b) Our *future* (conceived of as present, comp. § 126, 4), Is. 5 5 *I will tell you* עֲשֵׂה אֵין *what I (at once) do, for I will do*, Gen. 15, 14, 19, 13, 41, 25, 1 K. 1, 14

c) Also the *past*, especially in clauses representing actions or situations which have taken place simultaneously with other past actions Job 1, 16 בָּא עֵד זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה מְבֹרָךְ *the one (was) still speaking, and another came*, vs. 17, Gen. 19, 1, 42, 35, Judg. 13, 9, 1 Sam. 17, 23, 1 K. 1, 22. But it is also used in independent nominal sentences, e. g. Deut. 4, 3 עֵינֶיכֶם הָרְאוּ *your eyes that have seen*² Gen. 39, 22 (עֲשִׂים), 23, Ex. 2, 6, 1 K. 1, 5

With the verb הָיָה it serves to express our Imperfect,³ Job 1, 14 הָיָה הַבָּקָר הָרֹעֵה *the oxen were ploughing* (again with the secondary idea of an action having lasted simultaneously in the past), Gen. 39, 22, Ex. 3, 1, Judg. 1, 7, 16, 21.

Rem. 1. In all the three cases alluded to above, a, b, c, הִנֵּה is employed before the Participle for awakening special attention; e. g. for our *present*, הִנֵּה הֵן *behold! thou (art) with child* (Gen. 16, 11, 27, 42), for our *future* (Gen. 6, 17, 20, 3, Ex. 31, 11, Is. 3, 1, 7, 14, 17, 1), for the *past* (Gen. 37, 7, 41, 17)

¹ In Aramaic, it is more frequently used for the *Present* than in its proper signification as a Participle.

² For the use of the article here before the predicate, see § 110, 3, Rem.

³ In Syriac the participle with הִנֵּה (= הִנֵּה) serves regularly to express the *Impf.*, as the participle with the personal pronoun (lit. a) expresses the *present*.

2. By a change of construction, the Participle often passes over immediately to a finite verb; when the pronouns *that, who*, etc. (אֲשֶׁר) implied in the Participle, must be mentally supplied before the verb. So *Part. and Perf.* in Is. 14, 17 *that made* (שָׁם) *the world as a wilderness, and (who) destroyed* (הָרַס) *the cities thereof.* Also *Part. and Impf. (Present)*, e. g. Is. 5, 8 בָּיִת בְּבֵית שָׂדֵה וּשְׂדֵה בְּשָׂדֵה יִקְרִיבוּ *woe to those who connect house with house (and who) join field to field*, 1 Sam. 2, 8, Prov. 19, 26. Also with *Wāw consec.* e. g. Gen. 27, 33 וַיֵּצֵד וַיָּבֵא *that hunted game and hath brought it*, 35, 3, Ps. 18, 33. (The case is strictly analogous when the Inf. is replaced by the finite verb, § 132, Rem. 2).

3. The personal pronoun, which might be expected as the subject of a participial sentence, is often omitted (see above letter *a*) at least the pronoun of the 3d person (הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵנָּה); comp. Gen. 39, 22 (עָשִׂים), Is. 26, 3; 29, 8; 40, 19, Ps. 22, 29, 55, 20; Job 12, 17, 19 ff.; 25, 2; the pronoun of the 2d person (אַתָּה) seems to be omitted in Ps. 7, 10 (with בִּי) and Hab. 2, 10 (with חֲסִידָא); the pronoun of the 1st person (אֲנִי) Hab. 1, 5 (with מַעַל) and Zech. 9, 12 (with מַגִּיד).

§ 135.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. When Participles are followed by the object of the action which they express, they are construed in two ways; either—*a*) as verbal-adjectives (in the absol. state) with the accusative or a preposition, just as the verbs to which they belong may require, e. g. 1 Sam. 18, 29 אִיב אֶחָדֶיךָ *David's enemy* (prop. *one hating David*), 1 K. 9, 23 הָיִדִים בָּנָם *they who rule the people*, Ps. 5, 5 רָשָׁע חָפֵץ *loving wickedness*, Ez. 9, 2 לְבוּשׁ בָּדִים *clothed with linen garments*; or—*b*) as nouns (in const. state) followed by a genitive (§ 112, 2); e. g. Gen. 22, 12 יִרָא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing (= a fearer of) God*, Ps. 84, 5 יֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתְךָ *inmates of thy house*, Ez. 9, 11 לְבוּשׁ הַבָּדִים *the one clothed with linen garments*, 2 Sam. 13, 31 קָרְעֵי בִגְדֵיהֶם *(lacerati vestibus) those who have rent garments*; and with poetic colouring, as in יֹרְדֵי בֹר *those who have descended to the pit* Is. 38, 18, שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *those who lie in the grave* Ps. 88, 6, מְשִׁימֵשׁ *(levatus culpā) he whose transgression is forgiven* Ps. 32, 1; rarely also like מְשָׁרְתֵי אֲתִי *who serve me* Jer. 33, 22 (מְשָׁרְתֵי— in preceding verse).

This latter construction with the genitive is properly confined to participles of transitive verbs (§ 138). The Participle of **בוא** *to enter in*, is also construed thus, as this verb stands with the accusative (comp. *ingredi portam*); e. g. Gen. 23, 10 **שֶׁנֶרְבָּא בְּאֵי שַׁנֵּר** *those who enter in at the gate*. But there are also examples of the Participle taking a genitive (a suff. pron.), even when the verb to which it belongs is construed only with a preposition; e. g. **הַמֵּרִיבִים קִמְּי** *those who rise up against him*,—*against me*, for **קָמִים עָלַי**, Ps. 18, 40, 49, Deut. 33, 11 **שֶׁנֶּבֶר פָּשַׁע** *those who turn from wickedness* Is. 59, 20; Micah 2, 8.

2. The distinction explained in No. 1, of verbal and nominal government, holds also in regard to the connection of participles with *suffixes*. After the first method (with accus.) we have **עָשֵׂה** *he who made me*, even with the article **הַעֲשֵׂה** *he who made him*, Job 14, 19; after the second (with genit.) **עָשֵׂה** *my maker*, **כָּל־מֵצֵא** *every one who finds me* Gen. 4, 14.

§ 136.

EXPRESSION OF THE OPTATIVE.

Besides the expression of the Optative by the *Impf.* (especially in the form of Jussive or Cohortative, with the particle **אִם**, § 127, 3, b) it may also be periphrased in the following ways, viz.—

1. By questions expressive of wish, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 **מִי יַשְׁמֵנִי שֹׁפֵט** *who will make me judge?* i. e. *would that I were made judge!* Judg. 9, 29 **מִי יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי** *would that this people were placed in my hand!* Ps. 55, 7, Job 29, 2. In the phrase **מִי יִתֵּן** the proper force of the verb (*to give*) is often excluded, and nothing more is expressed than *would that!* Lat. *utinam!* In this signification of a particle expressing wish **מִי יִתֵּן** is construed—*a*) by an accusative, as Deut. 28, 67 **מִי יָרֶב מִיָּמֶיךָ** *would it were evening!* prop. *who will give evening?* Ps. 14, 7, Job 11, 5, 31, 35; with suffix Is. 27, 4 etc —*b*) by an Infinitive, as Ex. 16, 3 **מִי יָמֹת מֵמָוֶת** *would that me had died!*—*c*) by a finite verb (with or without **וְ**), Deut. 5, 26 **מִי יִתֵּן** *would that they had this heart!* Perf. without **וְ** Job 23, 3; *Impf.* with **וְ** Job 19, 23; without **וְ** 6, 8, 13, 5, 14, 13.—With a still greater weakening of its original mean-

ing **מִי־יָבִיץ** stands directly in the sense of a negation e. g. Job 14, 4 *who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

2. By the particles **אם** **לֹא** *if' (si, O si')*, *would! (utinam)*, especially by the latter The *Impf* follows, Ps. 81, 9, 139, 19 (after **אם**); Gen 17, 18 (after **לֹא**); the *Part* Ps 81, 14 (after **לֹא**), the *Imp* Gen 23, 13 only by power of an *anacoluthon* (see § 130, 1) When **לֹא** is followed by the *Perf*, it expresses a wish that something had happened (§ 126, 5, *b*), as in Num 14, 2 *לֹא נִיַּעַנְנוּ לְרַמְתָּנוּ* *would that we had died*, 20, 3 *לֹא נִיַּעַנְנוּ* *would we had expired* Comp however Is 48, 18, 63, 19

§ 137

PERSONS OF THE VERB

1 In the *personal affixes* of the verb frequently an *enallage* (exchange) of gender takes place, the masc (as the gender lying nearest and more general) being placed in reference to females, e g יִדְעָתָם Ez 23, 49, עָשִׂיתָם Ruth 1, 8, יַחֲכִיחַ and thou (fem) *hast made* (a league) Is. 57, 8, Judg 4, 20 עָמַד (מְמַדִּי), comp Jer 3, 5, Joel 2, 22, Am 4, 1, Cant 2, 7. (See the anomalous uses of the personal pronoun, § 121, Rem 1)

2 The third person is often employed impersonally, most commonly in the *masc*, e g וַיְהִי and *it happened*, צָר לוֹ and וַיָּצַר לוֹ (lit *it was strait to him*) *he was in trouble* 1 Sam 13, 6, Gen 32, 8; חַם לָהֶם *it is warm to them*, 1 e *they are warm*, Ec 4, 11; but also in the *fem*, e g וַיָּצַר לְדָוִד and *David was in trouble*, Ps 50, 3, Jer 10, 7, 19, 5.

The Arabic and Ethiopic commonly use here the *masc* and the Syriac the *fem* form

3 The indeterminate third person (where the Germans use *man*, the French *on*, and we say *they, one*) is expressed,—*a*) by the 3d pers singular *masc*, e. g קָרָא *they* (prop *he*) *called* Gen. 11, 9, 16, 14;—*b*) often by the 3d pers. plural, as Gen 41, 14 וַיִּרְצְחוּ and *they brought him in haste*, for *he was brought*, 1 K. 1, 2;—*c*) by the 2d pers. singular *masc.*, e g Is 7, 25 לֹא תֵבֹא שָׁמָּה (prop. *thou shalt not go*) *there*

shall no one go thither, comp. *באך עד באך* or *באך* *until one comes* (prop. *until thy coming*);—*d*) by the passive voice, as (Gen 4, 26 *לְקַרָּא אֶת הַהוּל* *then they began* (prop. *it was begun*) to invoke¹

Rem 1. Instead of the simple 3d pers sing (letter *a*), *הָאִישׁ* (as we say *men* for *they*) occurs, 1 Sam 9, 9 *אָמַר הָאִישׁ כֹּה אָמַר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל* *formerly they said thus in Israel* Sometimes *one* (or rather *someone*) is also expressed by the participle of the same verb, e g Is 16 10 *לֹא-יִדְרֹךְ הַדֶּרֶךְ* *the treader shall not tread*, for *one shall not tread* 28, 4, comp v 24 Ez 33, 4 Ainos 9, 1, Num 6 9, Deut 22 8 So also not uncommonly in Arabic

2 When the pronoun is to be expressed with emphasis, (*I* spoke) it is written separately *before* the corresponding verbal form, e g *אָמַרְתָּ* *thou, thou hast given* Judg 15, 18 1 K 21 7 Ps 2 6 139, 2, also *after* the verbal form, Judg 15 12, but this occurs in the later writers without any special emphasis as *דְּבַרְתִּי אֲנִי* Eccl 1 16 (beginning), 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 8, 15 Comp Delitzsch, Cant and Eccl

3. In the poets and prophets, there is often, in the same sentence, the *sudden transition from one person to another*, Is 1, 29 *כִּי יִבְשׂוּ מְאִילִים* *for they shall be ashamed of the groves in which ye delight*, where both the third and second persons are employed with reference to the same subject, Mal 2 15 Deut 32 15, 17 —In Job 18, 28 the *third* person is probably employed *ἀντιπαρὸς* for the *first*, compare also 6, 21 (according to the reading *לִי*)

§ 138

VERBS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

All *transitive* verbs in general govern the *accusative* (§ 118). On this rule we remark—

1. There are many verbs which are construed both *without* an object (i. e. absolutely), and *with* one (in this latter case the verb in German and English often takes the prefix *be*); e. g. *בָּכָה* *to weep* and *to be-weep*, *יָשַׁב* and *שָׁכַן* *to dwell*, and *to dwell in, inhabit*; *יָצָא* *to go forth*, and also *depart*, as in *to depart this life*, like the Lat. *egredi* in *egredi urbem* (Gen. 44, 4).

¹ Sometimes, on the contrary, the impersonal active must be understood as strictly the passive, Job 7, 3 *nights of pain have they appointed me*, for *are appointed me* (sc. by God), 4, 19, Prov. 2, 22. So in Aramaic very frequently (Dan. 2, 30, 3, 4, 5, 3), and in Syriac.

Here notice specially:—

Rem. 1. Several verbs of this kind often complete the objective idea by a substantive of the same stem, as *הָרַר הָרַר* Ps. 14, 5, *הָרַר הָרַר* 1 K. 1, 12, *הָרַר הָרַר* Lam. 1, 8, like *βουλεῦσιν βουλὰς* Il. x. 147; most frequently with a farther qualification of the idea (as also in Greek), e. g. Gen. 27, 34 *הָרַר הָרַר הָרַר* *he cried a loud and bitter cry*, vs. 33, Ez. 32, 31, 2 Sam. 13, 15, 36, 2 K. 13, 14, (acc. w. *אָרַר*) Jon. 4, 6 *הָרַר הָרַר*, Zech. 1, 14, 1 Ch. 29, 9. Comp. *νοσεῖν νόσον κακὴν*, *ἐχάρεσαν χάραν μεγάλην* (Matt. 2, 10), *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere*, etc.

2. Verbs which signify to flow, to stream, etc. take in the poets an accusative of that with which something flows or overflows Lam. 3, 48 *הָרַר הָרַר הָרַר* *my eye flows down streams of water*, Joel 4, 18 *הָרַר הָרַר* *the hills flow milk*. So *הָרַר הָרַר* to flow Jer. 9, 17; *הָרַר הָרַר* to distil Joel 4, 18; and *הָרַר הָרַר* to gush forth, to flow abundantly (hence, to bear along in a torrent) Is. 10, 22. Similar, but more bold, is Prov. 24, 31 *הָרַר הָרַר* *and behold it (the field) has all gone up in thorns*, Is. 5, 6, 34, 13. Compare in Greek, *προρέειν ὕδωρ*, *δάκρυα στάζειν*. The above verbs belong to the *verba abundandi* of which more below, No. 3, b.

3. With verbs like to speak, to cry, to do, to save etc. the mode of action is often (especially in poetical speech) more closely defined by naming the instrument or member by means of which the act is performed (*accus. instrumenti*). This is best illustrated when this accus. has an adjective, as in *הָרַר הָרַר* to cry a loud voice (comp. Rem. 1), for to cry with a loud voice Ez. 11, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 23; or when it has a noun in the genitive (as periphrasis of the adjective; comp. § 106, 1), as in Ps. 12, 3 *הָרַר הָרַר* *they speak with their mouth* Ps. 17, 10, *הָרַר הָרַר* *with a lying tongue* Ps. 109, 2, Prov. 10, 4 *הָרַר הָרַר* *working with slack hand* as it were to work a slack hand analogous to the German: *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice; *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates, i. e. to skate; more loose is the connection of the accusative with the verb in cases like Ps. 3, 5 *הָרַר הָרַר* *with my (whole) voice I cry*, (i. e. aloud) 27, 7; 142, 2; Is. 10, 30; Ps. 66, 17 *הָרַר הָרַר* *with my (open) mouth I cry*: so, *הָרַר הָרַר* *they speak with their mouth* Ps. 17, 10, *הָרַר הָרַר* *with thy sword*, *הָרַר הָרַר* *with thy hand*, Ps. 17, 13, 14, 44, 3 *הָרַר הָרַר* *thou with thy hand hast driven out the nations*, 60, 7 *הָרַר הָרַר* *save with thy right hand*, 108, 7. (On the other hand in 1 Sam. 25, 26, 33, we have *הָרַר* and *הָרַר* as subject-nominative to the Inf. *הָרַר*, see § 133, 2). In the same cases *הָרַר instrumenti* is also used, e. g. *הָרַר הָרַר* *I praise with my mouth* Ps. 89, 2, 109, 30; *הָרַר הָרַר* *I supplicate him with my mouth* Job 19, 16.¹

¹ The Hebrews used also, on the other hand, the *הָרַר instrumenti* where we have the accusative. They used indifferently, as we also may, the constructions to shake the head (Ps. 22, 8), and to shake with the head (Job 16, 4, Jer.

2. Many verbs govern the accusative by power of their original meaning or in consequence of a peculiar turn given to the latter, when the corresponding verbs in German are construed with other cases or also with the preposition; e. g. *עָנָה* to *reply to* (like ἀπεβόησεν τινα, prop. to answer one); *רִיב* causam alicujus agere (prop. to defend before the court); *בָּשַׂר* to bring good news to one, to cheer him; *נָאָה* to commit adultery with one (comp. adulteras matronam); *עָרַב* to become surety for one (to bail him).

Rem. 1. Also in transitive verbs, and even the passive and reflexive conjugations *Niph.*, *Hoph.*, *Hithp.*, may by a peculiar turn of their original meaning, take the accusative; *הִפֵּץ* to be favourable, mostly with *כִּי*, but also with the acc. (as if to wish, to will something or somebody) Is. 1, 11, *נִבְּאָה* to prophesy Jer. 25, 13, *נִסְבַּח* to surround (prop. to place themselves around) Judg. 19, 22, *הִתְנַבֵּל* to plot against Gen. 37, 18, *הִתְבַּיֵּן* to consider Job 37, 14.

2. In very common forms of expression the accusative after such verbs may be omitted without injury to the sense (in elliptical usage), as *כָּרַת לְבְרִית* to make a covenant 1 Sam. 20, 16, *שָׁלַח* to stretch forth (i. e. *יָד* the hand) 2 Sam. 6, 6, Ps. 18, 17. Comp. the German *nach etwas langen*, to reach after something.

3. Whole classes of verbs which govern the accusative are,
- those which signify to clothe and unclothe, as *לָבַשׁ* to put on a garment, *פָּשַׁט* to put off a garment, *עָדָה* to put on as an ornament; also poet. as in *לָבַשׁוּ קָרִים הָצֹאֵן* the pastures are clothed with flocks Ps. 65, 14 (comp. also 14, b), 104, 2, 109, 29;
 - those which signify fullness or want, as *מָלָא* to be full, *שָׁרַץ* to swarm (Gen. 1, 20, 21), *שָׂבַע* to be satiated, *פָּרַץ* to overflow (Prov. 3, 10, v. above No. 1, Rem. 2), *חָסַר* to want, *שָׁכַל* to lose (children); e. g. *וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם* and the land was filled with them Ex. 1, 7, *אֲוִלִי יַחֲסֹרוּן חֲמִשִּׁים הַצְדִּיקִים* lit. perhaps the fifty righteous will want five (i. e.

18, 16); to gnash the teeth (Ps. 35, 16), and to gnash with the teeth (Job 16, 9), where head and teeth may be regarded as the object of the verb and as the instrument. But there is a deviation from our mode of expression in these phrases, viz. *פָּתַח בִּשְׁנָיו* to open the mouth Ps. 22, 8, Job 16, 10 (prop. to make an opening with the mouth), *פָּרַשׁ בְּיָדָיו* to spread out the hands Lam. 1, 17 (prop. to make a spreading with the hands), *וַיִּקַּח בְּמַטְּהוֹ* he lifted the staff Ex. 7, 20, comp. *נָתַן בְּקוֹל* and *נָתַן קוֹל*.

perhaps there will be lacking five of the fifty) Gen. 18, 28, אֲשַׁכֵּל גַּם שְׁנֵיכֶם (*why*) *should I lose even both of you?* Gen. 27, 45;

- c) several verbs of *dwelling*, e. g. יָשַׁב, נָזַח, שָׁכַן, not merely in a place (Judg. 5, 17, Is. 32, 16, Gen. 4, 20), but also among a people, with any one (Ps. 5, 5, 120, 5);
- d) those which express *going or coming* to a place (*petere locum*); hence בָּרַח with the accus. of the person, *to come over some one, attack him*. Comp. with this the accus. loci, § 118, 1.

§ 139.

VERBS WITH TWO ACCUSATIVES.

Two accusatives are governed by—

1. The causative conjugations (*Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*) of al verbs which in Qāl govern one accusative; e. g. מִלֵּאתִיו רוּחַ חֲכָמָה *I have filled him with the spirit of wisdom* Ex. 28, 3, וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אוֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי שֵׁשׁ *he clothed him in (caused him to put on) garments of fine linen (byssus)* Gen. 41, 42. And so also אָזַר *to gird one with* Ps. 18, 33, בֵּרַךְ *to bless one with* Deut. 15, 14, חָסַר *to cause one to lack* and עָשָׂר *to crown one with* Ps. 8, 6.

2. A numerous class of verbs which have even in Qāl a doubly-causative signification; such as, *to cover or clothe one with anything* (Ps. 5, 13, Ez. 13, 10; hence also *to sow, to plant* Is. 5, 2, 17, 10, 30, 23, Judg. 9, 45; *to anoint* Ps. 45, 8); *to fill, to bestow, to deprive* (Ez. 8, 17, Gen. 27, 37, Prov. 22, 23); *to do one an injury* (1 Sam. 24, 18); *to make one something* (Gen. 17, 5); e. g. וַעֲשֵׂיתָ אוֹתוֹ שֶׁמֶן מִשְׁחַת קֹדֶשׁ *and make thou it a holy anointing oil*¹ Ex. 30, 25.

As in the last example, so also elsewhere, the material out of which something is made frequently stands in the accusative (comp. the German *make daraus*, *make out of it* holy anointing oil), e. g. 1 K. 18, 32 וַיְבִנֵה אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזֶּבֶחַ *and he built of the stones an altar, prop. built the stones (into)*

¹ On the passives of these verbs see § 143, 1.

an altar, Lev. 24, 5. Also a bolder construction in which the material is placed last, as Ex. 38, 3 קְשֹׁתָהּ קָשָׁה *all its vessels he made (of) copper* Gen. 2, 7 (in themselves these words could also signify all its vessels he turned into copper).

There is another use of the double accusative containing a closer definition of the first, by naming epexegetically the member or part of the object which is especially affected by the action, e. g. Ps 3, 8 *thou hast smitten all mine enemies (upon) the cheek-bone* (לְחִי), comp. Deut. 33, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 27 לֹא נָכַח נָפֶשׁ *Let us not kill him, prop. Let us not smite him (as to his) life*, Gen. 37, 21, and so too with שׁוּף Gen. 3, 15. Comp. the analogous ways of using the accusative § 118, 3.

§ 140.

VERBS WITH PREPOSITIONS

Those modifications of the verbal idea, which other languages indicate by composition of the verbal stem with prepositions, are expressed in the Hebrew either,—a) by appropriate verbal stems, as בָּרַח *to go-in*, יָצָא *to go-out*, שָׁב *to re-turn*; or—b) by prepositions written after the verb, as in English, e. g. קָרָא *to call*, with לְ *to call to*, with בְּ *to call upon*, with אַחֲרַי *to call after*; נָפַל *to fall*, with עַל *to fall upon* and also *to fall off to*, with לְפָנַי *to fall down before*; הִלֵּךְ *to go*, with אַחֲרַי *to go after, to follow*.

It is the province of the Lexicon to show the use of the several prepositions with each particular verb. Whole classes of words, as construed with this or that particle will be found in § 154, 3.

§ 141.

CONSTRUCTIO PRÆGNANS.

The so-called *constructio prægnans* occurs in Hebrew particularly when a verb, which in itself does not express motion towards something is nevertheless construed with prepositions (or the accus.) of direction. In such a case for the clearness of sense another verb of motion must be mentally supplied, to form the connection with the preposition; e. g. הִלֵּךְ *to turn in astonishment to one* Gen. 42, 33, comp. 42, 28

לִּישׁוֹן *to turn questioning towards somebody*. Is. 11, 10, comp. 41, 1 וַיִּמְלֵא אַחֲרַי for וַיִּמְלֵא לְלִבִּי אַחֲרַי *he filled up to follow me* (i. e. *he obeyed me fully*), Num. 14, 24, Ps. 22, 22 מִקְרָנֵי רִמִּים *thou hearest (and savest) me from the horns of the buffaloes*, Is. 14, 17 לֹא אֲסִירָיו לֹא פָתַח בְּיָתָהּ *his prisoners he did not release (and send) home-wards*, Ps. 89, 40.

§ 142.

CONSTRUCTION OF TWO VERBS TO EXPRESS ONE IDEA.

When one verb which expresses a so-called verbal idea (one that requires an object) is more closely defined by a second verb, the latter is construed as follows, viz.—

1. It stands in the *Inf.*, either the *absol.* (§ 131, 1) or (more commonly) the *constr.*, e. g. Deut. 2, 25, 31 אָחַל הוּא *I begin to give*; verse 31. Gen. 37, 5 וַיֹּסֶפוּ עוֹד שִׂנְאָה אֹתוֹ *and they added still to hate him (hated him still more)*, Ex. 18, 23 וְיָכַלְתָּ עִמּוֹ *and thou canst endure*, Is. 1, 14 נָאִיתִי נִשָּׂא *I am weary to bear*.

2. But still more frequently it stands in the *Inf.* preceded by ל, as Deut. 3, 24 הֵחֵלֹתָ לְהַרְאוֹת *thou hast begun to show*, Gen. 11, 8 וַיִּנְחֲלוּ לִבְנוֹת *and they ceased to build*, 27, 20 מְהֵרָה לְמַצָּא *thou hast hastened to find*, i. e. *thou hast quickly found*, etc.

These two are the usual constructions in prose after verbs signifying *to begin* (הֵחֵל, הוֹסִיף), *to continue* (הוֹסִיף), *to hasten* (מָהֵר), *to cease* (נָחַל), *to finish* (סָמַח); so also *to make good* (הִיטִיב), *to make much or many* (הִרְבֵּה), and the like modality of action (expressed, for the most part, by Hiph'il); so also with *to be willing* (אָבָה), *to refuse* (מָאֵן), *to seek*, *to strive for* (בָּקַשׁ), *to be able* (יָכַל), *to be able* (יָדַע), the latter signifying *to know how to do*, *to learn* (לָמַד), *to permit* (נָתַן).¹ It is to be remarked, however, that in poetry the ל is often omitted where it is used in prose, as אָבָה *to be willing* with the ל Ex. 10, 27, with the mere *Inf.* Job. 30, 9, Is. 28, 12, 30, 9.²

¹ To permit one to do a thing, is expressed by נָתַן מ' לַעֲשׂוֹת, and נָתַן מ' לַעֲשׂוֹת, prop. *to give or grant one to do a thing*; Gen. 20, 6 לֹא נָתַתִּיךָ לְנִגֹּעַ *I have not permitted thee to touch*.

² So after nouns which include a verbal idea, e. g. אֵין לָבוֹא *it is not permitted to enter in* Est. 4, 2, אֵין עֲרֵךְ (poet.) *there is nothing to be compared* Ps. 40, 6; מְהֵרָה *ready, prepared*, commonly with ל, without in Job 3, 8.

3. Both verbs may be in the finite form; and they are then construed—

a) With γ before the second verb, which then agrees with the first in tense (however see Rem.), gender and number (comp. our expression, *he was pleased and went*, for *he was pleased to go*); Judg. 19, 6 הוֹאֲלִיָּא וְלִיָּן *be pleased now and lodge*, Gen. 26, 18 יָחַפֵּר וַיָּשָׁב *and he returned (repeated) and digged* (i. e. *he digged again*), 2 K. 1, 11, 13, Is. 6, 13, 25, 1 *he added and took a wife* (i. e. *he took again*); Cant. 2, 3.

The construction can also begin with the *Impf.* and proceed in the *Perf.* (according to § 126, 6), as in Est. 6, 8, Deut. 31, 12 *that they may learn (Impf.) and fear (Perf.) for to fear*, Hos. 2, 11, Dan 9, 25; or on the contrary, it may begin in the *Perf.* and proceed in the *Impf.* Josh. 7, 7, Job 23, 3, Eccl. 4, 1, 7.

b) Ἀσυντέτακτος, i. e. without the γ and so that the union of the two verbs is more an exterior one; they are of the same tense, gender, and number (as under letter a); Deut. 2, 24 רָשָׁה וְהָחֵל *begin and take possession*, Hos. 1, 6 לֹא אוֹסִיף אֲרַחֵם *I will not go on and have pity* (i. e. *I will no longer pity*), 1 Sam. 2, 3 אַל תִּרְבֵּי תַדְבְּרִי *do not multiply and speak* (=speak not much), Lam. 4, 14 בְּלֹא יִנְכְּלוּ יָנֵעוּ *so that they could not touch*, Job 19, 3, Hos. 5, 11, 9, 9.

This last construction (being more lively and bolder) is rather the poetical one, which under letter a, is more usual in prose. Comp. e. g. חוֹסִיף with γ following in Gen. 25, 1, 38, 5; but without γ in Hos. 1, 6, Is. 52, 1. Yet also in prose occur examples of asyndeton as in Neh. 3, 20, Deut. 1, 5, Josh. 3, 16, 1 Ch. 13, 2.

c) Likewise ἀσυντέτακτος, but with the second verb in a close subordinate connection in the *Imperfect*, depending on the conjunction *that* implied; Job 32, 22 לֹא יִדְבַּחַי אֶנְפִּי *I know not to flatter*, 1 Sam. 20, 19 וְשִׁלַּשְׁתָּ תְּרִי *and cause on the third day (that) thou come down* (i. e. *on the third day come down*), Is. 42, 21 הָפֵץ יִגְדִּיל *he desired to make great*, Job 24, 14 יָקוּם רֹצֵחַ יִקְטֹל *the murderer arises to kill*.

Rem. In Arabic and Syriac, this construction is very common;¹ in Hebrew rarer, but at least necessary in those cases where the second

¹ The Arab says *volebat dilaceraret* for *he would rend*; and so the Syrian, *volebat tolleret* (Luke 13, 13), *he would not lift up*, but oftener with the conjunction *that* inserted. The Latin also may omit the conjunction in this

verb was to be distinguished from the first in person or number; Is. 47, 1 *לֹא תוֹסִיף יִקְרְאוּךָ לֹא* *thou shalt not add (that) they shall call thee* (i. e. *thou shalt not continue to be called*), Num. 22, 6 *אֲנִי אֵיכָל בְּדוֹרְבִי* *perhaps I may be able (that) we shall smite him, and I shall drive him out*

4. The completion of the verbal idea may finally (as frequently in Syriac) consist also of a *Participle*, Is. 33, 1 *כְּחַתִּימָה שׁוֹדֵד* *when thou shalt finish as a destroyer*, i. e. *to be a destroyer*=*to destroy* 1 Sam. 16, 16 (after *Part.*).

Instead of the participle stands the *verbal adjective*, 1 Sam. 3, 2 *הָיָה כְּחַד* *began (to grow) dim*. On the other hand Gen. 9, 20 *אִישׁ חֹדֵם* is in apposition to *נֹחַ* and the passage belongs therefore to No. 3, letter a (=Noah, the husbandman began to plant, etc.).

Rem. 1. In many of the above examples, the first verb only serves, in effect, to qualify in some manner the second, and hence we translate it by an *adverb*. Comp. further Gen. 31, 27 *לָמָּה נִחַבְתָּהּ לְבָרַח* *wherefore hast thou secretly fled?* 2 K. 2, 10 *קָשִׁיחַ לָשֹׂאֵל* *thou hast made hard to ask* i. e. *hast asked a hard thing*. The verb which qualifies the other may also occupy the second place, but never without special cause; e. g. Is. 58, 11 *יִרְאֶה וְיִשְׂבֹּעַ* *he shall see and be satisfied* (with the sight) because the satisfaction follows the enjoyment and 66, 11 *תִּשְׁׁמַע וְיִשׁוּב* *that ye may suck and be satisfied* (by that act); Jer. 4, 5 *קִרְאוּ מִלְּאֵי* *call ye (and that) with full voice*=*call aloud*.

2. Of another construction are the so-called *verba cordis* (verbs indicating some mental action) which take after them (in place of an accusative) an objective clause introduced by *כִּי* or *אֲשֶׁר* *that*. Here belong especially expressions like *to see* (Gen. 1, 4, 10), *to know* (Gen. 22, 12), *to believe*, *to remember*, *to forget*, *to say*, *to think*, etc. On the omission of the conjunction before such clauses see § 155, 4, c.

§ 143.

CONSTRUCTION OF PASSIVE VERBS.

1. When a causative conjugation (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*) has two accusatives (§ 139, 1), its passive (*Pu'el*, *Hoph'al*) retains only one of them (the second or more remote object), taking the other (the nearest object) as the subject in the nominative.

case, *Quid vis faciam?* Ter.; *Volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cic. Brut. 84. So in German, *Ich wollte, es wäre*; *Ich dachte, es ginge* [and in English *I would # were, I thought it went*].

¹ For *כִּי תִשְׁמַע* (§ 20, Rem.) *Inf. Hiph. of שָׁמַע*.

This subject nominative may then consist either in an independent noun or pronoun, or (as pronominal subject) be included in the verbal form, e. g. Ps. 80, 11 *כְּסֹר הָרִים צֶלֶה* *the mountains are covered with its (the vine's) shade*, Ex. 25, 40 *מָרְאָתָה אֲשֶׁר-אָתָה* *which was shown thee (prop. which thou wast caused to see)*; Job 7, 3.

Several striking phenomena in the construction of the passive are readily explained, if we regard it as an impersonal active (*ducitur=one says, they say*), just as, on the contrary, the impersonal active often supplies the place of the passive (see § 137, Note). This transposition is not merely an expedient, but has its foundation in the spirit of the Semitic syntax. At least according to the Arab grammarians a purely impersonal passive is inconceivable, in places where such one seems to stand, a hidden agent must be supposed. We may thus explain those cases in which —

a) The passive takes the logical subject in the accusative, Gen. 27, 42 *וַיֵּגֶד לְרִבְקָה אֶת-דְּבָרֶיהָ* *and they made known to Rebecca the words of Esau*, 4, 18 *וַיֵּלֶד לְחִנֹּךְ אֶת-יִצְחָק* *and it was born to Enoch Isaac*, 17, 5 *לֹא יִקְרָא עוֹד אֶת-שְׁמֶךָ אַבְרָם* *they shall no more call thy name Abram*, Ex. 10, 8, *וַיָּרֻשׁ מֹשֶׁה אֶת-מִצְרָיִם* *and they brought Moses back to Pharaoh* Lev. 16, 27, Num. 32, 5, Josh. 7, 15, 2 K. 18, 30, Jer. 50, 20. So also with the *Inf* of the passives, as in Gen. 21, 5 *בְּהֵלֶד לִי אֶת-יִצְחָק* *at (the time of) the being born (עַל טֹדֵאעִיב) to him Isaac*, 40, 20 *וַיֵּלֶד בְּהַיּוֹם הַהוּא* *the day when Pharaoh was born*.

b) It does not agree (as often happens) in *gender* and *number* with the noun, even when preceded by it (comp. § 147), because the noun is, in this case, regarded not as the subject but as the object of the verb passive, comp. besides the above examples Is. 21, 2 *וַיִּנְחַל הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַגִּדְלִי* *visionem duam nuntiavit mihi* Dan. 9, 24 *septuaginta septimanas destinarunt* (נִחְדָּר), 1 K. 2, 21, Is. 14, 3, Gen. 35, 26 Hos. 10, 6, Job 22, 9 (וְזִרְיוֹ), 30, 15.

2. The efficient cause (the personal originator), after a passive verb, most frequently takes ל, and is therefore in the dative (as in Greek), as *בְּרֹךְ לַאלֹהִים* *blessed of God* (τῷ θεῷ) Gen. 14, 19, Prov. 14, 20. More rare, but equally certain, is the same use of מִן (prop. *from*, by which *origin, source*, in general, is often denoted) Gen. 9, 11, Ps. 37, 23, Job 24, 1, 28, 4, *מִפְּנֵי* *because of* Gen. 6, 13; בִּי *by* Gen. 9, 6, Num. 36, 2, Hosea 14, 4; sometimes there is no preposition, but the *accusat. instrumenti* is used (comp. § 138, 1, Rem. 3), as Is. 1, 20, *חֶרֶב* *חרב* *by the sword shall ye be devoured*, comp. Ps. 17, 13.

Rem. Many intransitive verbs are sometimes used as passive, in consequence of a peculiar application of their meaning; e. g. יָרַד *to go down* (spoken of a forest), *to be felled* Is. 32, 49; עָלָה *to go up* for *to be brought up* (on the altar) Lev. 2, 12; *to be entered* (in an account) 1 Ch. 27, 24; הוֹצֵא *to be brought out from* Deut. 14, 22.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTION OF THE SUBJECT WITH THE PREDICATE.

§ 144a.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL SENTENCE.

1. Every sentence beginning with an independent subject (noun or separate pronoun) is called a *nominal sentence*. It is *a) simple* when the *predicate* consists also of a *noun* (substantive, adjective or participle); *b) compound* when the predicate is a finite verb. For, as every finite verb (v. below No. 2) bears already its subject itself and forms therefore for itself an independent sentence, therefore a phrase in which a *finite verb*, as predicate, follows the *subject noun*, is a combination of a *subject* with an *independent verbal sentence* (v. below).

Rem. Very frequently, especially in Hebrew, the *predicate* stands first in a *simple nominal phrase*; almost regularly so, when the *predicate* is an adjective, e. g. צָרִיךְ יְהוָה *Jehovah is just*. If the predicate is a substantive, it stands first, at least when a special stress lies on it, e. g. Job 5, 24, 6, 12 (comp. § 145, 1, b).—On the use of *independent nominal sentences* as predicates in *compound nominal sentences* v. § 145, 2.

2. Every sentence, commencing with a *finite verb*, is called a *verbal sentence*. It contains in all cases its subject already in itself, under the form of a *personal pronoun* which is necessarily connected with the verbal form (as *tu* in *dicis*, *thou sayest*). This is not only true of those cases, where the subject has already been mentioned and thus defined more

closely, but also in cases where the subject has been added afterwards, so to speak, as an *epexegetis* to the subject which is latent in the verb. For where the idea of a neuter or neutral subject (Germ. *es*) is lacking entirely and where every verbal form must be conceived in connection with a personal, or at least with a generically definite subject, a phrase like *אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ*, cannot be conceived, as in German: *es sprach der König*, but: *he spoke, namely the king*.

3. This distinction between the nominal and verbal sentence although it may seem quite mechanical, has been pointed out emphatically with good reasons by the Arabic grammarians. For

- a) there exists really an essential difference between the predicate of a nominal and of a verbal sentence. The former always represents something *immovable*, a *situation*, a *being*, the latter something *movable*, *flowing*, something *which happens* or *which is doing*.
- b) the *simple nominal sentence*, connected by *Wāw* with a verbal sentence, describes a condition or state which is always simultaneous with the chief action (not a *progress* of the action) e. g. Gen. 19, 1; *and the two angels entered into Sodom, whilst Lot was sitting* (וַיֵּשֶׁב), etc.

Also the *compound nominal sentence*, connected by *Wāw*, may serve to bring in afterwards an event that has preceded the principal facts of the narration. E. g. 1 Sam. 28, 3; *and Samuel was* (at that time already) *dead and Saul had driven away*, etc. (not as, e. g. the *Vulgate*: *and Samuel died and Saul drove away*) Job 21, 22. But there exist also examples, where the narrative continues even in form of a compound nominal sentence (comp. Gen. 1, 2, 3, 1). Even then the nominal sentence does not describe a new *occurrence* but a *state* which exists during the continuation of the event.

§ 144b.

MANNER OF EXPRESSING THE COPULA IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCE.

1. The subject and predicate of the simple sentence (v. § 144, a, 1, a) are always placed together without the *copula*; e. g. 1 K. 18, 21 *יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים הַיֵּחָדָשׁ the Eternal (is) the true God*,

Gen. 2, 12 זהב הארץ ההיא טוב *the gold of that land (is) good*, Is. 31, 2 גם הוא חכם *also he (is) wise*.—On the union of the subject and predicate by a separate pronoun of the 3d person (repeating and emphasizing more distinctly the subject idea). v. § 121, 2.

2. Less frequently the *copula* is expressed by the substantive verb הָיָה *to be, become*, and in that case rises a compound nominal sentence (§ 144, *a*, 1, *b*), e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was* (הָיְתָה), *waste and empty*, 3, 1 *the serpent was* (הָיָה) *crafty*, vs. 20, Judges 1, 7. If on the other hand the union between a pronoun as subject and a participle as predicate is established by יֵשׁ or אֵין (§ 134, 2, *a*) there arise simple nominal sentences, because יֵשׁ and אֵין are properly substantives.

Rem. Instead of the adjective, the Hebrew often employs the abstract substantive as a predicate in the nominal phrase (§ 106, 1, Rem. 2); especially when there is no adjective of the required signification (§ 106, 1), e. g. Ez. 41, 22 קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ *his walls (are) wood=of wood, wooden*. Sometimes the hardness of such combinations is softened by repeating the subject noun in the *constr. st.*, before the predicate (קִירוֹתָיו קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ). This full construction occurs Job 6, 12 הֲיִינוּ כְּחֵי אֲבָנִים כְּחֵי *us my strength the strength of stones?* Ps 45, 7, *b*. Comp. on the other hand the bolder terms in Cant. 1, 15 עֵינֶיךָ יְיָ כְּיִנִּים *thy eyes (are) doves' eyes* (literally *are doves*) Ezra 10, 13 הַזֶּמֶן גֶּשְׁמִים *the time (is) the time of) showers*. So also especially with כִּי of comparison, as Is. 63, 2 בְּגָדֶיךָ כְּדָרָה *thy garments (are) like* (the garments of) *one treading the wine-press*, Jer. 50, 9 חֲצֵרֵי קַנְבוּר כְּחֵי *his arrows as* (those of) *a hero*.

§ 145.

POSITION OF WORDS IN A SENTENCE. ABSOLUTE CASE.

1. According to what has been remarked § 144, *a*, the natural position of words in the simple nominal sentence is: *Subject, Predicate*; in the compound nominal sentence: *Subject, Verbal Predicate* (i. e. verbal copula with the completing nominal predicate); in the verbal sentence: *Verb*, subsequently the *Subject* (if expressed) and then the *Object*. Adverbial designations (such as those of time or place) may stand either

before or after the verb; a negative stands almost always immediately before it.¹

Exceptions to the above stated natural position of words occur especially when a member of the sentence has to be rendered prominent by giving it the precedence. So stands:—

- a) in verbal sentences sometimes the *object* before the *subject*, e. g. Num. 5, 23, Ps. 34, 22; the *object* before the *verb* Prov. 13, 5: *thing of falsehood hateth a righteous man*; Gen 47, 21, Ex. 18, 23, Is. 49, 6. Very rare is the position: *Obj., Subj., Verb*, 2 K. 5, 13. Finally, there also occurs, although likewise very seldom, and only poetically the position: *Subj., Obj., Verb*, as Ps. 6, 10 יְהוָה הַפְּלִיז יִקָּה; 11, 5, Is. 13, 18 (quite common however in Aram., e. g. Dan. 2, 7, 10. Comp. *Gesen. Comm.* on Is. 42, 24).
- b) in nominal sentences the *Predicate* before the *Subject* and so almost regularly when the *Predicate* consists of an *Adjective* (comp. § 144, a, 1, Rem.), because this one receives then by its quality as a predicate, a special emphasis. Jer. 10, 6 גָּדוֹל אֲתָה וְגָדוֹל שְׁמֶךָ *great thou (art) and great (is) thy name*. The substantive predicate is placed first in Is. 18, 5, *ripening grape becomes the blossom*, Job 6, 12.
- c) The adverbial expression before the verb, especially (as natural) expressions of time, Gen. 1, 1. Some adverbs of time like עֲתָה, אָז, stand almost always at the beginning of the sentence (Josh. 10, 12, Judges 5, 22); others like עוֹד, קָמִיד, as a rule after the verb.

On the absence of inflection in the predicate when put first, see § 147.

2. The strongest emphasis of a substantive (especially when it is the subject, but also when it is the object, or when employed by way of qualification of any kind) is produced by permitting it to stand, *absolutely*, at the beginning of the sentence, and then representing it, in the following independent phrase, by a pronoun (compare Fr. *c'est moi, qu'on a*

¹ Occasionally there is inserted between the negative and the verb the object (Job 22, 7, 34 23, Ec. 10, 10), the subject (Num. 16, 29, 2 K. 5, 26), or an adverbial expression (Ps. 6, 2, 40, 18, Jer. 15, 15).

accusé); e. g. Ps. 18, 31 **הָאֵל תָּמִים דְּרָכָיו** *God, perfect is his way, for God's way is perfect.* The whole forms a compound nominal sentence in which the predicate is not represented by a verbal sentence (§ 144, a, 1, b) but by another independent nominal sentence; likewise Ps. 104, 17, Job 21, 4, whilst in Gen. 24, 27, Ps. 11, 4 the predicate consists of a verbal sentence. Comp. also Ez. 33, 17; also in the examples: Ps. 74, 17 *winter and summer, thou hast made them, winter and summer* is not the object but the subject of the compound nominal sentence. The object stands absolutely first in Gen. 47, 21 **אֶת־הָעָם אֲרוּרָהּ הָעֶבְרִי** *the people, he removed them*, 21, 13, comp. Jer. 6, 19.¹ The suffix may also be omitted (so perhaps Ps. 9, 7) and the connection indicated by ו (as sign of the apodosis), 2 Sam. 22, 41 (comp. Ps. 18, 41), Job 36, 26 **מִסְפַּר שָׁנָיו וְלֹא חָקַר** *sc. the number of his years, even there is no searching* 4, 6, 23, 12, 25, 5, Gen. 3, 5, Num. 23, 3, Job 6, 14, 15, 17, 21, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 27, 2 Sam. 15, 34.

Sometimes the participle stands first in the above manner in the sense of a conditional sentence e. g. Prov. 23, 24 **יֹולֵד הַחֵם יִישַׁמָּה בּוֹ** *he who begets a wise son (i. e. when one begets, etc.), then he may rejoice in him*, 1 Sam. 2, 13 **וְכָא נָצַר הַכֹּהֵן** *when any one brought an offering, then came the priest's servant*, Gen. 4, 15, Job 41, 18.

§ 146.

RELATION OF THE SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

The predicate, as in other languages, conforms generally to the subject in gender and number. From this rule, common to all languages, there are many deviations, partly occasioned by regard to the sense rather than to the grammatical form of words (*constructio ad sensum*), partly by the position of the predicate before the subject.

In respect to the first cause, we remark that,

1. Collective nouns (singular in form), e. g. **עָם** *people*, **גּוֹי** *nation*, **בֵּית** *family*, and nouns used as collective, as **אִישׁ** *men*

¹ Such a case absolute may also be introduced by ל (in respect to) before it, Gen. 17, 20, Is. 32, 1; comp. Ps. 16, 3(?), Eccl. 9, 4, 2 Chron. 7, 21.

(see § 108, 1), are apt to be construed, according to the sense, with the plural, as in Judg. 9, 55 **וַיִּרְאוּ אִישׁ-יִשְׂרָאֵל** and *the men of Israel saw*, 15, 10, 1 K. 20, 20 **וַיָּהֲסוּ אָרָם** and *Aram (the Syrians) fled*, Is. 16, 4, Prov. 11, 26, 28, 1, Job 8, 19. So when the collective is itself *fem.* but represents only, or at least prevailing, individuals which are of the *masc.* gender: e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 23 **כָּל-הָאָרֶץ בּוֹיָזִים** *the whole land* (i. e. its inhabitants) *wept*,¹ Gen. 48, 6, 1 Sam. 2, 33, 17, 46, 1 K. 10, 24, Job 30, 12; and *vice versâ* in Job 1, 14 **הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת** *the cattle (cows) were ploughing*. For examples of the predicate in the singular with collectives, see Gen. 35, 11, Is. 2, 4 (comp. Micah 4, 3).

Particular examples of a bolder *Enallage* of number are Gen. 34, 30 **וְאֵנִי מֵתִי מִסָּבִיר** *whilst I (and my people) men of (inferior) number*; Job 29, 15: *eyes I have been to the blind* (comp. Num. 10, 31).

Often the construction begins with the singular (especially when the verb is placed first, § 147, 1, *a*), and then when the collective is introduced, proceeds with the plural; Ex. 33, 4 **וַיִּתְאַבְּלוּ . . . וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם** and *the people heard . . . and they mourned*, 1, 20.

2. On the other hand plural nouns with a singular meaning (§ 108, 2) are often construed with the singular, especially the so-called *pluralis excellentiae*; Gen. 1, 1, 3,² Ex. 21, 29 **בְּעֲלֵי יוֹמֶת** *his owner shall be put to death*. So feminine forms with a masculine signification are construed with the masculine, as in Ec. 12, 9 **הָיָה קָהֵלֶת הָעָם** *the preacher was wise*.

3. Plurals which designate animals or things, whether they are *masc.* or *fem.* readily take the construction with the

¹ Sallust. Jugurth. 14, *pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt*.

² **אֱלֹהִים** is here and there construed with the *plur.* but only in the older biblical books, and in certain forms of expression which perhaps may be traced back to original polytheistic ideas, or at least to an adaptation to them, e. g. Gen. 20, 13 (in conversation with a heathen), 35, 7, Ex. 22, 8(?), Josh. 24, 19, Ps. 58, 12. The later writers studiously avoid this construction, as if it were polytheistic; comp. Ex. 32, 4, 8, with Neh. 9, 18, and 2 Sam. 7, 23, with 1 Ch. 17, 21. See the Lexicons.

*fem. sing.*¹ (comp. the feminine form with collective meaning, in § 107, 3, *d*); Joel 1, 20 בַּהֲמוֹת שָׂדֵה תִּעְרֹג the *beasts of the field pine for*—, Job 14, 19 תִּשְׁטַף סִפְיָהָ its *floods wash away*, Jer. 49, 24 חֲבָלִים אֲחֻזָּתָה *pains have seized upon her*, 2, 15 *K'ithibh*, Ps 37, 31, Job 12, 7 Comp. also 2 K. 3, 3, Is. 35, 7, Jer. 36, 23, Ps. 69, 36 ff., Job 39, 15, in all of which cases the suffix of the *third sing. fem.* is related to plurals of animals or things.

4. Moreover, those plurals also which designate persons are construed with the singular, when, instead of the whole sum of individuals spoken of, the attention is directed to each one of them (comp. כל for *omnes* and *omnis*); examples of this distributive singular are Gen. 49, 22 בָּנוֹת צֶעֱנָה the *daughters* (branches) *rise*, Num 24, 9 בְּרוּךְ וְאָרְרָה אֹרֹר *blessed* (be every one of) *those who bless thee, and cursed* (each of) *those who curse thee*, Prov 3, 18 חַמְלָה מְאֹד *happy* (is every one of) *those who retain her* (the wisdom) 27, 16, 28, 1, Gen. 27, 29, Ex. 31, 14. Comp. also Job 6, 20: בָּשׂוּ כִּרְבָּטָה; Is. 28, 20.

5. Dual substantives take their predicates in the plural, since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns have no dual form (§ 88, 1); as in Gen. 29, 17 לְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַחוּם *and the eyes of Leah were tender*, Ps. 18, 28, Is. 30, 20, 2 Sam. 24, 3, 1 Sam. 1, 13 עָתָה עֵינֵי רַק שֶׁפָּתְיָה נָעוּת *only her lips moving*, 2 Ch 7, 15 עֵינֵי תִרְאֶינָה *my eyes shall see*, Jer. 14, 6, Is. 1, 15, Job 10, 8, 20, 10, 27, 4, Ps. 38, 11. Rarely with the dual does the predicate stand in the singular feminine (v. above No. 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 15, Micah 4, 11.

¹ Perfectly analogous is the Greek construction, τὰ πρόβατα βαίvet, where the Attics admit the plural only when by the neuter persons are designated, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον τὸν ἄρτον. In Arabic, such a plural is called *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not used of men), and is construed chiefly with the *fem. sing.* of the attribute or predicate, like all its so-called *pluralia fracta* (collective forms).

§ 147.

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

(Continued.)

Very frequently deviations from the general rule (§ 146) occur where the predicate stands first. The subject, to which it would regularly conform, not being yet expressed, it often takes its simplest and readiest form, viz., the *masc. sing.*, even when the subject, which comes after, is *feminine* or *plural*: the predicate in this case is not subject to inflection; e. g.—

- a) The verb; Is. 47, 11 בָּא עָלֶיךָ רָעָה *there comes upon thee evil*, Mic. 2, 6 לֹא יִסַּג כְּלָמוֹתָי *reproaches do not depart*, Ps. 57, 2, Deut. 32, 35, Est. 9, 23 קִבַּל הַיְּהוּדִים *the Jews undertook*, 2 K. 3, 26 חִזַּק הַמִּלְחָמָה *hard was the battle*, 1 Sam. 25, 27, Ps. 124, 5, Job 42, 15. Often the verb may here be regarded as impersonal. More seldom before the *plur. fem.* we find (at least) the *plur. masc.*; as in Judg. 21, 21 אִם-יֵצְאוּ בָנוֹת שִׁילֹה *if the daughters of Shilo come forth*.
- b) The adjective in the nominal sentence (just as in German): Ps. 119, 137 יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *righteous (are) thy judgments*, is not inflected, vs. 155 יִשְׁעָה . . . רְחוֹק *far (is) salvation*.

Cases like Job 24, 7, 10 עָרֹם הֵלְכוּ *naked they go*, do not belong here. There עָרֹם is rather an accusative of condition (§ 118, 3)=*in the condition of a naked one*.

- c) The participle as substantive in the nominal sentence Gen. 47, 3 עֲבָדֶיךָ רְעָה *shepherds (are) thy servants*, if not merely an orthographical difference or a mistake for רָעִי.
- d) The copula הָיָה when it precedes the subject;¹ Is. 18, 5 נֶחֱמַת גִּפְתִּי הָיָה *maturing grapes the blossom becomes*. In Gen. 31, 8 הָיָה אַחֲרֵי *after* the plural subject may be explained from the attraction towards the following singular predicate.

¹ Independently of this arrangement, the הָיָה, standing for the *copula*, is retained between *plur.* and *fem.* unchanged; Josh. 13, 14, אֵשֶׁת יִי . . . הָיָה הָעֹלָה *the offerings of Jah . . . that is his inheritance*. Comp. Jer. 10, 8.

But if this construction is continued after the introduction of the subject, the verb must conform to it in gender and number; Ez. 14, 1 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֵלַי אַנְשִׁים רַגְשׁוּבִי לְפָנַי Gen. 1, 14, Num. 9, 6.

Rem. 1. In general, the language is at times sparing in the use especially of the feminine forms (comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 5), and, when a feminine substantive has more than one predicate, contents itself with giving to the nearest one the appropriate feminine form. The following are instructive examples; Is. 33, 9 אָבֵל אֶמְלֶלָה אֶרֶץ *the land mourneth and languisheth*, 14, 9 עִירָר לְךָ רַפְאִים . . . שְׁאֵל מִתַּחַת הָרְגִזָּה *Sheol beneath is moved . . . it stirreth up the shades to thee*. Comp. 1 K. 10, 11 and the striking change of gender in Gen. 32, 9. In Job 20, 26 in the subordinate phrase the masculine appears instead of the feminine: אֵשׁ לֹא-נִפְחָה *a fire not blown*.—Of a different sort are cases like Lev. 2, 1, 5, 1, 20, 6 נָקֵשׁ (*fem.*) in the continuation of speech is changed into a male person.

Suffixes in a (distributive) singular are related to preceding plurals, e. g. Job 38, 32, Deut. 21, 10; 28, 48, 1 K. 6, 23, Is. 5, 26.

2. The cases in which the predicate follows the subject, without conforming to it in gender and number, are based partly on the construction of passives with the accusative (§ 143, 1, Rem.) and partly the predicate is a participle used as a substantive; e. g. Gen. 4, 7 לְכַתֵּחַ הַשָּׂעָרָה *at the door (is) sin a lurker* (i. e. a lurking lion).—Ec. 2, 7 וְעֲלֵמָה הָיְתָה *vernæ mihi erant*. Similar is Gen. 15, 17 וְעֲלֵמָה הָיְתָה *and darkness, there was* where the verb remains in the indefinite gender (masc.) although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis.

§ 148.

CONSTRUCTION OF COMPOUND SUBJECTS.

1. When the subject is composed of a nominative and genitive, the verb sometimes conforms in gender and number to the genitive (or the second noun), instead of the governing (or the first) noun, viz., when the word in the genitive expresses the principal idea. Sometimes however the agreement of the predicate with the genitive seems to have been caused merely by their juxtaposition, e. g. Job 32, 7 יָבִיטוּ יָמֵינוּ יְדֵינוּ חֲכָמָה *the multitude of years (i. e. many years) shall teach wisdom*, 1 Sam. 2, 4: קֶשֶׁת גְּבִירִים הָיָה *the bow of the strong is broken*; 2 Sam. 10, 9 (with the predicate preceding), הָיְתָה הַיְּרֵחַ אֵלָיו *there was the battle-front against him*,

i. e. *the battle was turned against him*, Is. 2, 11, Job 15, 20, 21, 21, 29, 10, 38, 21. On the other hand, in Gen. 4, 10, Is. 52, 8, Jer. 10, 22 and others קול cannot be understood as subject, but as exclamation, so e. g. Gen. 4, 10: Voice of thy brother's blood which cries . . . ! as much as: *hearken! the blood of thy brother cries*, etc.

With the substantive כל (prop. *totality*) *the whole*, this construction is almost universal; e. g. Gen. 5, 5 וְיָדֵיו כָּל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were*, Ex. 15, 20, likewise with the singular abstracts of the numbers 3 to 10, 100 and 1000.

2. When *several* subjects are connected by *and*, their common predicate usually takes the plural form, e. g. Job 3, 5, Gen. 40, 1, especially when it follows them; Gen. 8, 22 וְלֹא יִשָּׁפְחוּ זֶרַע וְקָצִיר וְקָרָר וְחֶם . . . *seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease*; and in the *masc.* even with subjects of different genders, as in Gen. 18, 11 וְאַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זָקֵנִים *Abraham and Sarah (were) old*, Deut. 28, 32. When the predicate precedes, it often conforms in gender and number to the first (as being the nearest) subject; as in Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹאוּ נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and there went in Noah and his sons*, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 12, 1 וַיְדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *and there spoke Miriam and Aaron*, Gen. 33, 7, 44, 14, Judg. 5, 1, 2 Sam. 5, 21. The singular is more rare, when the predicate follows the subject; Prov. 27, 9 וְקִטְרֹת יִשְׁמְחֵלֵב *unguent and perfume rejoice the heart* (where at the same time the masculine has the preference). If the construction is continued, the plural of the predicate always follows, e. g. Gen. 21, 32, 24, 61, 31, 14, 33, 7.

CHAPTER V.

USE OF THE PARTICLES.

§ 149.

Of the particles, as connected with the system of forms and inflections (§§ 99—105), we have already treated in their etymological relation to the other parts of speech. We are now to consider the signification and use of these words. As elsewhere, so also in Hebrew they compose as it were the most delicate and subtle portions of the language and are of the highest importance for a clear perception of the sense and a deeper penetration into the spirit of the language. We shall present, in a general view, their most important peculiarities, leaving the more complete representation, and specially the fuller examples, to the Lexicons.

§ 150.

OF THE ADVERBS.

The most important adverbs, classed according to their signification, are—

1. Adverbs of place; שם *there*; פה, בזה, וזה and הנה *hic, here*; עד־הנה *thither*, כה וכה *hither and thither*, הלא and הנה *here, hither*, הלאה *thither, farther on*, hence מִמֶּךָ הֵנָּה (away from thee and hither) *on this side of thee*, and מִמֶּךָ וְהֵלָּא (away from thee and farther on) *beyond thee*, 1 Sam. 20, 21, 22, Is. 18, 2; עַל מִצֵּל more commonly מִמַּעַל *above*, מִמַּעַל *above*, over something, מִתַּח *below*, מִלְּפָנֶיךָ *upwards*, but also *above*, מִתַּח *downwards*, but also *below* beneath, חוּץ *outside*, מחוץ *on the outside*, מִבֵּינָם *between*, מִלְּפָנֶיךָ *before*, מִקֵּדָם *before*, קֵדָם *before*, אַחֲרָיו *behind, backwards*, אַחֲרָיו *backwards*, נֹכַח *coram, over against*, יְמִינִי *to the right*, מִיְּמִינִי *on the right*, מִקֵּדָם *on the west* (prop. *from the sea*), סָבִיב and מִסָּבִיב *around*, קִיּוּמִיּוּת *upright*.

To many of these adverbs מִן is prefixed, or the accusative-ending הַ— appended, indicating respectively *whence* and *whither* e. g. שָׁם *there*, מִשָּׁם *thence*, שָׁמָּה *thither*; חוּץ *outside*, הוּצָה *outwards*; several adverbs never occur without the appended הַ—, e. g. הֵלָּא, מִשָּׁהוּ. Both these additions, however, sometimes express also the relation of *rest in*

a place, as שָׁמָּה *there* (not merely *thither*), מִיְמִין *on the right* (not from the right). The הִיא is in both cases the accusative-ending (§ 90 2), and מִן properly denotes *starting from* or *depending on* an object, like ἐκ δεξιᾶς, a *dextra*, a *sinistra*, a *latere*, a *tergo*, and in French *dessus*, *dedans*, *dehors*¹

2. Adverbs of time, these are in part the same with those of place (above mentioned), which are transferred to relations of time, as שָׁם *then* (cf. ἐκεῖ), עַד-עַתָּה *till now*, הַלְלוּ *onward, henceforth*, עַד הַקֵּץ and contracted עַדְכָּה *hitherto*

Exclusively adverbs of time are עַתָּה *at the time*, hence *at this time*, *at present*, *now* (also expressing consequence and transition, like νῦν, νῦν, and *at times then, soon*, הַיּוֹם (*this day to day*, הַיּוֹם, *at the time, now*, חֲמוּל, חֲמוּל *formerly, yesterday*, אֶמֶשׁ *yester-evening*, *last night*, מִשְׁלֹשׁ *day before yesterday* (almost always in the expression *yesterday and the day before*), מָחָר *to-morrow (cras)*, *in the future*, מִמָּחָר *on the morrow*, בְּיוֹם *by day*, לַיְלָה *by night*, בֹּקֶר and רֶגֶעַם *in the morning, early*, כָּל-הַיּוֹם *the whole day*, *then all the time*, *always*, תָּמִיד *continually, always*, עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם *for ever*, לְעוֹלָם *perpetually*, אָז *then*, with reference to both past and future (§ 127, 4, a), מְאֹד *long since, formerly*, לְפָנִים *formerly*, כָּבֵד *long since*, עוֹד, עוֹד *again, repeatedly*, commonly yet with a negative, *no more*, כְּאֶחָד (*as one*) *at once, together*, יחדיו *together*, רִאשׁוֹנָה *at first*, אַחֲרֵי כֵן *(after so) afterwards*, מְהֵרָה *speedily*, מִחָא *instantly*

3 Adverbs for other modal ideas, as—*a*) Of quality, זָכָה, כָּה (from כָּה) and כֵּן *so*, מְאֹד *very*, יָרֵר *exceedingly, very*, מְאֹד *more, too much*, כֻּלָּה *wholly*, כְּאֶדְנָה *(about or near nothing, about or within a little = wanting little) almost*, אִתָּה *so, so then* (Job 9, 24), hence often used intensively in questions (see § 153, 2, last Rem), טוֹב and יָרֵר *well*

b) Of quantity, הַרְבֵּה *much*, לְרַב *abundantly*, הַיּוֹן (*riches*) *enough*, רַי followed by the genitive (prop. *sufficiency*) *enough*, as דִּיךְ *what is enough for thee*, רַבָּה, usually רַבָּה *much, enough*, לְבַד, לְבַד (*in separation*) *alone*, the first also with suffixes, as לְבַדִּי *I alone*, יחדיו *together*.

c) Of asseveration, אֱמֵן, אֱמֵן *truly*, אֵל, אֵל *certainly, indeed*, אֵל, *yes, certainly*, also *rather*, וְמוֹ, Gen 17, 19, 1 K 1, 43, אֵלִי *perhaps*²

The expression of asseveration may easily pass over into that of opposition (comp. *verum, vero*) and of limitation, and hence the above-

¹ Cant 4, 1 גִּלְעָד מִיְמִין *they lie along the declivity of Mount Gilead*, i. e. as if hanging from the side Comp. Virg. Ecl. 1, 77, Soph. Antig. 411, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, Odyss. 420, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

² Probably אֵלִי is compounded of אֵל and לִי = לִי, לא, comp. Aram. אֵלִי *whither not, perhaps*, וְאֵלִי *It is once employed in the sense of whether not, in Num. 22, 33, then whether not (who knows whether not), consequently perhaps, expressing doubt, solicitude, and also hope.*

mentioned affirmative particles are partly *adversative* and *restrictive*, as **אך** *only*, **אךְ**, **אבל** (both especially in later usage) *but*; **אולם** *on the contrary* (the Sept. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ) is strongly *adversative*, used almost exclusively in the Pentateuch and Job. Restrictive also is **רק** (like **אך**) *merely*, i. e. *only*.

d) *Of reason, cause*; **לכן**, **לָכֵן**, **לְכֵן**, *therefore*.—e) *Of addition*; **גם** *also*, and (more poetical, and expressive of increase) **אֵף** (*adeo*) *yea more*, *even*, both which, however, often pass over into conjunctions.

4. Adverbs of *negation*; on these see § 152.

5. Adverbs of *interrogation* include all the former classes. On the pure interrogative particles **מָה**, **מַה**, see § 153; the question relating to *place* is asked by **אֵי**, **אֵיךָ** *where?* the first with *suff.* **אֵי** *where (is) he?* so **זוה** **אֵי**, **אֵינָה**, **אֵינָה** *where?* **מֵאֵי** *whence?* **אֵי** (from **אֵיךָ**) *whither?*—to *time*, by **מָתַי** *when?* **עַד מָתַי** *until when?* **כַּמֶּחָד** *how long?*—to *quality*, by **אֵיךָ**, **אֵיךָ**, **אֵיךָ** *how?*—to *number* by **כַּמֶּחָד** *how much?* *how often?*—to *cause*, by **לָמָד** (§ 102, 2, d) and **מֵדָוֶשׁ** (§ 99, 3) *why, wherefore?*

Most of these interrogative particles are formed by prefixing **אֵי**, **אֵי**, which in itself signifies *where* (comp. Germ. *wovon?* *wohin?*), but by usage becomes also a mere sign of interrogation before particles of *place*, *time*, etc.

In this manner, and by the application of the ending **וְ**, of the prep. **בְּ**, and of the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, are formed whole classes of correlative adverbs, as **זוה** *here*, **מֵזוה** *hence*, **זוה** **אֵי** *where?* **מֵזוה** **אֵי** *whence?* **אֲשֶׁר מֵזוה** *whence (relative)*; **שָׁם** *there*, **מֵשָׁם** *thither*, **שָׁם** *thence*, **אֲשֶׁר שָׁם** *where*, **אֲשֶׁר מֵשָׁם** *whither*, **אֲשֶׁר מֵשָׁם** *whence* (see § 123, 1).

§ 151.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADVERBS.

1. Adverbs not only serve to qualify the verb, but also the adjective, **מְאֹד** *very good*, and even substantives (like **ἡ χθὲς ἡμέρα**); in the latter case they stand either,—a) in apposition after it, as **מֵעַם** **אֲנָשִׁים** *a few men* (prop. *men in fewness*) Neh. 2, 12; **מְאֹד** **חָכְמָה** *very much wisdom* 1 K. 5, 9; or—b) in the genitive, as **קָלְלָהּ** **חָזֵק** *a curse uttered without a cause* Prov. 26, 2; **עַד** **חָזֵק** *a witness without a cause* Prov. 24, 28, where the adverb is treated *substantively*.

The adverbs also appear in the nature of substantives, when, as in the later writers, they take a preposition; e. g. **בְּכֵן** *in the so—* Est. 4, 16, **אֶל־חָזֵק** prop. *for in vain*, Ez. 6, 10 (comp. *in* or *ad irritum*).

2. The repetition of an adverb sometimes denotes stress or intensity, and sometimes continual accession; e. g. **מְאֹד מְאֹד** *exceedingly* Gen. 7, 19, Num. 14, 7; **מֵטָה מֵטָה** *lower and lower* Deut. 28, 43; **מְעַט מְעַט** *by little and little* (*peu à peu*) Ex. 23, 30.

On the periphrasis of adverbial ideas by verbs, see § 142, Rem. 1.

3. In reference to the restrictive particles **אֵין**, **רַק**, as well as to the augmentative **גַּם**, **אֲנִי**, we should remark that they frequently affect (especially after interrogative particles) not the next following word, but the whole next following sentence, sometimes even (by skipping the antecedent) its consequent clause. Comp., as to **גַּם** 1 Sam. 22, 7, Zech. 9, 11, Job 2, 10; for **אֵין** Job 14, 3; for **אֵין** 16, 7, 23, 6; for **רַק** Ps. 32, 6, Prov. 13, 10.—On a similar use of interrogative particles v. § 153, 2.

§ 152.

OF THE WORDS WHICH EXPRESS NEGATION.

1. The most important adverbs of negation are **לֹא** (*subst.* Job 6, 21)=**אֵין** *not*, **אֵין**=**לֹא** *that not*, **אֵין** (the opposite of **יֵשׁ**) *there is not*, **עַד** *not yet*, **אֵין** *no more*. Almost exclusively poetic are **בִּלְיָ**, **בְּלִי**, **בְּלִי** *not*; negative conjunctions, **אֲלֵ**, **פֶּן**, **בְּלִי**, **בְּלִי** *that not, lest*.

We subjoin a more complete view of the use of these words:—

לֹא (like *ob*, *ob*) is used principally for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence it is commonly connected with the *Perfect* or *Imperfect* (as *Indicative*), on its connection with the *Imperfect* to express *prohibition* see § 127, 3, c.—In connection with **כֹּל**, when the latter is not followed by the article and therefore means *any one, any thing*, it expresses the Lat. *nullus, none* (comp. Fr. *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*); Ex. 12, 16 **לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ** *no labour shall be done*, Job 33, 13, usually in the position of **כֹּל** . . . **לֹא**, Ex. 10, 15, 20, 4, 2 Ch. 32, 15, Prov. 12, 21, 30, 30. So also **אֵין** with **כֹּל**, Ec. 1, 9 **אֵין כִּלְיָהָרֵשׁ** *there is nothing new*. But the case is different when **כֹּל** is definite, where it means *all, the whole*, as in Num. 23, 13 **לֹא תִרְאֶהוּ** *all of him (his whole) thou shalt not see* (but only a part). Comp. also cases like Gen. 3, 1 **לֹא תֹאכַל** *not eat of all the trees of the garden*, as much as to say *of no tree at all*. On the use of **לֹא** in interrogative sentences, see § 153, 1.—**לֹא** serves also absolutely for negative answer, *no!* Gen. 19, 2, Josh. 5, 14, Job 33, 6.

לֹא pût before a noun, either substantive or adjective, forms with it sometimes a kind of compound, as לֹא-אֱלֹהִים a *no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*), i. e. who is no God at all Deut. 32, 21, לֹא דָבָר a *nothing* (Germ. *Unding*) Am. 6, 13, לֹא חֲסִיד *impious* Ps. 43, 1.

On the position of לֹא in the clause, see § 145, 1, Note.¹

אֵל (like μῆ, Lat. *ne*) for the *subjective* and *dependent* negation is connected with the *Imperfect* (as *Jussive*); hence the phrase אֵל רְבֵנָה *ne veniat* means *may he not come*, or *let him not come*. See above, § 128, 2

Sometimes אֵל stands like לֹא absolutely, without the verb (like μὴ for μὴ τοῦτο λέγεται), nay I pray, *not so*, i. e. *let it not be*; e. g. Ruth 1, 13 אֵל בְּנֵי אֵל *not so, my daughters*, Gen. 19, 18 (אֵל-בָּנָי).—On the interrogative use of it, see § 153, 1.

אֵין (prop. constr. st. of אֵין *non-entity*) is the negative of הִיא (*he, she, it*) *is*, and includes the verb *to be* in all its tenses; e. g. Num. 14, 42 אֵין יְהוָה בְּתוֹכָם *the Lord is not among you*, Gen. 37, 29 אֵין יוֹסֵף בְּבֵר *Joseph was not in the pit*. The same formulas are expressed positively with הִיא, and negatively with אֵין, as Gen. 31, 29 הִיא בְּיָדִי *it is in my power* (prop. it is i. e. it belongs to the power of my hand), Neh. 5, 5 הִיא בְּיָדֵינוּ *it is not in our power*.—It follows, moreover,—α) that the personal pronouns, when they are the subject of the sentence, are appended to אֵין as suffixes; as אֵיןִי *I am not, I was not, I shall not be*; אֵיןֶךָ, etc. —β) When the predicate is a verb, it almost universally takes the form of a participle, the verb substantive being implied in אֵין; Ex. 5, 16 אֵין תֵּבֶן אֵין נָתַן *straw is not given*, vs. 10 אֵיןִי נָתַן *I do not give*, 8, 17, Deut. 1, 32.—γ) As הִיא sometimes signifies *to be present*, to *be near* or *at hand*; so אֵין is used in the contrary sense, *to be not present* or *at hand*; אֵיןִי *he was not present=was no more* Gen. 5, 24. Quite anomalous stands אֵין Job 35, 15 before the perfect as an emphatic negation. Comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

From אֵין (or אֵין 1 Sam. 21, 9) is formed by abbreviation the negative syllable "א, employed in a few compounds; as in Job 22, 30 אֵיןִי *not-guileless*. In Ethiopic it is the most common form of negation, and is there used even as a prefix to verbs.

לֹא־הִיא (prop. constr. st. with the ending לֹא־הִיא, § 90, 3, a) from לֹא־הִיא *want, non-existence* (from verb לֹא־הִיא) is most frequently employed before the *Inf.* when it is to be expressed negatively with a preposition; as לֹא־הִיא לֶאֱכֹל *not to eat*, אֵין לֶאֱכֹל *not to eat* Gen. 3, 11. Rarely with a finite verb for *that not* Jer. 23, 14, or *without that* Ez. 13, 3.

לֹא־הִיא (from the stem לֹא־הִיא *to turn*) is the same as *lest, that not* (=L. *ne forte*), at the beginning of sentences indicating fear or apprehension, therefore especially after verbs signifying *to fear, to beware* (like δεινέω μὴ, *vereor ne*) Gen. 31, 24, 31; but the expression of apprehension may have resulted already from the connection of speech, comp. Gen. 11, 4; 19, 5, and even Gen. 3, 22 וְעַתָּה מֵעַתָּה יִשְׂתַּחֲוֶה יָדָיו *and now, lest he stretch forth his hand*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence, instead of destroying each other, as in Latin and English, make the negation stronger, as in Greek¹ οὐ οὐδεὶς, οὐ οὐδὲμῶς; 1 K. 10, 21 למאמיה אין כסף לא נחשב למאמיה *silver was not at all regarded for any thing* (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 9, 20, לא is wanting), Ex. 14, 11.—In Zeph. 2, 2 בטרם לא יבוא lit. *before there shall not come*, where we drop the negative in Eng. and say *before it shall come*, Is. 5, 9 מאין יושב prop. *without no inhabitant* (i. e. *so that there is no inhabitant*).²

3. When one negative sentence follows another, especially in the poetic parallelism, the negation is often expressed only in the first, while its influence extends also to the second; 1 Sam. 2, 3 *multiply not words of pride,—let (not) that which is arrogant come forth from your mouth* Ps. 9, 19, 35, 19, 38, 2, Job 28, 17, Is 23, 4.

§ 153.

OF INTERROGATIVE WORDS AND SENTENCES.

1. Interrogation may be indicated simply by the *tone* of voice in which the words or sentences are uttered; e. g. 2 Sam 18, 29 ילער לנער *is it well with the young man?* Gen. 27, 24 אתה זה בני עשו *art thou now my son Esau?* 1 K. 1, 24. This is more frequent when the sentence is connected with a previous one by ו; Jon. 4, 11 ואני לא אחרם *and should I not spare?* Judg. 11, 23, 14, 16, Job 2, 10; and also after the particles גם (Zech. 8, 6). But negative sentences can still more readily be uttered, with the interrogative tone; e. g. with לא, when an affirmative answer is expected (*nonne?*), Ex. 8, 22, 2 Sam. 23, 5, Lam. 3, 38; once with אל in expectation of a negative answer, 1 Sam. 27, 10 אל תשחתם היום *ye have not then made an incursion at this time?* (see however below).³

¹ Also in Welsh, as in *nid oes dim* (*there is nothing*, prop. *there is not nothing*).—Tr.

² See more on this use of two negatives, in Ewald's *Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache*, § 323, a.—Tr.

³ In the same manner are used οὐχ (*nonne?*) and μή, the former (Hom. Il. x, 165, iv, 242) in expectation of an affirmative, the latter (Odys. vi, 200)

2. Most commonly the simple question begins with *He interrogative* ה (Lat. *num?*)¹—the disjunctive question with ה (Lat. *num? utrum?*) followed in the second clause by אם, Lat. *an?* אם—ה (= *utrum—an?*), as in 1 K. 22, 15 אִם-יִחְיֶה . . . הֲיִנָּחֵם *whether shall we go . . . or shall we forbear?*

To be more particular:—

The ה is strictly a sign of the simple and pure question, when the inquirer is uncertain what answer to expect; as Job 2, 3 הֲשֵׁנָה תִּשְׁמָע לַבָּהּ אֱלֹהֵי-עַבְדִּי *my servant?* Often he may expect a negative answer (*num?*), which he may express in his very tone; Gen. 4, 9 אֲנִי הַשֹּׂמֵר אֶת־אָחִי *am I the keeper of my brother?* Job 14, 14 הֲיָחִי אִם-יָמוּת *shall he live again?* Such a question may have precisely the force of a negative assertion; 2 Sam. 7, 5 הֲבָנִיחַ לִי בֵית *shalt thou build a house for me?* (in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 17, 4 לֹא אֶבְנֶה וְגו' *thou shalt not build a house for me*) and, *vice versa*, the negative form of the question has the effect of an affirmation, הֲלֹא *nonne? is it not so?* for הִנֵּה *behold!* 2 K. 15, 21, 20, 20, comp. 2 Ch. 27, 7, 32, 32² On the other hand, the question may be so uttered as to show that the speaker expects affirmation and assent, when it corresponds, in effect, with the negative form of the question in English; compare the use of ἢ ἄρα and ἢ οὐ ἄρα for *is not?* and of the Latin, *-ne* for *nonne?* Job 20, 4 הֲיָדָעָה יָדְעָה דֹּסְתָה *dost thou (not) know this?*—The rare instances in which a simple question seems to be introduced by אם are based in truth on the suppression of the first member of a double question, as we say *or perhaps* (German *oder etwa*), Lat. *an*, as in Is. 29, 16, 1 K. 1, 27, Job 6, 12.

The *disjunctive* question (*whether—or?*) is usually expressed under the form אם—ה, also וְאִם—ה, Job 21, 4; with emphasis on the first question וְאִם—יָאֵם, 34, 17, 40, 8, 9; yet also, with אִם or before the second clause, Job 16, 3, Eccl. 2, 19. The use of this combination אם—ה does not, however, always require opposition between the clauses, but often stands in poetic parallelisms and in other sentences (Gen. 37, 8), where the same question is merely repeated in different words in the second clause, and thus made more emphatic, as in Job 4, 17

of a negative answer. But this analogy is not sufficient to gain a sense in the question 1 Sam. 27, 10 in connection with David's answer. But probably for אִם in 1 Sam. 27, 10 we should read אַל after the Sept. ἐπὶ τίνα=אֵל-מִי.

¹ The omission of the ה occurs especially before a following guttural (so plainly before ה Job 38, 18) to avoid the hiatus.

² In a similar manner, מִי *what? [why?]*, spoken with indignation expresses prohibition under the form of reproach or expostulation; Cant. 3, 4 מִי-תִעֲרִיר *why do ye rouse?* Job 16, 6, 31, 1. This negative force of מִי is very frequent in Arabic.

is man just more than God, or (אֲנִי) is a man pure more than his Maker? 6, 5, 6, 8, 3, 10, 4, 5, 11, 2, 7, 23, 3; hence וְ also stands before the second clause in such cases (instead of אֲנִי), Job 13, 7, 15, 7, 8, or there is no particle at all to connect the clauses, as in Job 22, 4.—Now and then וְ stands again in the second member, as in Judg. 14, 15 (where there is actual opposition); but more usually in a continued, double question, as in 1 Sam. 23, 11; where however not a disjunction but connecting of two simple questions takes place. In Job 6, 12 אֲנִי stands already in the first member of a double questions; followed by אֲנִי וְ (v. 13) in the third question.

In the so-called *indirect*¹ questions, after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining, the simple question takes either וְ (*whether*) Gen. 8, 8, or אֲנִי Cant. 7, 13, 2 K. 1, 2; the disjunctive question (*whether—or*) אֲנִי—וְ Gen. 27, 21, Ex. 16, 4, and also וְ—אֲנִי Num. 13, 18 upon which again אֲנִי—וְ follows.—The formula אֲנִי יָדָעְתִּי אִם (who knows if, i. e. *whether or not*) is also used affirmatively like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. 4, 14. .

For interrogative adverbs of place, time, etc., see § 150, 5.

The words וְ (§ 122, 2) and אֲנִי *now, then*, (§ 150, 3), serve to give animation or intensity to a question (like *poté, tandem*, Eng. *then, now*); as אֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ אֲנִי *what aileth thee now? quid tibi tandem est?* Is. 22, 1; אֲנִי אֵימָה *where then?* Job 17, 15.

As the other particles (§ 151, 3) so also the interrogatives affect sometimes, not the next following but only the second one of two co-ordinate sentences; so וְ Job 4, 2, אֲנִי 4, 21, אֲנִי Is. 5, 4; 50, 2.

3. The affirmative answer is given, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word of the interrogative sentence (the second person becomes the first in Gen. 27, 24, Judg. 13, 11) Gen. 29, 6, 1 Sam. 23, 11; the negative answer is לֹא *no* Gen. 19, 2, see § 152, 1.

§ 154.

THE PREPOSITIONS.

1. The *simple*² prepositions, like the adverbs, originally denote for the most part physical relations, viz. those of

¹ It should be remarked that the difference between the direct and indirect question could not have been as clear to the Hebrews as it is, for instance, to the Latins or Germans. In Hebrew this discrimination was not made either by a change of mood or by the position of the words (as in German).

² Among these we reckon such forms as לְאָנִי, לְאָנִי, which in themselves are indeed compound words, but as prepositions they express only one idea, and are thus distinguished from the compounds under No. 2, e. g. מִלְּפָנֵי from before.

space, and are then used for intellectual relations, as those of time, cause, etc. The prepositions of place originally denote either *rest* in a place, or *motion* from or to a place.

a) The most important prepositions of *place* are.—

α) Of *state* or *rest*, **ב** *in, at, by*, **על** *upon and over*, **תחת** *under, instead of*, **אחרי** *behind, after*, **לפני** *before*, **נגד**, **נכח**, **מול**, *before, opposite to* **(אחור)** *with, by*, **אצל** *on the side, by, near*, **בצד**, **בקרבת** (prop. *in proximity to*) *behind, about* (**אסוף**), **בין** *between*, **לפני** *on the other side, beyond*.

β) Of *motion*, **מן** *from*, **אל** and **ל** *to, towards*, **עד** *unto, as far as*; and also (from the former class) **ב**, *into*, **על** *upon, towards*

δ) Very many of the above-mentioned prepositions express also relations of *time*, as **ב**, *in*, **בין**, **אל**, **עד**, etc.

ε) Of those which denote other relations we may mention, **ב**, (Lat. *instar*) *as*, **כ** *as often as*, **בפני** *according to*, **עם** *together with, with*, **חלילה**, **בלי** *without, besides*, **לפני**, **לפי** *on account of*, **עקב** (prop. *as a reward*) *for, because*.

2. The Hebrew language develops a great degree of dexterity and accuracy of discrimination in the *compounding* of prepositions. Thus, those of motion are combined with others denoting rest, so as to express not only a *change* of relation, but also the state which was existing before the change, or which is to follow as the result of it, as in French *de chez, d'après*.¹ So—

a) with **מן** **מאחור** *from behind*, **מבין** *from between*, **מעל** *from upon or above*, **מעם**, **מאחור** *from with* (Fr. *de chez quelqu'un*), **מתחת** *from under*.

b) with **אל** (not so often): **אחורי** *to behind or after*; **אלימן** (prop. *to out from*) *even out from* Job 5, 5; **ל** **מחוץ** *without, i.e. on the outside of*, **ל** **מחוץ** *forth without* Num. 5, 3.

Adverbs also compounded with prepositions, take after them **ל** (more seldom **מן**), and again become prepositions; e. g. **מעל** (adv.) *above*, **ל** **מעל** (prep.) *above, over*, **מתחת** (adv.)

¹ When the Hebrew says, Is. 6, 6: **העלִי־הַחַיִּים** *he took the live coal from upon the altar (away from the top of the altar)*, he presents the idea fully; while it is but half expressed in the Fr. *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, the Germ. *er nimmt den Hut vom Tische weg* = the Eng. *he takes his hat away from the table*, the Fr. omitting one relation, the Germ. and Eng. another.

below, מִתַּחַת לְ (prep.) *below, under*, לְ מוֹחוץ (prep.) *without*, לְבָד *separately, aside*, מִן לְבָד *aside from, besides*.

This accessory preposition may also precede the adverbial form; e. g. מִן לְבָד מִלְּבָדִי *besides, without*, Syr. مَعَ مَحْجٍ¹; rarely it is wholly wanting, as מִתַּחַת (for לְ מִתַּחַת) Job 28, 5.

3. We will now present a few prepositions (such as occur most frequently and have the greatest variety of meaning), with their principal significations, in order to explain their construction with verbs (§ 140), and the most important idioms connected with them.

a) ב, which, of all the prepositions, has the greatest variety of significations, denotes,—1) prop. rest *in* a place (ἐν), hence *in* with reference to time, and to state or condition, as בְּיָמָיו, בְּרֵאשִׁית, בְּשָׁלוֹם— with reference to a company, or number of individuals, *among*, e. g. בְּיָמָיו,—with reference to bounds or limits, *within*, as בְּשַׁעְרֵיהֶם *within the gates*, בְּעֵינֵי in the eyes, i. e. in the reach of the eyes (ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς; Ibad I, 587);—of high objects, *upon*, as בְּסוּסֵיהֶם *upon horses* Is. 66, 20 (at the same time transition to the idea of *clinging* to something v. below); but it has rarely all these significations after verbs of motion= εἰς (like *ponere in loco*).² The Hebrew says,—α) to drink *in* a cup (because a part of the face is in it) Gen. 44, 5 (so in Arabic and Aram., Dan. 5, 2, ἐν ποτηρίοις, ἐν χυκωτάμοις πίνει Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4, 8 Ezr. 8, 6, in ossibus bibere in Florus, French boire dans une tasse);—β) *in* the manner, *in* the model or rule, for *after* the manner or model (comp. ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, hunc in modum), as בְּדִבְרֵי מ' *according to the command of*, מ' בְּצַדִּיק *according to the counsel of any one*, בְּצַלְמֵנוּ בְּדִמְיוֹנוּ *in (after) our image, after our likeness* Gen. 1, 26, (comp. vs. 27, and 5, 1) 5, 8 Adam begat a son בְּצַלְמוֹ. Also in these examples the idea of *clinging to*, *attaching to* a model is mingled with that of being in a sphere; comp. also Gen. 21, 12 in Isaac (בְּרִצְקָה) *thy seed shall be called*, i. e. it shall be attached to Isaac when Abraham's descendants are spoken of.—To the same category (of sphere, norm, etc.) belongs finally the so-called *instrumentale* e. g. בְּשֹׁבֵט *with the staff* (Micah 4, 14); even of a person בְּךָ *by thee* (Ps. 18, 30). A kind of *instrumentale* is the so-called *pretii* (the price being considered a means of obtaining

¹ In the Syr. مَعَ means *over*, as preposition, but مَعَ مَحْجٍ *above* as adverb (see Hoffmanni, Gram. Syr. p. 280). The Hebrew in like manner says לְמִן *from* (a starting point) *onward*, for לְ, precisely the Lat. usque a, usque ea, comp. also inde.

² When the ב seems to stand for *motion* (בָּ), like ἐν for εἰς or Lat. in (as in the above example), the idea of *rest* (in which the *motion* ends) really predominates in the mind, e. g. בְּיָדָיו *by his hands*.—Tr.

a thing). On the periphrasing of the object with the so-called *א* objects v. § 138, 1, Rem. 3, Note. Especial attention is due to the passages, where we have,—*γ*) *א* *essentiae* of the grammarians, which everywhere means, as, *tangquam* (Fr. *en*), Ex. 6, 3 *I appeared to Abraham אֱלֹהִים אֲבִרָהָם as God Almighty*; Is. 40, 10 *the Lord will come בָּרוּךְ as a strong one*; Ps. 35, 2; 37, 20; 68, 5, *בְּיָהוָה שְׁמוֹ Jah is his name* (comp. Is. 26, 4).—Job 23, 13 *הוּא הוּא הוּא he is an only one* (i. e. unique). In Arabic this idiom is frequent; see *Gesenii* Thes. Ling. Heb. p. 174, *Delitzsch* on Ps. 35, 2.—2) Nearness *at, by, on*; *אֵל*=*ἐν* *παραπῶν on the river* Ez. 10, 15. In this sense it more frequently indicates motion *unto*; it differs, however, both from *אֵל to, towards* (where the aim need not be attained necessarily) and *עַד as far as to* (where the aim is reached). Thus it is used to express *touching at, joining, reaching as far as* (therefore as above, *clinging to*); Gen. 11, 4 *a tower בָּשָׁמַיִם ראשי ראשׁ whose top shall be in* (i. e. reach to) *heaven*. Hence, after transitive verbs *א* serves frequently to introduce the object where in Latin and German compounds with *ad, in* and *an* are used e. g. *ב* *אָחַז to take hold in* (*anfassen*), *א* *נָגַע to touch on* (*anrühren*), *א* *שָׁאַל to ask at, to consult* (*anfragen*), *א* *קָרָא to call upon* (*anrufen*), *א* *רָאָה to look upon* (*ansehen*), *א* *שָׁמַע to hearken to* (*anhören*). The last two, often include the idea of sympathy, pleasure or (seldom) pain with which one sees or hears anything; comp. *א* *רָאָה to see ones joy at something*, and Gen. 21, 16 *אֶל-אֶרְצָהּ בְּמוֹת הַיֶּלֶד let me not look on the death of the child!* The same fundamental idea of *clinging to* shows itself also in the construction of certain *verba cordis* with *א*, e. g. *ב* *בָּטַח to trust, to believe in*, *ב* *שָׂמַח to rejoice in something*, etc.—Finally belongs here also the *partitive* use of the *א*, as *א* *נָשָׂא to help to carry* (an *etwas mittragen*) Num. 11, 17, Job 7, 13; 21, 25; 39, 17, Neh. 4, 4 *א* *שָׂמַח to rejoice in something etc.*

With the idea of *nearness*, that of *society, accompaniment*, readily connects itself; Gen. 32, 11 *בְּמַקְלִי (בְּמַקְלִי) I passed over this Jordan*. It should be remarked that verbs of *coming* and *going*, with *א* (to come, or go, *with*) express the idea of *bringing of coming with something*; e. g. Judg. 15, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid*, i. e. brought her a kid, Deut. 28, 5.

ב *עַל* signifies *upon* (*ἐπὶ*) and *over* (*ὑπέρ*, L. *super*); very frequently used of motion (down) *upon* or *over*—(up) *upon* or *over* a thing. In the sense of (resting) *upon* (coming) *upon*, it is used after verbs signifying to be heavy, i. e. *burdensome, afflictive* (prop. to lie heavily upon) Is. 1, 14, Job 7, 20, 28, 2,—to set or appoint over (to commission), as *עַל* *שָׁמַר*,—to pity, to spare, as *עַל* *רוּחַ* *לֵב* *רוּחַ to look tenderly upon*). With the primary idea is connected that of *accession* (conceived as a *laying upon*) and of *conformity, after, according to* (with reference to the rule or pattern, upon which a thing is laid to be measured or modelled), and of *cause (ob quam), on account of* (prop. upon something as ground or motive), *although*. In the signification *over*, it is often used with

verbs of *covering, protecting*, *לָקַח עַל* (prop. *to place a covering, a shield, over*); and so also with those of kindred meaning, as *לָקַח עַל* *to contend for one* (i. e. *to protect one*), Judg. 9, 17. It is used for *at, by, before, near*, in cases where there is an actual elevation of one of the related objects above the other, conceived as an impending *over* as for instance the standing person reaching over the sitting persons (Job 1, 6), the tree on the brook reaching over the surface of the water (Ps. 1, 3) etc.; comp. also *עַל־יָד, עַל־יָד* (Job 1, 14) *near, על יד, on the side*. Hence, it expresses the relation of motion to the object *at* which it terminates, *to, towards* (especially with hostile intent) so that in the later Hebrew style and in poetry it is often used for *אֶל* and *לְ*; see Lex.

c) *מִן* (§ 102) indicates *motion, removal, away from* anything. Its fundamental signification is that of *separation from a whole, derivation, descent*. As *constr. st.* of a noun *מִן* *part*, it properly means *part of, hence off, from*, used at first with reference to the part which is taken from the whole, e. g. *to give, to take part of=from*. This fundamental signification appears plainest, when it expresses *some* (more rarely *one*) *of, before* the whole from which a part is taken, e. g. *מִשְׁרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* *some of the princes of Israel* 2 Ch. 21, 4, *מִדָּם* *some blood* (Fr. *du sang*). It has the same signification when (apparently pleonastic) it is connected with the words *one, none*, in the so often misapprehended idiom of the Hebrew and Arabic *non ab uno*, i. e. *not any one, not the least*, prop. not even a part, a piece, the least portion, of one; and so in Heb. without negation=Lat. *ab uno* for *ullus*, Lev. 4, 2, Deut. 15, 7, Ez. 18, 10.¹

In its most ordinary use, with reference to motion *away from* (*from out of* something, *e numero*, 2 K. 10, 24 and even absolutely: *far, rid of*, Job 19, 26) it forms the opposite of *אֶל, לְ*, and is employed not merely after verbs which express actual motion, as *to depart (from), to flee (from)*, but also those of kindred signification, as *to be afraid, to hide, to beware*; comp. in Gr. and Lat. *καλύπτω ἀπό, custodire ab*. In its tropical use with reference to time, it may mean either *from* (a time) *on*, in which case the reckoning is to be made from the *beginning*, not from the end of the period specified (like *ἀπὸ νυκτός, de nocte, from the setting in of night*), as *מִתְּחִלָּה* Job 38, 12 *from the beginning of thy days onward*; or it may mean (counted from the expiration of a term) *next from*, i. e. *immediately after* (*ἐξ ἀπίστου, ab itinere*), as *מִקְרִי* (Ps. 73, 20) *immediately after awaking*, Gen. 38, 24 *בְּמִשְׁלֵשׁ חֳדָשִׁים* *about after the expiration of three months*, Hos. 6, 2; very often in the same way *מֵעַתָּה* *from the end*, i. e. *after the expiration of*.—On the idea of *going out from* is based finally the very frequent *causative* use, *for, on account of, in consequence of* (comp. the English *that comes from*...).

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus, II, p. 801.

For the use of it to denote *rest on the side* of an object, where the idea is that of near distance, of being just *off from* (the Lat. *prope abesse ab*, *pendere ex aliqua re*), see § 156, 1. For the use of כֶּן for expressing the comparative, see § 119, 1.

d) אֶל, אֵלַי (prop. *region, direction*, hence *towards*) denotes *motion*, and also merely *direction towards* (with reference both to physical and to intellectual objects) whether that towards which the motion is directed is reached or not. In the former case it is equivalent to כִּי, e. g. אֶל-פִּיָּהּ even unto his mouth Job 40, 23; when it means entering into a thing, it is equivalent to אֶל-יְהוָה, e. g. בּוֹא אֶל-יְהוָה to go into the ark.

Rarely, and only by power of pregnancy in the expression, regarding the motion which leads to the end instead of the end itself, אֶל is sometimes employed to denote rest in a place at which one has arrived; Jer. 41, 12 they found him אֶל-יְהוָה by great waters. אֶל-הַמָּקוֹם at the place Deut. 16, 6, 1 K. 8, 30. Compare the Gr. εἰς, εἰ, for ἐν, e. g. δόμους μένειν Soph. Ajax, 80; so too in Acts 8, 40 εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀζωπον. The German use of zu in zu Hause, zu Leipzig, is quite analogous.

e) לְ is distinguished from אֶל, of which it is an abbreviation, by the fact that it expresses *direction* (not *movement*) towards something in a more general way,¹ as well as by being more commonly used in the metaphoric senses.—From its fundamental idea of *inclining towards*, *direction towards*, may be explained both the use of לְ as *nota dativi* and as periphrasis of the *genetivus possessoris*, or *auctoris* § 115, 2 (the idea of belonging to) as well as its signification *with respect to*, *on account of*, *in behalf of*. The *dativus commodi* is used pleonastically (especially in the language of common intercourse and in the later style) after verbs of motion, as *to go*, *to flee*, especially in the *Imperative*, e. g. הָלֵךְ לְךָ go, get thee away, בָּרַח לְךָ flee (for thy safety); but also after other verbs, as הָבָה לְךָ be thou like Cant. 2, 17.—It is a solecism of the *later time* (common in Aram. and Ethiop.) when active verbs are construed with לְ instead of the accusative, as לְשָׁלַח in Ezr. 8, 16, 2 Ch. 17, 7.

Very often also, it denotes *rest*, hence *at*, or *in*, with reference to place and time; as לְיְמִינְךָ on thy right, לְעֶרְבָּה at eventide.—On its use after passive and other verbs to denote the efficient cause or author, see § 143, 2.

f) כֵּן (prop. substantive, Lat. *instar*, as an adverb *about*, *nearly*), as a prep. *as*, *like to*; for denoting similarity it is doubled כֵּן—כֵּן as—so Gen. 18, 25, and also so—as in Gen. 44, 18, in later authors כֵּן—כֵּן; according to, after, from the idea of conformity to a model or rule; as a designation of time *at* (not *about*, especially Gen. 18, 10 כֵּן at this

time—at the same time), the supposition of so-called *Kāph veritatis* is justified if only the correct idea is connected with it. According to the older grammarians such a *Kāph veritatis* stands pleonastically not to indicate similarity but the thing itself, in cases like Neh. 2, 7 *for he was אֱמִן אֱמִן*; this is however not merely predicate=*a faithful man* but *as a faithful man* must be; 1 Sam. 10, 27; 25, 26, Is. 1, 7, Job 27, 7.—Comp. also כִּי־עָצַט in places like Ps. 105, 12=*very little* (elsewhere almost easily).

4. In the poetic parallelism, a preposition which stands in the first member may be omitted in the corresponding place in the second member; e. g. ב, Is. 48, 14 *he will do his pleasure on Babylon (בְּבָבֶל)*, and *his power on the Chaldeans (בְּכַשְׁדִּים for בְּכַשְׁדִּים)*, Hab. 3, 15, Job 15, 3. So also ל Job 34, 10, Is. 28, 6, עַד 15, 8, לְמִעַן 48, 9, מִן Is. 30, 1, תִּהְיֶה Is. 61, 7. Comp. § 152, 3.

§ 155.

THE CONJUNCTIONS

1. The Hebrew language, considered with regard to its conjunctions, and especially its ability to form them from most of the prepositions by the addition of אֲשֶׁר and כִּי (§ 104, 1, c), exhibits no small copiousness and flexibility, compared with its usual simplicity. But the writers have often neglected the means, which it furnishes for accurately expressing the relations of sentences and members of a sentence, contenting themselves with less perfect modes of connection¹; hence the various significations which certain conjunctions in frequent use (particularly כִּי, אֲשֶׁר) either actually have, or at least seem to require when translated into our Western languages, as these do not always permit us (see No. 3) to retain such a loose and indefinite connection.

Of the most extensive application is כִּי (§ 104, 2);² it stands:

a) Properly and usually *copulative* (our *and*), connecting single words as well as whole sentences. When three or more words stand in connection, it is used either before every one after the first (2 K.

¹ Comp. a similar case in § 107, 1, Rem., § 147, Rem. 1.

² See fuller particulars on the use of *Wāw copulative*, in *Gesenii Thesaurus* I, p. 393 et seqq.

23, 5), or before the last only (Gen. 13, 2); rarely after the first only (Ps. 45, 9). In certain set-phrases it is commonly omitted, as *yesterday* (and) *the day before* Ex. 5, 8. The tone of animated description or narration may also occasion the omission of it (*constructio asyndeta*); as Judg. 5, 2 *at her feet he bowed, fell, lay*, Job 20, 19, Cant. 2, 11, 5, 6.

As connecting words, it is often *explicative* (like *isque, et—quidem*=Germ. *und zwar*; so-called *Wāw explicativum*), 1 Sam. 28, 3 בְּרַחֲמֵי יְהוָה *in Ramah and* (that is) *in his own city*, 17, 4 (and in truth with the bear) 2 Sam. 13, 20, Amos 3, 11, 4, 10; also in a manner that the second idea could be subordinate as the genitive (the *ὁ δὲ δὴ* of the grammarians), e. g. Gen. 3, 16 עֲצָבוֹתֶיךָ וְהִירָנֶיךָ *thy pain and thy conception*=the pain of thy conception (unless the ו has an emphatic sense=and especially thy conception); perhaps also Job 10, 17 2 Ch. 16, 14 וְזִנִּים בְּתַבְשִׁימִים *spices and sorts*, in the sense of *all sorts of spices*. A sure example of the so-called *Wāw concomitantiae* is Job 41, 12: a boiling pot וְאֶבְרִיךָ *with* (fire of) *rushes*. In Arabic this *Wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

As connecting clauses or sentences, it denotes either *continuation* (for *then* or *that*), hence before the apodosis (like German *da*, *so*) and after absolute designations of time (see Gen. 3, 5, 27, 30, Ex. 16, 6, Josh. 2, 8, Prov. 24, 27 וְבִנִּיתָ בֵּיתְךָ *afterwards, then build thy house*) comp. § 145, 2; or *enhancement*, as in Job 5, 19 *in six troubles he will deliver thee, yea, in seven no evil shall befall thee*; וְשֵׁשׁ אֲלֵי *rather ask immediately . . .* 1 K. 2, 22; or *comparison*, especially in the proverbial poetry when facts of the moral world are put in comparison with facts of the physical world. Compare Job 5, 7 *man is born to trouble, and so the sons of the flame fly on high, for just as these* (sparks, acc. to their nature) *fly high, so is*, etc., 12, 11, 34, 3; Prov. 17, 3; 25, 3; 12, 25. But the *Wāw* is also—

b) To introduce the subject of sentences expressing a state or circumstance (comp. on this kind of nominal sentence § 144, a, 3, b)=*while* e. g. 2 Sam. 4, 7 *they came into the house and* (=while) *he lay on his bed*, Gen. 19, 1, Judg. 13, 9; also if the circumstantial clause is at the same time *adversative* (e. g. *and yet, since however, while yet*), Judg. 13, 15 *how canst thou say I love thee* אֲחֵי וְלִבְךָ אֵין אִמֵּי *and* (yet) *thy heart is not with me* (i. e. *while yet*)? Gen. 15, 2; 18, 13; 20, 3, Ps. 28, 3 *who speak peace with their fellows* וְרָעוּ בְלִבָּם *and* (=while yet) *mischievous is in their heart*, Jer. 14, 15 *who prophesy in my name* וְלֹא-נִשְׁלַחְתִּים *and yet I have not sent them*.

c) To introduce a causal clause Ps. 60, 13: *give us help from trouble and* (because) *vain is the help of man*, Job 23, 12.

d) *Inferential* (*then, so then, therefore*); Ex. 13, 32 *I delight not in the death of him that dieth—וְיִשְׁכַּחְתֶּם* *therefore turn ye*. In this sense it may stand even at the beginning of a sentence, when it implies an inference of some kind from circumstances already mentioned; 2 K. 4, 41

and he said וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה then take meal, Ps. 4, 4 וְיָדְעוּ then know ye, 2, 10, 2 Sam. 24, 3.

e) before phrases indicating a purpose or aim *in order that, so that*, in this sense chiefly with the *Perf. consec.* (126, b) cohortative or jussive (§ 128).

Of scarcely less extensive application are the two relative conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי (=ὅτι, *quod, quum, that, because*) which run almost parallel with each other in their significations, except that כִּי occurs as a conjunction far more frequently and in a great variety of senses, while אֲשֶׁר serves at the same time as *nota relationis* and often directly as a relative pronoun, and takes prefixes.

Both are prefixed (like *quod*) to a whole clause, standing as an accusative, governed by the preceding active verb as its object. אֲשֶׁר is even preceded in such a case by the accusative particle אֶת; Josh. 2, 10 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת אֲשֶׁר-הוֹדִיבֵשׁ יְהוָה we have heard (id *quod exsiccavit*) that *Jehovah hath dried up*, (for which elsewhere simply אֲשֶׁר וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ and still oftener כִּי וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ), 1 Sam. 24, 11, 19. Hence the following uses of כִּי:—a) it is employed especially before words of a *quotation*, like the Gr. ὅτι (very seldom אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 15, 20);—b) as a *temporal* conjunction=ὅτε, prop. (at the time) *that, (at the time) where, therefore as when*, sometimes sharply distinguished by the signification *ut, supposing that*, from the conditional אֲמַ when (v. Ex. chap. 21, which is very instructive in this regard) at other times passing over to the conditional power of אֲמַ when=if, Job 38, 5, comp. vs. 4 and 18 (seldom אֲשֶׁר, Lev. 4, 22, Deut. 11, 28);—c) *causal, eo quod, because*, fully כִּי אֲשֶׁר, לָכֵן אֲשֶׁר, *propterea quod*, also *for*=γὰρ. Often the causal signification of כִּי passes over into that of a particle of assurance (*certain it is, that; yes, to be sure*), especially after other particles of this kind;—d) *adversative* (in which sense כִּי only is used) either,—α) after a negative, *but*, prop. *because*, e. g. thou shalt *not* take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites—but a Hebrewess, i. e. *because* thou shalt take a Hebrewess, the former being prohibited *because* the latter is to be done Gen. 24, 3; or,—β) where negation is only implied, e. g. after a question which involves denial (§ 153, 1, 2), when it may be rendered *no but, but no, for surely* (ἀλλὰ, γάρ), Mic. 6, 3 what (injury) have I done to thee? . . . *for surely* I brought thee up, etc. Job 31, 18 (*rather*). See on אֲמַ כִּי below in No. 2, i,—e) also *final* (in which sense אֲשֶׁר alone is used)=*in order that*, (usually אֲשֶׁר לְכֵן v. No. 2, e) e. g. Gen. 11, 7. Deut. 4, 40, etc.

2. We now arrange the remaining conjunctions according to their significations, and in the case of those (very many in number) that have a variety of senses, exhibit together the different uses of each as it first occurs. We must, however, confine ourselves here to a brief general

notice, leaving the more complete view, with the references and proofs, to the Lexicons.

a) *Copulative* besides the *Wāw*, the properly adverbial forms **וְ** also, and intensive **אֵף**, *there is added, wholly, even*, once combined **וְאֵף-כֵּן** and *even also* Lev 26, 44 **כֵּן** is often used with a number to include *all*, e g **שְׁנֵי כֵּן** *both the two*, **כֻּלָּם כֵּן** *all together*. It also merely gives emphasis to the following word, Gen 29, 30 *and he loved* **אֶת-רָחֵל** *Rachel* (not, also Rachel) *more than Leah*, 1 Sam 24, 12 — **כִּי-אֵף** *is prop. add that, hence not to mention, or according to the connection, much more, much less*

b) *Disjunctive* **אִם** or (etym *free will, choice*, hence prop Lat *vel*, but also *aut* with an exclusive antithesis 2 K 2 16) Sometimes it stands elliptically for **כִּי אִם** or (be it) *that, or* (it must be) *that*, when it may be rendered *unless that* e g Is 27, 5, —hence the transition to the conditional sense, *if, but if*, Ex 21, 36 (the Sept ἐὰν ὅε, Vulg *sin autem*) (comp also **אִם** in **אִלִּי**, § 150 3, Note Repeated **אִם-אִם** (*sive-sive*), it is the same as **אִם-אִם**, or **אִם-אִם**

c) *Temporal* **כִּי** = **ὅτε**, *quum* (see above), for which more rarely is used the conditional particle **אִם** (Is 4, 4, 24 13), **כִּי** *until that* also **אִם**, **כִּי** *until that when*, **כִּי** also *during, so long as*, **אֲחֵרֵי** *after that*, **כִּי** (for **כִּי**) *since that*, **בְּתוֹךְ** and **טוֹרֵם** *before, קדמה* *for קדמה* *before* (Ps 129, 6)

d) *Causal* (besides **כִּי** and **אֲשֶׁר**, No 1, e) **כִּי** *because*, but **כִּי-עַל-כֵּן** (Gen 18, 5, 19, 8, 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Q^{re}*) and **אֲשֶׁר-עַל-כֵּן** (Job 34, 27) signify everywhere *for therefore*, see *Ges W B* 8th ed under **כִּי**, **אֲשֶׁר**, **כִּי** *for the circumstances that=for this cause that*, and emphatically **אֲשֶׁר-עַל-כֵּן** *for the very cause that*, **בְּעִבְרֵי** *on the account, that*, and **כִּי** *therefore* **אֲשֶׁר** *therefore that*, and **כִּי** *like the preceding (prop as a reward that)*

e) *Final* **כִּי** *to the end that*, **כִּי** *in order that* (also causal), **כִּי** *that=in order that* (see above), **כִּי** (like the Arab *lā*) according to the present reading 1 K 6, 19 With a negative force **כִּי** *that not, less* (§ 152)

f) *Conditional* principally **אִם** and **כִּי** (for which in the later books rarely **אִם-כִּי**) *if* The first (which is also a particle of interrogation, § 153, 2) is purely conditional, leaving it uncertain whether what is expressed by the verb is actually doing or actually done, or not, yet rather the former (as, if I do—have done—shall do) on the contrary, **כִּי** expressly implies that it is not so, is not done (if I should do—had done), at least that it is very uncertain and even improbable.¹ Hence

¹ Hence **כִּי** serves also to express a wish, as in **כִּי-יָרֵד** *would! we had died* Num 14, 2, **כִּי-יִרְדּוּ** *would! he may live* Gen 17, 18, even with the Imper (§ 130, 1, § 136, 2) On **כִּי** comp *Köhler in Geiger's Ztschr. f. Wissensch u. Leben*, VI (1868), p. 21, ff (where however a good deal, especially the etymology should be modified).

אם may properly stand where לִי more accurately (Ps. 50, 12, 139, 8, Hos. 9, 12); but לִי cannot be used for אם. Especially in solemn asseveration, conditional imprecation, אם is used; Ps. 7, 4—6 אֶפְשָׁרִי וְגו' יִרְדֶּךָ וְגו' if I have done this—(then) let the enemy persecute my soul, etc. One supposes as possible or real that one has committed something or other and demands the most fearful punishment if it is really so; Ps. 137, 5; comp. also Ps. 44, 21, 73, 15.

NB. What has been said of אם and לִי holds good, also, when they are connected with the negative, as in לֹא אִם, לֹא לִי, and לֹא לִי. It must be observed further, that אִם, after forms of swearing, e. g. יְיָ יֵחִי as the Lord lives stands as a negative (and consequently לֹא אִם as affirmative), 2 Sam. 11, 11, 20, 20. This may be explained simply by the omission of the imprecation as principal clause to which the clause introduced by אִם or לֹא אִם is subordinate. Sometimes this form is found complete e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 22; קָדְשֵׁי יְיָ אֱלֹהִים לְאֹיְבֵי דָוִד וְכָה יוֹסִיף אִם—so and more also do God unto the enemies of David if I leave, etc. (but instead of אִם stands after this form also אִם e. g. 2 Sam. 8, 35 אִם כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה לִי אֱלֹהִים וְכָה יוֹסִיף בִּי אִם—so may God do to me and more also if).—But אִם and לֹא אִם do not stand simply in such forms as these after verbs of swearing and adjuring(=not Cant. 2, 7; 3, 5) but also absolutely as strong negations (אִם Judges 5, 8, Is. 22, 14) or solemn asseveration (לֹא אִם truly e. g. Job 22, 20). On אֲשֶׁר, כִּי, אִם, as passing over into conditional particles, see above.

g) *Concessive*: אִם, with the *Perf.* even if (=though) I am Job 9, 15, with the *Impf.* (though I were) Is. 1, 18, 10, 22; עַל (for אֲשֶׁר) although Is. 53, 9, Job 16, 17 really add to this that=notwithstanding that); כִּי even when, although (also inverted אִם or כִּי alone).

h) *Comparative*: כַּאֲשֶׁר as (quemadmodum), often with כִּן in the second member, as—so, Is. 13, 4, 52, 14, 15; but כַּאֲשֶׁר may be omitted in the protasis, Is. 55, 9, Ps. 48, 6, and כִּן in the apodosis, Obad. 15. Exact conformity is expressed by כִּלְכֵּל כִּי in all points as, Ec. 5, 15.

i) *Adversative*: (see on the adverbs). Decidedly here belong כִּי אִם only that—but, nevertheless, and the difficult combination אִם בִּי, prop. that if, for if, but if. In these cases both particles belong in reality to different clauses (כִּי to the principal, אִם to the conditional). Elsewhere both form together an inseparable idea, either but (especially after negations, or their equivalents, comp. כִּי above No. 1 at the end), prop. but when, as may be clearly seen for instance Ps. 1, 2—or except when, except. In both significations אִם כִּי may stand before a verb as well as before a noun. Sometimes the clause to which אִם כִּי states an exception must be completed from the connection, e. g. Gen. 40, 14: (else I do not demand anything) except that thou remember me=only thou mayest etc. Micah 6, 8, Job 42, 8.

k) On the interrogative particles, see § 153.

1) On the *optative* particles, see on **וְ** above, under letter *f*, Note¹; on **אֲשֶׁר**—in § 105, 2, Note,² and § 126, 4, Note¹.

3. A certain brevity and incompleteness of expression (see No. 1) appears,¹ among other things, in this, that instead of the whole compound conjunction, by which the relation is fully expressed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other component part may be used. Thus, instead of the full form **וְיָצַן אֲשֶׁר** on the account, that—because, we have shorter **יָצַן** or **אֲשֶׁר**; instead of **וְיָצַן אֲשֶׁר** as (conj.) we find simply **אֲשֶׁר** Ex. 14, 13, 1 K. 8, 24.

4. This brevity is carried still farther, when the conjunction which is required to show the relation of one sentence or clause to another, is omitted altogether. This is the case—

- a) In conditional clauses; Gen. 33, 13 *drive they them* (the sheep) *hard, then they will die*, for, if they drive them hard etc., Gen. 42, 38. (In both cases however, the conditional relation of the first sentence to the second is sufficiently expressed to the Hebrew conception by the succession of two *consecutive perfects*.) Job 7, 20 (if) (*well now*) *I have sinned* — prop. *what could I do unto thee?* Job 19, 4.
- b) In expressions of comparison; Ps. 14, 4 **אֲכָלִי עַמִּי אֲבָלִי לָהֶם** *who devour my people (as) they would eat bread*, prop. *eating my people, they eat bread*, Job 24, 19 *drought and heat carry off the snow-water* **שֶׁאוֹל חֹטֵאֵר** (so) *She'ol* (carries off those who) have sinned Jer. 17, 11.
- c) In members which are usually dependent on the relative conjunctions (*oratio obliqua*); Gen. 12, 13 *say* **אֶתְּחַתֵּן אֶתָּא**

¹ The cases where, on the contrary, a pleonasm (in the sense of an unnecessary accumulation of particles) was supposed, may be explained by more close observation. Thus for instance **כִּי אִם** Ex. 22, 22 stands by no means pleonastically for **אִם**; for with **כִּי אִם** the discourse is abruptly interrupted and the particles signify also here *for when* (comp. Ger. *ja wenn*). There may be rather the question of a certain pleonasm in the Chaldee; e. g. **כִּלְכַּלְתִּי כִּלְכַּלְתִּי** (Germ. *alldieweil*) *wholly—for—that=because*, **כִּלְכַּלְתִּי כִּלְכַּלְתִּי** *wholly for this=therefore*. Emphatic, not pleonastic, is the repetition of the conjunction in **יָצַן יָצַן** *because, even because* Lev. 26, 43; like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*.

thou art my sister, commonly אַחֵי אִמִּי, Gen. 41, 15, Ps. 9, 21 *that they may learn, they are men*, Is. 48, 8 *for I* * *knew, thou art quite faithless*, Ps. 50, 21. In all these cases, the dependent clause stands properly for the accusative of the object; comp. § 142, 4, Rem. 2.

§ 156.

OF THE INTERJECTIONS.

The interjections which correspond to our *ah! oh! alas!* *woe!* expressing denunciation as well as lamentation (אָה, וָהי, אֵי; the latter two are really substantives), are connected with the object of the threatening or lamentation, by the particles עַל, אֵל, לְ, or they stand in the absolute, the object of lamentation standing in the vocative or rather in the *accusative of exclamation*. The former construction is found throughout with cries of woe (*væ tibi*) the latter with lament (comp. *væ te* in *Plautus*); as אֵי לָנוּ *woe to us!* וָהי גֵּוִי *woe to the people!* Is. 1, 4, אָהי אָהי *alas, my brother!* 1 K. 13, 30.

On the construction of וָהי with the *suffixes*, see § 100, 5.

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